# THE SVPPLIE OF THIS Irish Chronicle, continued from the death of king Henrie the eight, 1546, vntill this present yeare 1586, in the 28 yeare of hir maiesties *reigne, sir Iohn Perot residing deputie* in Ireland.

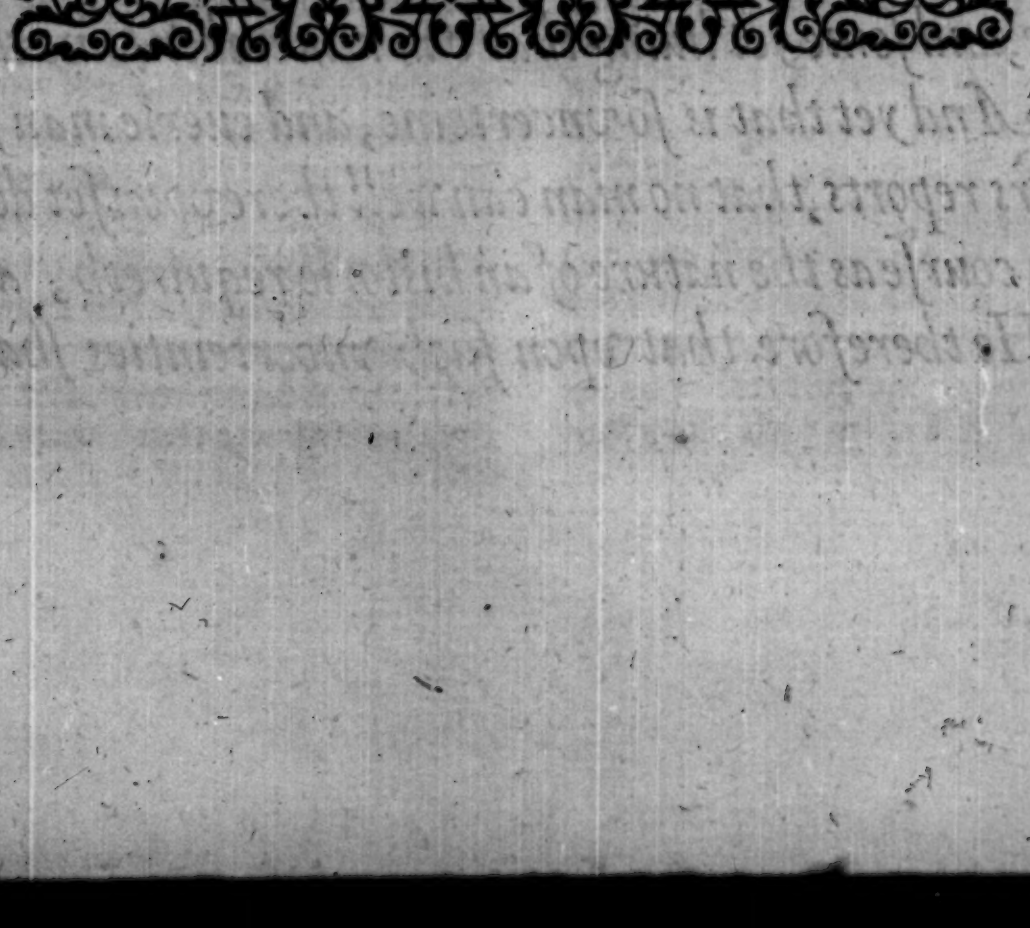
By Iohn Vowell aliàs Hooker of the citie *of Excester, gentleman.*

*S from the time of* Giraldus Cambrensis (*the best deserued and exact writer of the conquest and state of Freland in his time, few or none haue followed and continued any perfect course of that historie vntill the death of king Henrie the eight, and the beginning of king Edward the sixt* 1546; *and therefore no certeine knowledge nor assurance can be yelded, nor set downe either of the quiet gouernement in time of peace, or of the troublesome state in time of warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records, which were verie slenderlie & disorderlie kept, or out of some priuat mens collections and pamphlets, remaining in some od and obscure places: euen so the like from that time vnto these presents hath happened and is fallen out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due obseruations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie the memoriall; sauing the things so latelie doone are not altogither out of remembrance, and some yet liuing that can remember some things doone in their times. And yet that is so vncerteine, and euerie man so varieth one from the others reports, that no man can well thereupon set downe a perfect and so exact a course as the nature of an historie requireth, and as it ought to be doone. He therefore that vpon such vncerteinties shall intermedle*

*and*

*and vndertake the penning, much more the printing of such an vncerteine, confused, and intricate discourse, must looke and be assured to be subiect to manie cauils and reproches: which thing discouraged me the writer hereof to intermedle at all in this historie. Neuertheless, this worke requiring a supplie, and my selfe being earnestlie required to doo something herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue searched and collected to set downe in this short discourse and rhapsodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not so full as the worke requireth, nor so sufficient as to the satisfaction of the reader, nor yet so answerable to the nature of an historie as is necessarie and requisit: yet let the good will of the writer be his discharge from reproch, and be an occasion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full measure in matter and truth: that this historie may haue his perfection, the reader satisfied, and this writer acquited.*

**Iohn Hooker, aliâs Vowell.**



# THE SVPPLIE OF THE Irish Chronicles extended to this present yeare of our Lord 1586, and the 28 of the reigne of *queene Elisabeth*.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger reuoked.

After the death of king Henrie the eight, sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, was reuoked; who deliuered vp the sword at his departure vnto sir William Brabston knight; and he was lord iustice, vntill such time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent ouer to be deputie. This man was seruant to king Edward the first, and of his priuie chamber: a man verie well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout & valiant, and did verie worthilie direct his gouernment. In his time there was a mint kept in the castell of Dublin, which being at his commandement, he was the better able to doo good seruice to the king his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In the ciuill gouernment he was carefull to place learned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a speciall eie for the doing of their offices; as he had the like care for good and expert capteins, to serue in the martiall affaires. And for the more speedie seruice to be doone therein at all times needfull, he kept sundrie stables of horsses: one at Leighlin, one at Ler, and some in one place and some in another, as he thought most meet for seruice. And what soeuer he had to doo, or what seruice soeuer he meant to take in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so priuie, as none should haue anie vnderstanding thereof, before the verie instant of the seruice to be doone; and for the most part, whensoeuer he toke anie iournie in hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what place he would ride, or what he would doo. It happened that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Whereupon calling vnto him his companie as he thought good, and without making them acquainted what he minded to doo, toke horsse & rode to Leighlin bridge. The abbeie there (being supressed) he caused to be inclosed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horsses, and there he furnished himselfe and all his men with horsses and other furniture, and forthwith rode into Mounster, vnto the house of the earle, being then Christmas; and being vnlooked and vnthought of, he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by the fire, and there toke him, and caried him with him to Dublin.

1547 Sir Edward Bellingham made lord deputie.

A mint in Dublin.

Sir Edward Bellinghams carefulnesse in gouernement.

Sundrie stables of horsses kept.

His secrecie in his seruice.

Leighlin abbeie inclosed with a wall and made a fort.

The earle of Desmond taken in his house.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and in apparell, hauing for want of good nurture as much good maners as his Kerns and his followers could teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did so instruct, schoole, and informe him, that he made a new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie in maners, apparell, and behauiours apperteining to his estate and degree; as also to the knowledge of his dutie and obedience to his souereigne & prince; and made him to kneele vpon his knees sometimes an houre together, before he knew his dutie. This though it were verie strange to the earle, who hauing not beene trained vp in anie ciuilitie, knew not what apperteined to his dutie and calling: neither yet of what authoritie and maiestie the king his souereigne was; yet when he had well digested and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe most happie that euer he was acquainted with the said deputie, and did for euer after so much honor him, as that continuallie all his life time at euerie dinner and supper, he would praie for the good sir Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

The earle is rude without nurture.

The earle is instructed in ciuilitie.

The earle praieth for sir Edward Bellingham.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where soeuer he trauelled, he would be chargeable to no man; but would be at his owne charge. It happened that trauelling the countrie, he was lodged on a night in vicount Baltinglasses house, where all things were verie plentifullie prouided for him: which the vicount thought to haue giuen and bestowed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he commanded his steward to paie & discharge all things, thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused his interteinement; saieng: The king my maister hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me therein for my charges and expenses: wherefore, I neither maie nor will be burdenous nor chargable to anie other man. He was verie exquisit & carefull in the gouernement, as few before him the like; aswell in matters martiall, as politike, magnanimous and couragious: in the one, to the appalling of the enimie; and as seuere & vpright in the other, to the benefit of the commonwelth. For neither by flatterie could he be gained, nor by briberie be corrupted;

The vicount of Baltinglas his house.

The lord deputie would be chargeable to none.

The good gouernment of this deputie.

ted; he was feared for his seueritie, and beloued for his integritie; and no gouernor for the most vniuersallie better reported of than was he. But as vertue hath the contrarie to enimie, so he found it true: for he was so enuied at, and that rebellious nation not brooking so worthie a man, who trauelled all the waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of themselues, and of their duties; and also to reforme that corrupt state of gouernement, that great practises and deuises were made for his reuocation; and matters of great importance informed and inforced against him. Wherevpon, before two yeares ended of his gouernement, he was reuoked, and sir Francis Brian made lord iustice. At his comming into England, great matters were laid vnto his charge: but he so effectuallie did answer the same, that his maiesties doubtfulnesse was resolued; & he not onelie cléered, but also better liked than euer he was before, & should haue béene sent backe againe, had he not alleged his infirmitie; the which was a fistula, and other good reasons, which were accepted for his excuse. Sir Francis Brian had maried the countesse of Ormond, and by that meanes he was a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was but short, & no great matters could in so short a time be done by him. After his death, sir William Brabston had the sword deliuered vnto him, and he continued lord iustice, vntil that sir Anthonie Sentleger came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & experience he had good skill and did well gouerne: yet there remained some coles of the fire in his first gouernement vnquenched; and within a shorter time than thought of, he was reuoked: and sir Iames Crofts was sent ouer to supplie the place; his euill successes in good attempts did not answer his valour and good deserts.

Sir Edward Bellingham' Lord beloued.

1548 Sir Francis Brian lord iustice.

Sir Francis Brian maried the countes of Ormond, died and was buried at Waterford.

1549 Sir William Brabston lord iustice.

1550 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie the second time.

1551 Sir Iames Crofts lord deputie.

And albeit the time of his gouernement were not long, yet it continued vntill the death of king Edward the first, and then he was called home, and sir Thomas Cusacke and sir Gerard Elmer were appointed lords iustices, who iointlie gouerned the estate, vntill quéene Marie sent ouer sir Anthonie Sentleger; who now the third time was lord deputie. This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and vprightlie in a good conscience, and being well acquainted in the courses of that land, knew how to meete with the enimies, and how to staie all magistrates and others in their duties and offices: for which though he deserued well, and ought to be beloued and commended: yet the old practises were renewed, and manie slanderous informations were made and inueighed against him: which is a fatall destinie, and inuitable to euerie good gouernor in that land. For the more paines they take in tillage, the worse is their harvest; and the better be their seruices, the greater is the malice and enuie against them; being not vnlike to a fruitefull apple tree, which the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels be hurled at him. Well, this man is called home, and the lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie. At sir Anthonies comming ouer, great matters were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduersaries he had, which verie eagerlie pursued the same against him: wherein he so answered, that he was not onelie acquited; but also gained his discharge for euer to passe ouer anie more into so vnthankefull a land.

1552 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie the third time.

A fatall destinie to euerie good gouernor to be slandered.

1555 The lord Fitzwaters made lord deputie.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a short time of his being there, was sent for into England. And in in his absence, sir Henrie Sidnete then treasuror at warres, and doctor Cozwen, were for a time ioint lords iustices: but verie shortlie after, a commission was sent to sir Henrie Sidneie to be sole lord iustice, and so continued alone vntill the lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Sussex, came againe and resumed his former office of deputie. After that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to dow with the Oneile. For the whole north part of Ireland began to be vnquieted, and for preuenting of sundrie inconueniences, which might grow by the Scotish Ilanders in aiding the said Oneile, the lord deputie made a iourneie and voiage into the said Iles, to ioine them into his friendship. In his absence, he constituted sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice; but after that he had done his businesse, he returned againe to Dublin, where he remained and continued in his office vntill the death of quéene Marie, and then he passed ouer into England, and left sir Henrie Sidneie to be lord iustice now the fourth time. And after some time spent there, and quéene Elisabeth now setled in the imperiall crowne of England, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of Ireland to performe those seruices, which before he had taken in hand: who did verie great good seruice against the Irishrie, and by meanes he toke the Oneile, and kept him prisoner in the castell of Dublin: but yet before he could or did bring the same to perfection, he was reuoked into England, and left the land in a verie broken state; which was committed to sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made lord iustice. But his gouernement being not well liked, choise was made by hir maiestie and the councell of sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place, who then was lord president of Wales.

The Oneile and all the north be vnquiet.

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice the fourth time.

1557 The earle of Sussex lord lieutenant.

The Oneile taken and kept in prison.

1564 Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iustice.

1565 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie.

This man had béene before a long seruitour in that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares béene treasuror at warres, which is the second office vnder the lord deputie in that land; as also had béene lord iustice solie and iointlie foure times. Great was his knowledge, wisedome, and experience both of that land, and of the nature, manners, and disposition of the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue the gouernement of them. He was therefore called from out of Wales, where he then resided in his gouernement vnto the court: and there after conference had with hir highnesse, and with the councell; he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, being the seuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he receiued of hir maiestie a booke of instructions signed with hir owne hand, dated the first of October 1565, the seuenth yeare of hir reigne aforesaid, concerning the principall articles for his gouernement & direction, which chiefle consisted in these points.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord president of Wales.

A booke of articles deliuered to sir Henrie Sidneie for his gouernement.

First, that there should be a bodie of a councell established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the gouernement of the same realme in times of peace and of warre; and whose names were then particularlie set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of them should before their admission be sworne by the said lord deputie, according to the accustomed manner: with an exhortation, that for somuch as hir maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence in their wisedomes, aduises, good counsels, and seruices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises, assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and consultation, concerning the state of that realme.

A councell to be established.

Euerie councellor to be sworne.

And they likewise, considering the place and authoritie whereunto hir maiestie had called the said sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold hir place in that realme: they should yéeld that obedience and reuerence vnto him, as to such a principall officer doth apperteine. And then they both togither, to haue a speciall care and regard to the gouernement, which was compri-

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sed in foure articles that dw o;derlie hereafter follow.

## The said foure articles were these.

Gods lawes to be kept, and christian religion to be vsed.

1 FIrst, that they should faithfullie and earnestlie regard the due and reuerend obseruation of all Gods lawes and o;dinances, made and established fo; the maintenance of the true chri;stian faith and religion among his people; and that all meanes should be vsed, aswell by doctrine and by teaching, as by good examples, that deuotion and godlinesse might increase, and contempt of religion might be restreined, punished, and suppressed. That learning in the scriptures might be mainteined and increased among the cleargie, and that fo; the releefe of the ecclesiasticall state, no alienations no; wasts of the lands perteining to anie church o; college, should be alienated: neither anie impro;priations of benefices be put in vre: besides sundrie other articles incident to this effect.

Learning of the scriptures to be maintained.

The church lands not to be alienated.

The lawes to be dulie administred.

2 The second was, that the administration of law and iustice should dulie and vprightlie be executed, without respect of persons: that inquirie be made what notable faults are in anie of the iudges, o; other ministers of the law: that vnfit persons male be remoued from their places, and some sufficient persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in euerie countie, and to execute their offices vpprightlie, acco;ding to the lawes of England.

Shiriffes to be apointed in euerie shire.

The garisons to be looked vnto.

3 The third, that the garrisons and men of warre be well o;dered to the benefit of the realme, and repressing of diso;dered subiects and rebels: that they dw line acco;ding to the o;ders appointed, without oppression of the good and true subiects. That there shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster made either by the lo;d deputie, o; by such commissioners as he shall appoint meete and indifferent fo; that purpose; who shall make inquirie of the number of the souldio;s vnder euerie capteine; fo; the sufficiencie of their persons, their ho;lles, armo;s, and weapons, and other their necessaries: and how they were pated of their wages, and whether they were Englishmen o; not.

A muster to be kept euerie moneth.

A due regard to be had of hir maiesties reuennes.

4 The fourth article was, whether there had béene had a due care & regard to the pre;seruation of the reuenues of the crowne, & fo; the recouerie of that which is withdrawne. And whether euerie of the officers appointed fo; the receiuing of anie part of the said reuenues, as namelie the receiuers of rents, shiriffes, erchetо;s, collectо;s of the subsidies, customo;s, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and such others, did yearelie make and answer their accounts; and besides sundrie other articles incident to euerie of these pri;cipals.

That euerie officer of receipts dw yearelie make his account.

Sir Henrie Sidneie taketh his leaue of the queene and councell.

After that he had receiued this booke, and his commission, he pre;pared himselfe with all the expedition he could, to follow the great charge committed vnto him: which being dwne, he repaired to hir maiestie and toke his leaue: and to his farewell, she gaue him most comfo;table spéeches and good counsels, promising hir fauo; and countenance to all his well dwings, and a consideration fo; the same when as time should serue. The like leaue he toke also of the lo;ds of the councell, who in like o;der gaue him the like farewell: and these things dwne, he departed towards the sea side, where after he had tarried a long time fo; a good wind and passage, he toke ship, and arriued in Ireland the thirteenth of Januarie, about fiue miles from Dublin, and from thense he trauelled to Dublin; where he was most hono;ablie receiued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lo;d iustice, and the whole councell; togither with the maio; and his bre;thren of that citie. And the people in great troops came and saluted him, clapping and shooting with all the iote that they could deuise.

Sir Henrie Sidneie iourneth to Dublin.

The next sundaie then next following, being the seuenth daie of his arriuall, and the twentith of the moneth, he accompanied with the lo;d iustice and councell, repaired to the high church in the citie named Christes church; where after that the diuine seruice was dwne, he toke his oth, receiued the swo;d, and assumed vpon him the gouernement: and wherwith he made a most pithie, wise, and eloquent o;ation, which consisted vpon these special points. The first, what a pre;tious thing is good gouernement, and how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and countries dw flourish and pro;sper, where the same is o;derlie, in equitie, iustice, and wisedome, directed & gouerned. Secondlie, what a continuall care the quenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onelie fo; the good guiding & ruling of the realme of England, but also of Ireland; which she so earnestlie desireth, and wisheth to be pre;serued, as well in peace as in warre: that she hath made great choise from time to time of the most graue, wise, and expert councello;s fo; the one; and the most valiant, skilfull, and expert men of armes fo; the other: that both in peace and warres, the publike state of the commonwealth, and euerie particular member therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in safetie vnder hir gouernement. And fo; the perfo;mance thereof, hir maiestie ouer and besides the reuenues of the crowns of Ireland, did yearelie far aboue anie of hir pro;genito;s, expend of hir owne cofers out of England, great masses of monie, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All which hir excessiue expenses and continuall cares she made the lesse account of; so that hir realme and subiects of Ireland might be pre;serued, defended, and gouerned.

The benefit of good gouernement.

The quenes maiesties continuall care fo; Ireland.

The quenes maiestie expendeth yearelie out of hir owne cofers fo; Ireland sundrie thousands of pounds.

Lastlie, notwithstanding hir maiestie might haue made better choise of manie others, who were better able to hold hir place in this realme, both fo; ho;o;, wisedome, and experience: yet hir pleasure was now to cast this heaute charge and burden vpon him. Which he was the mo;e vnwilling to take vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the mo;e vnable & weake he was to sustеine the same. Neuertheless, being in good hope, and well pro;mised of hir highnesse fauo; and countenance in his well dwings, and hauing his confidence in them hir highnesse councello;s associated vnto him, to ioine, aid, and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is the mo;e readie to take the swo;d in hand; in hope that this his gouernement shall be to the glo;ie of God, the ho;o; of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, and the pre;seruation of the whole realme and people of the same. And so making his earnest request to the said lo;ds pre;sent, fo; their conioining with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in this hir maiesties seruice, he made an end of his spæches.

The said councello;s, hauing well considered the great value and weight of this his graue and wise o;ation, did most humblie thanke his lo;dship fo; the same, and promised in all dutifulnesse, faith, and obedience to perfo;me and attend whatsoeuer to them in anie wise should apperteine. These things dwne, they all conducted the said lo;d deputie in all hono;able manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common people in euerie street and co;ner meeting him, and with great acclamations and iote did congratulat vnto his lo;dship his comming among them in that office. Immediatlie after the perfo;mance of all

The congratulation of the people.

the solemnities, perteining to these actions, he called and assembled all those persons which hir highnesse had appointed, admitted, and allowed to be of hir maiesties priuie councell for that realme, and did sweare them according to the accustomed manner. Then from time to time they assembled and met, consulting and deliberating what waie and order were best to be taken for reparing of that broken commonweale and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogither infected with sores and biles, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health. And surelie if the state of that land was euer miserable and in perill to be ouerthrowne: it was neuer more like than at these presents; for as for the English pale, it was ouerwhelmed with infinite numbers of caterpillers, who dailie by spoiles and robberies haue deuoured and wasted the same: whereby the people vniuersallie were so poore, and the commons in such extreame penurie, that they had not horsses, armor nor weapons to defend them, nor apparell, vittels, nor anie other necessaries to releeue them; the soldiors so beggerlie that they were most intolerable to the people, and so rooted in insolencie, lewdnesse and idlenesse, that vnlesse the remedie were the more spædie, they would bee past correction: and so much the worsse, bicause manie of them were alied in mariage, and companies of the Irish: who the more they were affected to them, their truth and seruice more doubtfull to hir maiestie. The prouince of Leinster and they altogither most miserable, the Tools, Obrines, Kinshelaghes, Mooiles, Omorroughs, Carenaughs, the Powres, and the residue in their accustomable manners wholie bent to spoiles and all mischiefs, no place of anie safetie remaining for the good subiect; especiallie in the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, became of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie few being left to inhabit the same.

The broken state of Ireland.

The English pale wasted and spoiled.

The soldiors beggerlie and out of order.

The miserable state of Leinster.

The fertile soile of the countie of Kilkennie made waste.

Mounster by ciuill war destroied.

Mounster, the inhabitants there likewise for the most part being followers to the earle of Desmond, and following his wars against the erle of Ormond, made that prouince, and especiallie the counties of Tipperarie and Kirrie, being wealthie and rich, to become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom hir maiestie was or could be assured. Notwithstanding experience had taught them, and they assured, that no waie was for their recouerie and safetie so good and assured, as to humble themselues, and to become hir highnesse loiall and obedient subiects: yet as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, contented themselues rather with a beggerlie life to be miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace and assured. The prouinces also of Thomond altogither almost wasted by the warres betweene the earle there and sir Donell Obrien. Ormond likewise by reason of dissention betweene the earles of Desmond and Ormond, and by the dailie inuasions and preies of Piers Grace was almost wasted and vnhabited.

Thomond all wasted by ciuill warres.

Connagh deuoured by ciuill warres.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie rich and wealthie, and well inhabited, is wasted with the wars betweene the erle of Clanrichard and Mac William Enter: the Irish countries all wasted and impouerished, partlie by reason of their dissimulations, societies, and conferences with the rebelles, and partlie by the particular discords among themselues. Finallie, all the gentlemen throughout, wont in times past to be keepers of hospitalitie, were by the dailie preies made vpon them and their tenants so impouerished & distressed, that they were not able to mainteine and releeue themselues nor their families. The prouince of Vlster for wealth and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselues, but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of receipt of all the preies and spoiles from out of the other prouinces: but as for loialtie, dutifulnesse, and obedience to hir maiestie, they were most disloiall, rebellious, and disordered. For after that Shane Oneile by blood and murther had gotten the maisterie, he alone then ruled the rost, who in pride exceeded all the men vpon the earth, abiding no superior, nor allowing anie equall. And heere it were not amisse, but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and cause whie the said Shane did first breake out from his due obedience, and did shake off the gouernement of hir maiestie, which (as farre as the writer hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here followeth.

The gentlemen all impouerished.

Vlster wealthie and rich.

Con Oneile, the first earle of Tiron, had two sonnes, Matthew and this Shane or John. And king Henrie the eight hauing good liking of this Con Oneile, and to reteine and keepe him a good subiect, he being a mightie man, and of great power in his countrie, he made and created him earle of Tiron, and his eldest son Matthew he made baron of Dungannon, and the remainder of the said earledome to the said Matthew, and to the heirs male of his bodie. This Shane being the second brother, and of an aspiring mind, enuied his elder brother, and in no wise could he brooke him, but from time to time seeketh occasions to quarell and fall out with him, and in the end most traitorouslie and vnnaturallie murthered him: their father yet liuing, who did not so much lament and bewaile the same, but began much more to distrust of his owne safetie. Neuertheless, it is not knowen that the said Shane did offer him anie violence, but when he was dead, although he had no right to succeed into the earledome, by reason that Matthew his elder brother had left sons behind him, who by the letters patents and course of the common law were to succeed the grandfather: yet Shane vsurped the name of Oneile, and entred into his fathers inheritance according to the Irish manner, among whome the custome is, that the eldest in years of the name of ante house or familie doth succeed his ancestor, vnlesse at the time of his death he had a son of the full age of one and twentie yeers. And thus hauing perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he scorneth at the English gouernement, and after the Irish manner proclameth himselfe Oneile, and the capteine of his countrie, refuseth likewise all obedience to hir maiestie, and breaketh out into open rebellion.

Shane Oneile.

The cause of Shane Oneiles rebellion.

Con Oneile made earle of Tiron.

Shane vsurpeth the name of Oneile.

The Irish custome in succession.

Shane Oneile breaketh into rebellion.

Sir Henrie Sidneie then lord iustice, in the absence of the erle of Sussex, being aduertised of these stirs, taketh aduise of the councell what was best to be done. And then it was agreed, that the said lord iustice should take his iorneie towards Dundalke, for the fortifieng of the English pale, and should send a messenger to Shane Oneile, who then laie at a lordship of his abont six miles from Dundalke, and to will him come to Dundalke to his lordship: which was done. But Shane returned his answer, praieng pardon, and also most humblie requested his lordship that it would please him to christen a son of his, & be his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to do all things in seruice for hir maiestie, as his lordship should command and appoint. This answere at the first was not thought good, nor yet honorable to the lord iustice so to do, vntill the said Shane had first come and submitted himselfe. But when it was considered what great inconuenients might insue, if his request were denied; it was agreed that the said lord iustice should condescend vnto his request. And accordinglie vpon the last of Januarie, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, he went vnto the said,

Shane Oneile praieth sir Henrie Sidneie to be his gossip.

1558

Shanes

Shanes house, and there his lordship and Jaques Wingfield were godfathers, and hauing performed the baptising of the child, they both had conference of the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his doings, did allege for his defense sundrie articles as followeth.

Shane excuseth himselfe why he came not to the lord iustice.

Matthew was Kellaies sonne.

First, he said that Matthew baron of Dungannon was the sonne of one Kellate of Dundalke, a smith by occupation, begotten and borne during the spousals of the said Kellate, and one Alson his wife, and that the said Matthew was alwaies taken and reputed to be the sonne of the said Kellate, vntill he was of the age of sixteene yeares or thereabouts: at which time Con Oneile his father, vpon the saieng of the said Alson, that he was the father of the said Matthew, did accept and take the said Matthew to be his sonne, & gaue him the name of Fardarough. And here vnderstand you the wickednesse of this countrie; which is, that if anie woman do mislike hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall haue all such children as were borne of hir bodie during their abode togither, except such as she shall name to be begotten by anie other man: which man so named shall by their custome haue the said child: and so it should seeme to be meant of this point. Also the said Matthew did vpon this the affirmation of his mother seeke to vsurpe the name of a seignorie of the Oneiles, and the dominions appertaining to that seignorie and surname. Also that there be aboue a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise yeeld to this the claime of Matthew, although he for his owne part would be contented therewith. Also he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that should intitle the sonne of the said baron to the said lands are vtterlie void, because that Con Oneile father to the said Shane had no other right nor interest to that countrie, but during his owne life: and therefore without the consent of the lords and inhabitants of that countrie, could make no surrender nor conueiance, whereby he might be inabled to take and haue the said lands by force of letters patents.

The obiections of Shane Oneil against the title of Matthew to be Oneile.

The wicked custome of the Irishrie.

Matthew lacketh the seignorie of Oneile.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie person, be of anie force or value, vntill that an inquisition be taken of the lands so giuen before that the letters patents do passe: which in this case neither was, nor could be done, sith the countrie of Tiron is no shire ground. Also if the said lands should according to the queens lawes descend to the right heire, then in right it ought to descend to him, as next heire being mulierlie borne; and the other not so borne. Also he saith, that vpon the death of his father lord of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the custome of the countrie did assemble themselues togither, and by a common consent did elect and chose (without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to be Oneile, as the most worthie and ablest of that countrie. Which election by the custome of the countrie hath beene alwaies vsed without anie confirmation, asked of the kings and queenes of England. Also he saith that as Oneile he claimeth such authorities, iurisdictions, and duties vpon his men & countrie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessors, and which duties for the most part are recorded, and remaine in writing. When the lord iustice had at full heard these articles, and considered well of them togither with the councell, made answer vnto Shane that the matter was of great weight and importance, & which neither he nor the councell cold determine of themselues, before hir maiestie were made priuie and acquainted therewith; and therefore in the meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto hir maiestie, nothing doubting but that he should haue and receiue at hir hands, what should be found meet, right, and iust.

And so hauing vsed manie good and freendlie speeches and exhortations vnto him, the said Shane promised to vse and behaue himselfe well and honestlie, & as to his dutie should appertaine: they departed in verie freendlie manner. And thus in such wisedome and politike manner the lord iustice handled the matter, that by temporising and gaining of time all matters were pacified, and so continued vntill the comming ouer of the earle of Sussex lord deputie: who then of a new tooke the matter in hand, and he did so streictlie and seuerelie follow the same, that he ouermatched Shane Oneile. But it so greeued the said Shane, that notwithstanding he dissembled and gaue a good countenance, & promised well, yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed nothing: but as the woolfe which often casteth his haires but neuer changeth his conditions, was one and the same man or rather worse, and thenceforth tyrannized and vsed most crueltie, and of all others most disloiall and disobedient; to the deputie would he not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with him, but at his owne pleasure.

Shane Oneile promiseth to be quiet.

Shane Oneil is become a tyrant and a rebell.

The queenes maiestie in some termes he would honor, but in deeds he denied all obedience, subtill and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but in the residue of the daie verie vncerteine and vnstable, and much giuen to excessiue gulping and surfetting. And albeit he had most commonlie two hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dundrum, and had his full fill therof, yet was he neuer satisfied, till he had swallowed vp maruellous great quantities of Vske bagh or Aqua vite of that countrie: wherof so vnmeasurablie he would drinke and house, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie, which by that meanes was most extremelie inflamed and distempered, he was ofttimes conueied (as the common report was) into a deepe pit, and standing vpright in the same, the earth was cast round about him vp to the hard chin, and there he did remaine vntill such time as his bodie was recouered to some temperature: by which meanes though he came after in some better plight for the time, yet his manners and conditions dailie worse. And in the end his pride ioined with wealth, drunkennesse, and insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannize ouer the whole countrie; greatlie it was feared that his intent was to haue made a conquest ouer the whole land. He pretended to be king of Vlster, euen as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the maner of the great Turke, was continuallie garded with six hundred armed men, as it were his Ianisaries about him, and had in readinesse to bring into the fields a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen. He furnished all the pesants and husbandmen of his countrie with armour and weapons, and trained them vp in the knowledge of the wars: and as a lion hath in awe the beasts of the field, so had he all the people to his becke and commandement, being feared and not beloued.

Shane Oneil is become a drunkard and a surfetter.

Shane Oneil buried in the ground after his drunkennesse.

Shane Oneils force.

The pesants in Vlster trained vp in warre.

Diuerse meanes and waies were practised and vsed by the lord deputie and councell for the pacifieng and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time to time sent vnto him; for and about the same, who sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as backwards and vntoward. Of all the residue of Ireland there was the lesse doubt to recouer them, by reason that they by their owne ciuill wars had consumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this man, small or no hope at all, vnlesse he might be chastised, and with force be reduced to conformities. Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking

of him awaie. And bicause in these troublesome times, it were méet aduertisements should go to and from hir maiestie and councell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to them, order was taken for the more spéedie conueiance of letters reciproke, there should be set posts appointed betweene London and Ireland. This was then the présent state of all Ireland, altogethers deuoured with robberies, murders, riots, treasons, ciuill and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to hir highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and townes: and yet the one being gentlemen and liuing by their lands, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decaied; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impouerished, and brought to such extremities, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselues.

Posts set betweene Ireland & London.

The miserable state of Ireland.

And among all other the most intollerable miseries vniuersallie reigning, this one excéeded all the rest, that there was scarse a God knowen; and if knowen, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroied & vncouered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as shéepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. Then where neither God is knowen, the prince obeied, no lawes current, no gouernement accepted, and all things infolded in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdome? Wherfore sir Henrie Sidnete now lord deputie, & the councell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which late them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, dailie assembled themselues; & deuised the best waie what might be to be taken herein. Wherin his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chiefest of the councell, then ioined to assist him in councell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decaied men; and the lord deputie himselfe driuen to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuertheless it was concluded and agréed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the Oneile and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the staie and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and opportunitie would serue thereunto.

No God nor religion in Ireland.

At this présent time the earles of Ormond and Desmond were in England, and the quarrels and controuersies growen betweene them were dailie examined before the lords of the councell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And bicause their assertions were so contrarious and vncerteins in denieng and affirming, as no procéeding could be had for a finall end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their doings were best knowen, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the councell both the said earles submitted themselues to the quéenes maiesties order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound ech of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder hir highnesse broad seale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the forsaid examinations. But in the meane time whilest these things were in doing in England, sir John of Desmond, in verie outragious and disordered manner, fired & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Ormond, which things were verie shortlie after appeased. In these troublesome daies Mac Artimore an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, and principall man of his sept in Mounster, hauing verie great possessions, and late still in peace and did nothing at all, neither toke he partie with one whom he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appearance misliked both their doings.

The earles of Ormond and Desmond submit themselues to the quéens order.

Sir John of Desmond spoileth the earle of Ormonds lands.

This man made his humble suite to hir maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto hir maiesties highnesse, and to recognise his dutie and allegiance to hir, and so to resume and haue a new estate therof from hir againe, according to the orders and laws of England. Which hir maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his staie in all obedience and dutie to hir crowne, did for the worthinesse of his bloud & stocke, & for the greatnesse of his gouernement make him a baron of the parlement in that relme; & for his further aduancement created him an earle vnder hir letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane Oneile, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of hir bignesse in aduansing such a one to that honour, and enuied and maligned him that he was so honored. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all good order, braieng out spéeches not méet nor séemelie. For (saith he) you haue made a wise earle of Mac Artimore, I kéepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the quéene is my souereigne ladie, yet I neuer made peace with hir, but at hir séeking. And where he had required to haue his parlement robes sent vnto him as earle of Tiron, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a triall to be made in parlement) yet now he cared not for so meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an erle. For I am (saith he) in bloud and power better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Vlster. And as Vlster was theirs, so now Vlster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I wan it, and with the sword I will kéepe it. Which his words fell out true, though long he inioied not the same: and forthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, wherby he became execrable and hatefull vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

Mac Artimore surrendereth all his lands to the quéene & taketh it of hir.

Mac Artimore made earle of Clancare.

Shane Oneile scoffeth at the earle of Clancare.

The proud taunts of Shane Oneile.

Shane Oneile for his pride and tyrannie becometh hatefull before God & man.

Now hir maiestie, being gréeued and annoied with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him clearelie roted out, or chastised: but therein she was staied, being borne in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to yéeld to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now she séeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; she gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploie his whole care, consideration, and wisedome, how such a cankred and dangerous rebell might be vtterlie extirped. And séeing the matter also to haue so manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not bée well concluded: therefore she sent ouer sir Francis Knolles vicechamberleine, to conferre with the lord deputie, who arriued at Dublin the seuenth of Maie 1566, aswell concerning these matters of warre, as the whole state and gouernment of this realme. Who when he was arriued, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betweene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordinglie things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittels were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph colonell of the footmen, and sundrie other capteins arriued with their souldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was conuenient

Sir Francis Knolles sent into Ireland. 1566

conuenient to be.

Likewise the archtraitor knowing what preparation was made against him, he doth the like also on his part against hir maiestie; and at a lordship or manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustreth all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seuen hundred horsemen. And glorieng much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to haue conquered all Ireland withall, and that no man durst to aduenture vpon him: he marcheth vnto the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besiegeth the same. He was no more busie to giue sundrie attempts of inuasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and hee had the repulse, being with shame driuen to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

Shane Oneil besiegeth Dundalke, & is repelled.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and inuasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much stead, as a farre smaller companie of the English souldiers deserued commendation: which perforce and maugre of his teeth compelled him to retire with shame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Julie 1565, and the first peare of the deputation of sir Henrie Sidnete, Edward Randolph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent ouer out of England, and arriued at the Dirrie with seuen hundred men vnder his regiment, and he himselfe by the councell in England appointed to be the colonell. This man as soone as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Dirrie, where he remained in garrison without doing of anie thing, vntill the comming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of hir maiesties forces, appointed to be ioined with the said colonell, for the better seruice against the arrogant traitour Shane Oneile.

1565

Colonell Randolph arriueth at the Dirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that seruice required; he returned backe to Dublin through Odonels countrie, and so thorough Connagh, leauing the colonell accompanied with one band of fiftie horsemen vnder the leading of captaine George Herute the elder, and with seuen companies or hundreds of footmen vnder the charges of captaine Robert Cornewall, and captaine John Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, victels, and all other necessaries meet and requisit. Shane Oneile who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now vpon his honor and reputation, incamped himselfe about two miles from the garrison, hauing then in his armie two thousand fiue hundred footmen, & three hundred horsmen. And frō daie to daie he would continuallie with his horsemen houer and range the fields, and shew himselfe readie to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to aduenture the same

The lord deputie cōmeth to the Dirrie and setteth all things in order for the seruice.

Oneil incampeth neere the Dirris and offereth skirmish.

The colonell not liking these dailie offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour vnto him, and all the English nation, which were come ouer to serue against him, and now would do nothing, but were dailie bearded by the enimie: notwithstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sicknesse in the campe, that his small companie was much weakened and vnable to serue: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remoue him from his so neere a seat. Whereupon he drew out of his companie to the number of three hundred men, whome he thought most meet to serue, and being accompanied with fiftie horsemen vnder captaine George Herute, marched toward Oneils campe, who pretending a great ioy to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to incounter with them; persuading himselfe that he should that daie be maister of the field, and haue a conquest to his hearts desire.

The colonell prepareth to fight with Oneile.

The colonell made choise of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide their charge. Oneile in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the colonels footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so receiued with the English shot and so galled, that he made some staie. Whereupon captaine Herute taking his opportunitie, most valiantlie with his small band of horsemen brake in to the battell of Oneile. Likewise colonell Randolph with his few horsemen gaue the charge vpon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the seruice which he desired: but the colonell verie valiantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and thereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being astonied and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whome the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chase aboue foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The colonell onelie was slaine, but captaine Herute and diuerse of the horsemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

The valiant seruice of captaine George Herute.

The colonell Randolph is slaine.

Oneile and his companie flie, and are pursued, killed & hurt about 800.

After the death of this valiant colonell, whose funerall the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Sentlow was made colonell: vnder whose gouernement the garrison liued verie quietlie. For this last ouerthrow so quailed the spirits and courages of Oneile and his companie, that they had no desire of anie further incountering with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was done: and being determined in the spring to aduenture some peece of seruice, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentith of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what meanes, the fort and towne of the Dirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and victels laie were blowne vp with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so manie of the souldiers as laie sicke there were burned in their beds. Whereupon the colonell calling all his captains togither, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their victels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselues for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, sauing captaine George Herute: for he rather did chuse to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impouerish his souldiers by killing their horsses (which perforce they must needs haue done) for want of shipping. And therefore euen almost against all hope he returned towards Dublin through the enimies countrie, who followed and chased him foure daies togither without intermission, both with horsemen and footmen: but at length he recouered Dublin, not without great wonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about Oneile, and in all places throughout Vlster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best seruice of hir maiestie. And yet considering the great impor-

The lord deputie keepeth the colonell Randolphs funerals.

The Dirrie and all the victels and munitions are burned.

The colonell abandoneth Dirrie, and returneth to Dublin by seas.

Captaine George Herute returneth by land in great danger.

The lord deputie maketh a iournie into Vlster.

importance of the seruice, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a iournie into Vlster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certeine of the councell, and with such capteins and souldiers as he thought good: he aduanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seuenteenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Rolle keagh, & so from thense he trauelled throughout Vlster, and passed thense vnto Athlon in Connagh, where he came the six and twentith of October.

1566

The pusillanimitie of the Oneile.

In this iournie the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer anie fight at all: sauing once at and neere a wood not far from Glogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gaue the charge with horsemen, footmen, and certeine Scotish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horsemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Tirlough Lenough, called the Salmon, but tooke his ease and durst not to giue the aduenture. In this iournie the lord deputie restored Odoncll to the possession of his lands and castels, kept by Oneile from him; & sundrie lords and men of the best sort submitted themselues. By which this his lordships iournie he recouered to hir highnesse a countrie of foure score miles in length, and eight and fortie miles in bredth, without losse of anie man sauing Mac Gwier, who being sicke died in this iournie; and sauing a few persons which by the waie vpon an occasion would aduenture the winning of a certeine Iland in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittels of the enimies, and in assailing of it they were drowned.

Odonell restored vnto his possessions.

The lord deputie recouereth a great countrie in Vlster vnto the crowne.

Immediatlie vpon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troublesome state of Mounster, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to annoie at his pleasure the earle of Ormond, the lord Barrie, the lord Roch, and sir Morris Fitzgirald of the Decies; but he did not hurt anie man at all: sauing one Mac Donogh a rebell and a disloiall sauage man. The lord deputie being ouerlaied with the continuall cares to resist Oneile, could not in person trauell into Mounster, nor yet without great perill diuide his armie: wherefore he sent capteine Herne constable of Leighlin vnto the said earle, whereby he might be aduertised of his intendement and meaning: which appeared to be but a meere insolencie and an outrage to be reuenged vpon the earle of Ormond, although the rumor was, that he would conioine with Oneile. Which report when it came to his eares, and being aduertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delaie, tooke his horsse, and hauing in his companie onelie the baron of Dunboine, and capteine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whome for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships deuotion, either to go and attend him vnto Vlster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get; the lord deputie finding him vittels: and then to abide & serue in Vlster in despite of Shane Oneile; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine vpon the borders there, with such a number of horsemen, as should be appointed vnto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifulnesse to his maiestie, as was meet for a subiect to shew to his souereigne. The deputie hauing some liking of his offers, and considering the fickle state of these presents, accepteth his last offer, willing him to go backe againe, and to prepare a crew of one hundred horsemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within foureteene daies: which he did, and with him came sir John Desmond, his vncle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Powre and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, sir Warham Sentleger, and capteine Herne, did remaine vpon the borders, vntill his lordships returne from out of his iournie in Vlster.

The earle of Desmond is in campe and doth no hurt.

The earle of Desmond maketh his repaire to the lord deputie.

The earle of Desmond serueth in the English pale.

And as the realme at large was much infested with the cruell warres of Oneile and the troubles in Mounster; so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs vnto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against an other. For Oliuer Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certeine booke in writting, conteining an information of sundrie notorious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same, and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parlement, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by hir maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and councell. Likewise sir Edmund Butler and Piers his brother were greeuouslie complained vpon by the ladie of Dunboine, Mac Brian Arra, Oliuer Fitzgirald, sir William Occarell, and others; for their dailie outrages, robberies, murthers, preies, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appealing of such matters, and for the better ministration of iustice, the lord deputie had béene a long suter to hir maiestie and councell for a chancellor to be sent ouer, who at length were resolued vpon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arriued at Dublin in Julie 1567, a notable and a singular man, by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so seuere therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or auerted from the same: and so much good in the end insued of his vpright, diligent, and dutifull seruice, as that the whole realme found themselues most happie and blessed to haue him serue among them. Now he taking vpon him to deale in all matters of complaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countrie, and acquited himselfe against hir maiestie.

Oliuer Sutton complaineth against the earle of Kildare.

The ladie of Dunboine complaineth against the Butlers.

1567

Doctor Weston is made lord chancellor of Ireland.

But to returne to the L. deputie, who immediatlie vpon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he tooke order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such conuenient places vpon the frontiers, as then apperteined and was most meet & conuenient. The rebell on his part leaueth nothing vndone, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great iollitie of himselfe deuised manie things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire wasted the countrie, slue manie of hir maiesties subiects, and in the end besieged hir highnesse towne of Dundalke: where his pride and treason were iustlie scourged, who came not with so much glorie to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leaue and lose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode vpon him: and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had vnfethered him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countrie, as is before said, gained from him the last iournie, Mac Gwier, a mightie man in his countrie forsoke him, and submitted himselfe to hir maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithfull seruice, and to receiue his lands and countrie at hir highnesse hands.

The Oneile entereth the English pale with sword and fire.

The Oneile besiegeth Dundalke the second time, and departed with great dishonor.

The Oneile forsaken of friends.

Mac Gwier forsaketh Oneile, and so doo the Scots.

Alexander

Alexander Og and Mac Donell offer to serue his maiestie, with all the Scots vnder them against the rebell. Con Odonell late deliuered from the rebell, offereth seruice against him. Tirlogh Lenough with the helps of his neighbours dailie backed the said Oneile, that his force was quailed that waie. The lord deputie had continuallie foure regiments resting neere the English pale, who continuallie as it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogheda did also issue out, and in one morning toke a preie of two thousand kine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other small beasts and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps and followers, his men, some by Odonell, and some by others to the number of three or foure thousand persons at times slaine, himselfe discomfited, his passages stopped, and all places of his refuge preuented, and now but one poore castell left wherein he trusted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weakened, and beholding his declination and fall towards, was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe, and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie, and in all humble and lowlie maner to submit himselfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience was so cauterised, and his hands so imbrued with infinit and most horrible murthers, bloudsheds, treasons, whoredomes, drunkennesse, robberies, burnings, spoiles, oppressions, and with all kinds of wickednesse, that his heart was ouerlaied and ouerladen with an vtter despaire to obteine anie grace or fauor: and therefore was the more easilie persuaded by those whome he toke to be his friends, to trie first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that they would ioine and aid him in his most wicked rebellion. Whereupon he toke his iournie towards Clandeboie, where Alexander Og and his companie, to the number of six hundred persons, were then incamped: and for the better gaining of his purpose, he had a little before inlarged Charlete Boie brother to the said Alexander, and who had beene prisoner with him.

The lord deputie taketh a great preie vpon the Oneile.

The Oneile distressed of all comfort is in doubt what to do.

Oneile his owne conscience condemneth him to seeke submission.

Oneile seeketh for helpe of the Scots.

The Scots doo disguise with Oneile.

The Scots disguised the matter with him, pretending and promising him aid and assistance: which they ment not. For allone as Oneile togither with Odonels wife, whom he kept, & the small companie which he brought with him were come into the tent, and they assured of him; they called to remembrance the manifold iniuries which they had receiued at his hands, and namelie the murthering of one James Mac Conell, & one Mac Guillie their neere cousins and kinsmen: and being inflamed with malicious minds to reuenge their deths, they fell to quarelling with the said Shane Oneile, and with their slaughter swords hewed him to peeces, and slue all those of his companie that were with him: his bodie they wrapped in a Kernes shirt, and so without all honor was carried to a ruinous church not farre off, and there interred; but after a few daies he was taken vp againe by capteine Piers, by whose deuise this stratagem or rather tragedie was practised, and his head was sundred from the bodie, and sent to the lord deputie, who caused the same to be set vpon a stake or pole on the top of the castle of Dublin. A fit end for such a beginning, and a iust reward for such a wicked traitor and sacrileger: who began his tyrannie in bloud, did continue it with bloud, and ended it with bloud. The lord deputie being then at Drogheda, and aduertised of the death of this Shane, and of the iust iudgements of God laid vpon him; for the same prostrated himselfe before the high and eternall God, and gaue his most humble and hartie thanks for the deliuerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacrileger and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir maiestie and councell, aduertising this hap and good successe. Which done, his lordship with all speed made his repaire into Ulster, and incamped himselfe in the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all the noblemen and gentlemen of Tiron, being glad that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they which were competitors of the capteinrie of Tiron, who most humblie and obedientlie presented and submitted themselues vnto hir highnesse. And when his lordship had set all things in such order as the time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the countrie, and most pithilie and effectuallie instructed and persuaded them to obedience, teaching them the great blessings of God which commeth thereby, as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences, miseries and calamities they had felt by the contrarie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he promised shortlie to send commissioners amongst them, who should haue authoritie to decide all controuersies betweene partie and partie (title of land and death of man excepted.)

The queene aduertised of Shane Oneils death.

The noblmen of Ulster, being glad of Oneils death, do submit themselues.

Also he proclamed and commanded hir maiesties peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed exercises: and that all men of warre should liue vpon their owne, or vpon that which their freends with a good will would giue them: and so publishing peace vniuersallie, euerie man departed home ioifullie. The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who laie for an hostage of his father, to be safelie kept in the castell of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters of commandement in that behalfe, dated the first of Julie 1567. The queenes maiestie being deliuered from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Ulster at hir commandement and disposition, was verie desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, whereby she might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer into Ireland one Robert Leeth, skilfull in that art, and that he should make the perfect descriptions of the same. Likewise also she being aduertised of the outragious dealings of the earle of Desmond, in mainteining proclamed rebels, and continuing of warres against the earle of Ormond (whose insolencie to seeke to be reuenged vpon the said earle, was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile of the whole countrie, and the onelie cause of great murthers, bloudshed, and vndoing of manie people) she willed the lord deputie by hir letters to apprehend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the castell of Dublin, which was so done. And after both he and his brother sir John of Desmond were sent into England, and there committed to the tower.

Orders giuen by the lord deputie to the noble men of Ulster.

Oneils sonne is committed to safe custodie.

Robert Leeth sent into Ireland to draw a true plot of the whole land.

The earle of Desmond committed to ward, and sent to the tower, togither with his brother sir John Desmond.

After all the foresaid broiles and ciuill wars were appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and good order, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties letters for his repaire into England vnto hir presence, he did accordinglie prepare himselfe thereunto, and by a commission vnder hir broode seale of Ireland did appoint doctor Weston then lord chancellor, and sir William Fitzwilliams treasuror at wars, to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them being verie well learned, iust, and vpright; the other verie wise, and of great knowledge and experience in the affaires of that land. Both which two being like well minded to do hir maiestie seruice, did most louinglie and brotherlie agree therein, each one aduising and aduertising the other according to the seuerall gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by which meanes they passed their gouernment verie well

1567

Doctor Weston and sir William Fitzwilliams made lords iustices.

Shane Oneils head set vpon the top of the castell of Dublin.

well and quietlie to the great contentation of hir maiestie, the commendation of themselues, and the common peace of the countrie; and so the said sir Henrie hauing placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Oconnor Sligo, he was with great honor receiued at the court, and the other was sent to the tower. Hir maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a windowe, she saw him to come in with two hundred men attending vpon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told hir that it was sir Henrie Sidneie hir deputie in Ireland; Then it is well (quoth she) for he hath two of the best offices in England. So he presented himselfe before hir highnesse, and was welcome to hir. Neuertheless, after his departure, the particular grudges betweene some certeine men brake out into great and outragious disorders, as sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh inuasion vpon Oliuer Fitzgirald, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlawes of the Oconnors and Omores proclamed traitors, and hauing in the field a thousand of Gallowglasses, horsemen, and Kernes, threaten to burne the towne of Kilkennie, and spoile Ocarell of his countrie. But they as also Oliuer Fitzgirald, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuenge, leauing to seeke reuenge by armes, made their recourses to the lords iustices, and by law requested redresse. The erle of Clancart was puffed vp with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Mounster, and did confederate with the Mac Swaines, Osullivan More, and others of the Irishrie of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displaied inuadeth the lord Roches countrie, and in burning of his countrie, he destroied all the corne therein, seuen hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried awaie fifteene hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also James Fitzmoris of Desmond maketh cruell warres against the lord Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew, which albeit they were but priuie displeasures, yet troublesome to the whole countrie: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so temporise with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken vpon aduertisement of hir maiesties pleasure herein. About this time one Norice a runnigate preest, hauing latelie beene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arriued into Ireland, and made chalenge to the same see: which being denied vnto him by the archbishop which was there placed by hir maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenlie with an Irish skaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

This yeare sir Peter Carew of Mohonesotreie in the countie of Deuon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onelie barons of Carew in England; but marquesses of Corke, barons of Odzon, and lords of Paston Twete; and sundrie other seigniories in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended vnto him: he made the queens maiestie and councell acquainted therewith, and praied that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to follow, and by order of law to recouer the same. Which was granted vnto him, as also he had hir highnesse and their lordships seuerall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect: and willing them to aid and assist him with all such hir maiesties euidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other good meanes they might. Whereupon he sent the writer hereof to be his agent: who hauing by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and presidents, found in hir maiesties treasurie and castell of Dublin, answering and agreeing with the euidences of sir Peter Carew: then the said sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Paston, then in the possession of sir Christopher Chiuers knight, and to the baronie of Odzon, then in the occupation of the Cauenaughs.

The first, when it was found good in law, and sir Christopher Chiuers yeelded, and compounded for it: the other was trauersed before the lord deputie and councell, and vpon good and substantiall euidences, records, and proofes; a decree passed by the lords of the councell, in the behalfe of sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recouered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records do impart, about the eightenth yeare of king Richard the second. But as for the marqueship of Corke, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Mounster then not setled in anie quietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, hauing spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arriued at Crag Fergus, in September 1568: and toke the sword of gouernement vpon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the councell by their letters of the fourth of Nouember 1568, did aduertise hir maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in briefe consisted in these points immediatlie following.

That sir Edmund Butler had made a preie in Shilelagh vpon Oliuer Fitzgarret, and done sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles vpon his countrie: who was forthwith sent for, and refuseth to come, excusing that he had busines about the execution of certeine seruices in the counties of Kilkennie, and Tipperarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferent good order, sauing some contention betweene the earle of Clanricard, and Mac William Enter; and an old controuersie renewed betweene Odonell and Oconnor Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghs countrie. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Oshaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countries. As for Mounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of James Fitzmoris of Desmond, against Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Roch: and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certeine outlawes, did disorderlie spoile and preie the countries to feed their bellies.

The present state of Ulster the lord deputie being desirous to know the certeintie thereof, immediatlie vpon his landing in Ireland he made a iourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishrie to stand in wauering terms: whereupon he sent for Turlogh Lenogh Oneile, who yeelding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat swarued from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a iourneie vpon Fernete, and in combining with the Scots, of whome he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and verie hardlie obteined, and not vntill his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the Scots

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie passeth into England, and carieth with him the earle of Desmond.

Ed. Molineux.

Sir Edmund Butler breaketh out into outrages.

The pride of Mac Artie More earle of Clancart.

The earle of Clancart maketh warres vpon the lord Roch.

James Fitzmoris maketh warre vpon the baron of Lixenew.

The archbishop of Cashell in danger to be killed.

Sir Peter Carew maketh sute to hir maiestie for the recouerie of his lands in Ireland.

Sir Peter Carew passeth into Ireland.

Sir Peter Carew by a decree recouereth the baronie of Odzon.

1568

Sir Henrie Sidneie returneth lord deputie.

The state that Ireland stood in.

Connagh in reasonable peace.

Mounster out of order.

Turlogh Lenogh breaketh the peace, but submitteth himselfe.

Scots had put in for their loialtie. Odoneile quietlie possessed the countrie of Trireconell, and continued a dutifull subiect to hir maiestie; sauing the old grudge betweene him and Turlogh did rather increase than decaie. Ochan lord of the land betweene Loghfoile and the Ban, being for the same sometime molested by Turlogh Lenogh, did beare with all iniuries, and desired to be exempted from Turlogh, and to hold the same of the queenes maiestie. The like did the two principall men, eligible for the captеinrie of Tiron, desire for their parts all the residue of Ulster in good staie and quietnesse.

The lord deputie after this iourneie returned to Dublin, and there, when by the aduise of the councell he had disposed all things in good order concerning the gouernement: he caused the writs for summons of the parlement to be awarded out vnto euerie noble man for his appearance; & to euerie shiriffe for chosing of knights and burgesses for their like appearance at Dublin the seuenteenth of Januarie, in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne; at which time and date appearance was then and there made accordinglie. On the first daie of which parlement, the lord deputie, representing hir maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner vnto Christes church, and from thense vnto the parlement house: where he sat vnder the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the princelie robes of crimson veluet doubled or lined with ermin. And then & there the lord chancellor made a verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of what great effect and value, how the common societie of men was thereby mainteined, and each man in his degree conserued; as well the inferior as the superior, the subiect as the prince: and how carefull all good common-wealths in the elder ages haue beene in this respect: who considering the time, state, and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time to time ordeine and establish most holsome lawes, either of their deuises, or drawen from some other good common-wealth: and by these meanes haue prospered and continued.

And likewise, how the queenes most excellent maiestie, as a most naturall mother ouer hir children, and as a most vigilant prince ouer hir subiects, hath beene alwaies, & now presentlie is verie carefull, studious, & diligent in this behalfe: hauing caused this present parlement to be assembled, that by the councell and aduise of you hir nobilitie, & you hir knights and burgesses, such good lawes, orders, and ordinances maie be decreed, as maie be to the honor of almightie God, the preseruation of hir maiestie, and of hir imperiall crowne of this realme, and the safetie of the common-wealth of the whole realme: for which they were not onelie to be most thankefull; but also most carefull to dw their duties in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker directing his speeches to the knights and burgesses, who were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of the realme, willed them that for the auoiding of confusion, and for an orderlie proceeding in this action: they should assemble themselues at and in the house appointed for that assemblie; and there to make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended, and the court adiourned vntill thursdaie next, the twentith of Januarie. In the meane time, the knights and burgesses met in the lower house, and appointed for their speaker one Stanihurst, recorder of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and learned man; who vpon thursdaie aforesaid was presented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the higher house: & then he hauing done most humblie his obedience and dutie, made his oration and speech; first abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficientlie adorned and furnished with such gifts of knowledge and learning, as to such an office and calling doth apperteine: wherein he was so much the more vnfit, as the cause he had in hand was of great weight and importance. And therefore he wished, if it might so seeme good to his lordship, some man of more grauitie, and of better experience, knowledge, and learning might supplie the place. Neuertheless, for somuch as he might not refuse it, he was the more willing, because he did well hope his seruice being done with his best good will, and in all dutifulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his comfort was the more, because he had to deale in such a cause, as was for the establishing of some good and holsome lawes, whereof he was a professor.

And herevpon he toke an occasion, according to the argument that was before handled by the lord chancellor, speaker in the higher house, to discourse of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what good successe there insueth to all such realmes, countries, and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled & gouerned. And when he had spoken at large hereof, there he declared what great causes that realme of Ireland had, to giue for euer most hartie thanks and praises to God for his goodnesse, in sending such a vertuous, noble, and a most godlie prince, as was hir maiestie; who not onlie was carefull by the sword to stand in their defense against all enimies, traitors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions: but also for their conseruation in times of peace would haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made in a parlement of themselues, as should be most expedient for the common-wealth of the same land. When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then he concluded with an humble petition, that it might please hir maiestie to grant vnto them their liberties and freedoms of old belonging to euerie assemblie of a parlement. The first was, that euerie man being a member of the lower house, should and might haue free comming and going to and from the parlement: and during their abode at the same without molestation or impeachment of anie person or persons, or for anie matter then to be laid against anie of them. The second, that they and euerie of them might haue libertie to speake their minds freelie to anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that parlement. Thirdlie, that if anie of the said house should misorder and misbehaue himselfe in anie vndecent manner, or if anie other person should euill intreat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correction and punishment of euerie such offendor should rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When he had ended his speech, and in most humble maner done his obeisance; the lord deputie hauing paused vpon the matter, made answer to euerie particular point in most eloquent and effectuall manner, which consisted in these points: Nothing misliking with the speaker for so much abasing of himselfe, because he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and verie sufficient for that place, doubting nothing but that he would performe the same in all dutifulnesse, as to him apperteined. And concerning the benefit which groweth to all nations and common-wealths by the vse of the lawes; besides that dailie experience did confirme the same generallie, so no one nation particularlie could better auouch it than this realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope that they would accordinglie frame themselues to liue accordinglie, and also to praie for hir maiesties safetie and long life, whereby vnder hir they might inioie a peaceable and a quiet life in all prosperitie. And concerning the priuileges, which they requested

Stanihurst's oration.

Parlemnt summoned at Dublin.

The lord chancellor his oration.

The requests of the speaker for allowance of the liberties of the parlement house.

The lord deputie answereth Stanihurst's oration.

Stanihurst chosen to be speaker of the lower house.

requested to be allowed, forsomuch as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietlie serue hir highnesse in that assemblie, to hir honor, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased hir maiestie so long as she were not impeached, nor hir imperiall state derogated, that they should inioie the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adiourned.

The next daie following being fridaie the lower house met; and contrarie to the order of that house, and dutie of that companie, in steed of vnitie there began a diuision, and for concord discord was receiued. For all, or the most part of the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especiallie they who dwelled within the counties of Meth and Dublin, who A mutinie in the lower house. seeing a great number of Englishmen to haue place in that house began to except against that assemblie as not good, nor warranted by law. Their vantparler was sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being Sir Christopher Barnwell excepteth against the choise of the burgesses. somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and worthie to haue beene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged three speciall causes, whie he and his complices would not yeeld their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie townes, which were not corporat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of townes corporat had returned themselues. The third and cheefest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such towns and corporations, as which some of them never knew, and none at all were resiant & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

These matters were questioned among themselues in the lower house for foure daies togither, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more speeches, the greater broiles; vntill in the end, for appeasing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: vnto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they hauing at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for townes not corporat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and souereignes as haue returned themselues, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest vpon the shiriffes for their wrong returnes. The messenger of this answer, howsoeuer he were liked, his message could not be receiued nor allowed: which being aduertised vnto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon hir maiesties attorneie generall was sent vnto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not he be credited, neither would they be satisfied, vnlesse the iudges themselues would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Upon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer nor abide the reading thereof: but rose vp in verie disordered manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrarie to that grauitie and wisedome, which was or should be in them. Wherefore, for pacifieng of the same, the cheefe iustices of the queenes bench, and the cheefe iustice of the common plees: the queenes sergeant, attorneie generall, and solicitor, the nert daie following came to the lower house, and there did affirme their former resolutions, which thought it might haue sufficed. Yet certeine lawiers who had place in that house, did not altogither like thereof,

The resolution of the iudges.

The disliking of the iudges opinions.

The selfewill and frowardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

And albeit this matter were orderlie compassed, and sufficient to haue contented euerie man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appeare in the sequele of that assemblie, where euerie bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especiallie sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the queenes maiesties profit or common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their capteinries should be taken awaie, and coine, and liuerie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices misliking, it did euen open it selfe of a rebellion then a brewing and towards. Which in deed followed. For immediatlie after the parlement, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose. Sir Edmund Butler misliketh with the parlement.

There were two billes put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of sir Edward Poinings lord deputie, in the tenth yere of king Henrie the seuenth, which though it were meant most for their owne benefit and common-wealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the impost for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselues verie froward & so vnquiet, that it was more like a beare baiting of disordered persons, than a parlement of wise and graue men. Wherewith a certeine English gentleman (the writer hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athenrie in Connagh, who had before kept silence, and still so meant to haue done; when he saw these foule misorders and ouerthwarting, being greeued, stood vp, and praied libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saieng, that it was an vsage in Pithagoras schooles, that no scholers of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, or determine, but giue eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and aduised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdome, speake, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to haue beene altogither silent, is inforced euen of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to praie their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then vpon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse what was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subiect: and lastlie, how the queenes maiestie had most honorablie and carefullie performed the one, and how vndutifullie they had considered the other: for that she neither found that obedience in that land, which still liued in rebellion against hir; neither that beneuolence of the better sort, which for hir great expenses spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to haue yeelded vnto hir. It appeared manifest in sundrie things, and specially in this present assemblie, namelie one bill concerning the repeale of Poinings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet hir maiestie, of hir owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without ante of your consents, as she hath alreadie done the like in England; sauing of hir courtesie it pleaseth hir to haue it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that she might thereby haue the better triall and assurance of your dutifulnesse The repeale of Poinings act.

The act for impost of wines.

dutifulneſſe and goodwill towards hir. But as ſhe hath and doth find your bent farre otherwiſe, ſo doth the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For notwithſtanding his long ſeruices in times paſt, his continuall and dailie trauels, iorneies, and hoſtings, with the great perill of his life againſt the rebels for your ſake and ſafetie; and his endleſſe turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat ſutes for your quietneſſe, and to you well knowen, he hath deſerued more than well at your hands: yet as the vnthankfull Iſraelites againſt Moſes, the vnkind Romans againſt Camillus, Scipio, and others: and as the vngratefull Atheniens againſt Socrates, Themiſtocles, Miltiades, and others; you haue and do moſt vngratfullie requite and recompenſe this your noble gouernor: againſt whome and his doings you do kicke and ſpurne what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall vpon you, as it hath done vnto others to your owne ſhame, ouerthrow, and confuſion. And when he had ſpent a long time in this matter, and prooued the ſame by ſundrie hiſtories of other nations, he proceeded to the bill, which by ſundrie reaſons and arguments he proued to be moſt neceſſarie, and meet to be liked, allowed, and conſented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his ſpeeches, he ſat downe, the moſt part of the houſe verie well liking and allowing both of the perſon and of the matter; ſauing the perſons before named, who did not heare the ſame ſo attentiuelie as they did digeſt it moſt vnquietlie, ſuppoſing themſelues to be touched herein. And therfore ſome one of them roſe vp and would haue anſwered the partie, but the time and daie was ſo far ſpent aboue the ordinarie houre, being well neere two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the ſpeker and the court roſe vp and departed. Howbeit ſuch was the preſent murmurings and threatnings breathed out, that the ſaid gentleman for his ſafetie was by ſome of the beſt of that aſſemblie conducted to the houſe of ſir Peter Carew, where the ſaid gentleman then laie and reſided. The lord deputie in the meane time, hearing that the lower houſe were ſo cloſe, and continued togither ſo long aboue the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had béene concerning the queſtions before proponed, and therefore did ſecretlie ſend to the houſe to learne and know the cauſe of their long ſitting. But by commandement of the ſpeaker, order was giuen to the doore-kéepers, that the doores ſhould be cloſe kept, & none to be ſuffered to come in or out, ſo long as the gentleman was in deliuerie of his ſpeeches; and after the court was ended, it was aduertiſed to the ſaid lord deputie, who thanked God that had raiſed vp vnknowen frends vnto him in that place.

The next daie following being fridaie, aſſoone as the court of the lower houſe was ſet, ſir Chriſtopher Barnewell, and the lawiers of the Engliſh pale, who had conferred togither of the former daies ſpéeches, ſtood vp and deſired hearing: who leauing the matter in queſtion, did in moſt diſorderlie manner inueigh againſt the ſaid gentleman, affirming, auouching, and proteſting, that if the words ſpoken had béene ſpoken in anie other place than in the ſaid houſe, they would rather haue died than haue borne withall. Whereupon the ſpeaker by conſent of the reſidue of the houſe commanded them to ſilence, and willed that if they had anie matter againſt the ſaid gentleman, they ſhould preſent and bring it in writing againſt mondaie then next following. And for ſomuch as their dealings then were altogither diſordered, being more like to a bearebatting of looſe perſons than an aſſemblie of wiſe and graue men in parlement; motion and requeſt was made to the ſpeaker, that he ſhould reforme thoſe abuſes and diſordered behauiours; who not onelie promiſed ſo to do, but alſo praied aſſiſtance, aduiſe, and counſell for his doings therein, of ſuch as were acquainted with the orders of the parlements in England. Which was promiſed vnto him and performed, and alſo promiſed that a booke of the orders of the parlements vſed in England ſhould in time be ſet forth in print, which the ſaid gentleman did, and preſented & beſtowed the ſame among them in forme following.

A booke of the orders of a parlement houſe imprinted for Ireland.

## ¶ The order and vſage how to *keepe a parlement in England in theſe* daies, collected by Iohn Vowell *alias* Hooker *gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Exceſter at* the parlement holden at Weſtminſter, Anno Domini 1571, *& Eliſabethæ Reg. decimo tertio: and* the like vſed in hir maieſties realme *of Ireland.*

And here you muſt note, that what the kings and queenes of England do in their perſons in England, the ſame is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parlement robes and vnder the like cloth of eſtate repreſenteth hir maieſtie there in all things.

## By whom and for what cauſe a parlement ought to be ſummoned and called.

THe king, who is Gods annointed, being the head and chiefe of the whole realme, and vpon whom the gouernement and eſtates thereof do wholie and onelie depend, hath the power and authoritie to call and aſſemble his parlement, and therein to ſéeke and aſke the aduiſe, counſell, & aſſiſtance of his whole realme, and without this his authoritie no parlement can properlie be ſummoned or aſſembled. And the king, hauing this authoritie, ought not to ſummon his parlement but for weightie and great cauſes, and in which he of neceſſitie ought to haue the aduiſe and counſell of all the eſtates of his realme, which be theſe and ſuch like as foloweth.

Firſt for religion, forſomuch as by the lawes of God and this realme, the king next and immediatlie vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth, and the chiefeſt ruler within his realms and dominions: his office, function, and dutie is, aboue all things to ſéeke and ſée that God be honored in true religion and vertue, and that he and his people do both in profeſſion and life liue according to the ſame.

Alſo that all idolatries, falſe religions, hereſies, ſchiſmes, errors, ſuperſtitions, & whatſoeuer is contrarie to true religion, all diſorders and abuſes, either among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, ordered, and redreſſed.

Alſo the aſſurance of the kings and queenes perſons, and of their children, their aduancement & preferment in mariages, the eſtabliſhing of ſucceſſion, the ſuppreſſion of traitors, the auoiding or eſchewing of warres, the attempting or mouing of wars, the ſubduing of rebels, and pacifieng of ciuill wars and commotions, the leuieng or hauing anie aid or ſubſidie for the preſeruation of the king and publike eſtate: alſo the making and eſtabliſhing of good and wholeſome lawes, or the repealing and debarring of former lawes, as whoſe execution may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to the eſtates of the prince or commonwealth.

For theſe and ſuch like cauſes, being of great weight, charge and importance, the king (by the aduiſe of his councell) may call and ſummon his high court of parlement, and by the authoritie therof eſtabliſh and order ſuch good lawes and orders as then ſhall be thought moſt expedient and neceſſarie.

## The order and maner how to *summon the parlement.*

The king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lords and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquesses, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addressed to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, and by them they are sent and dispersed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their seuerall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the fiue ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie seuerall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgesses within his countie.

## How and what persons ought to be *chosen for the clergie, and of their* allowances.

The bishop ought vpon the receipt of the writ sent vnto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appeere in proper person at the parlement, vnlesse they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appeere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or prorie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselues to appeere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or prorie.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appeere before him, his chancellor or officer, at a certeine daie, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appeere for them, and these shall haue their commission or prorie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, conuincing of heresies, appeasing of schismes, and deuising of good and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue resonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the ercheker of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leuied for the same, according to an old order vsed among them.

## How and what maner of knights, citizens, *and burgesses ought to be chosen,* and of their allowances.

The shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue béene accustomed to send burgesses within his countie, that they do chose and elect among themselues two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgesses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselues & the aldermen and common councell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselues of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next counties daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the forenoone, make proclamation; that euerie freeholder shall come into the court, and chose two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinctlie read. Whereupon the said freeholders, then and there present, ought to chose two knights accordinglie, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be seuerall indentures made betweene the shiriffe & the freeholders of the choise of the knights, and betweene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgesses & of their names, & of their mainperners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgesses vnder the seuerall common seales of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be alike, which was thirteene shillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue fiue shillings: but now it is but three shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be giuen from the first daie of their iourneie towards the parlement, vntill the last daie of their returne from thense. Prouided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so manie daies as by iourneieng six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgesses, good regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, vnlesse he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experience in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie vtter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therfore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Cincti gladio:* not bicause they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swords: but bicause they should be such as haue good experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and reime good aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of good fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or periured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

The

## The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrées or estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrées.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degrée of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the temporaltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, cittizens, and burgesses, & these be called by the names of the communaltie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do anie thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

## Of the places and houses of *the parlement*.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he giue at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wheresoeuer it be kept, the old vsage and maner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did growe manie inconueniences, and therfore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which effsoones did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience fréelie, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great greefs, did diuide this one house into three houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and temporall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, cittizens and burgesses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelats and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will breeflie subnect and declare particularlie in order as followeth.

## Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degrée: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hanged richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and vpon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degrée. On his left hand there are two like benches, vpon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degrée. In the middle of the house, betweene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale of England, or the lord chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king, who doth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, vpon which they do write and laie their bookes. In the middle rowe beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the ecchekér, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned councell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall laws, and all these sit vpon great woll sacks, couered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre of raile, betweéne which & the lower end of the house is a void rome seruing for the lower house, and for all suters that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and apperteinng, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

## Of the officers of the higher house, *and first of the speaker, and of* his office.

The chéefest officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancelor or keeper of the great seale, or lord chéefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honor of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waie of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last date of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that vpon these three daies he standeth on the right hand of the king neere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration vpon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bils presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clearks to be safelie kept.

All bils he must cause to be read twise before they be ingrossed, and being read three times he must put the same to question.

If anie bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thense, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If anie bill be denied, impugned, and cléere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thensefoorth received.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether side is the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If anie bill be vnperfect, or requireth to be amended, he must chose a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

## The order and maner how to *summon the parlement.*

The king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lords and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquesses, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addressed to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, and by them they are sent and dispersed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their seuerall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the fiue ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie seuerall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgesses within his countie.

## How and what persons ought to be *chosen for the clergie, and of their* allowances.

The bishop ought vpon the receipt of the writ sent vnto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appeere in proper person at the parlement, vnlesse they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appeere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or proxie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselues to appeere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or proxie.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appeere before him, his chancellor or officer, at a certeine daie, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appeere for them, and they shall haue their commission or proxie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, conuincing of heresies, appeasing of schismes, and deuising of good and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue resonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the exchequer of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leuied for the same, according to an old order vsed among them.

## How and what maner of knights, citizens, *and burgesses ought to be chosen,* and of their allowances.

The shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue béene accustomed to send burgesses within his countie, that they do chuse and elect among themselues two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgesses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselues & the aldermen and common councell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselues of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the forenoone, make proclamation; that euerie freholder shall come into the court, and chuse two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinctlie read. Whereupon the said freholders, then and there present, ought to chuse two knights accordinglie, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be seuerall indentures made betweene the shiriffe & the freeholders of the choise of the knights, and betweene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgesses & of their names, & of their mainperners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgesses vnder the seuerall common seales of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffs, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirteene shillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue fiue shillings: but now it is but three shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be giuen from the first daie of their iourneie towards the parlement, vntill the last daie of their returne from thense. Prouided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so manie daies as by iourneieng six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgesses, good regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, vnlesse he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experience in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie vtter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therfore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Cincti gladio:* not because they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swords: but because they should be such as haue good experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and reime good aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of good fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or periured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

The

## The degrees of the parlement.

IN times past there were fiue degrees or estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrees.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degree of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the temporaltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgesses, & these be called by the names of the communaltie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do anie thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

## Of the places and houses of *the parlement.*

AS it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he giue at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wheresoeuer it be kept, the old vsage and maner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did growe manie inconueniences, and therfore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which offtimes did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience freelie, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great greefs, did diuide this one house into three houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and temporall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgesses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelats and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will breeflie subnect and declare particularlie in order as followeth.

## Of the higher house.

THe higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degree: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hanged richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and vpon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degree. On his left hand there are two like benches, vpon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betweene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale of England, or the lord chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king, who doth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, vpon which they do write and laie their bookes. In the middle rowme beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the ercheker, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned councell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall laws, and all these sit vpon great woll sacks, couered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre of raile, betweene which & the lower end of the house is a void rowme serving for the lower house, and for all suters that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and apperteinng, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

## Of the officers of the higher house, *and first of the speaker, and of* his office.

THe cheefest officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancelor or keeper of the great seale, or lord cheefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honor of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waie of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last date of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that vpon these three daies he standeth on the right hand of the king neere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration vpon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bils presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clearks to be safelie kept.

All bils he must cause to be read twise before they be ingrossed, and being read three times he must put the same to question.

If anie bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thense, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If anie bill be denied, impugned, and cleere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thensefoorth received.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether side is the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If anie bill be vnperfect, or requireth to be amended, he must chose a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make choise of two of the kings learned councell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receiue the same; and being returned to his place, and euerie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or done in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the aduise of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other times as he seeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recorded, & they to paie their fines, vnlesse they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or haue some iust and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clearks to make true entries & true records of all things done there, and to see that the clearks do giue and deliuer the copies of all such bils there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command euerie man of ech degree in that house to do the like.

Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentleman sergeant ought to attend vpon him, going before him with his mace, vnlesse he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also for euerie priuat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

## Of the chancellor of the *higher house.*

The chancellor is the principall clearke of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be past.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings seuerall courts of records to be inrolled, as namelie the Chancerie, the Kings bench, the Common pleas, and the Excheker.

All such acts as are to be imprinted, he must send to the printer.

All such priuat acts as are not imprinted, if anie man will haue the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chancellor to be ingrossed and sealed, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

## Of the clearks of the parlement.

There be two clearks, the one named the clearke of the parlement, & the other named the clearke of the crowne. The clearke of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bils presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entries of all things there done and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to giue the same, receiuing the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must do it.

The councell of the house he maie not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliuer vp vnto the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, sauing he may keepe a transumpt and a copie thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, he hath three pounds.

Also for euerie bill whereof he giueth a copie, he hath for euerie ten lines a penie, according to the custome.

¶ The clearke of the crowne, his office is to supplie the place and rome of the clearke of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the clearke ought to haue.

He must giue his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & do what shall be inioined him.

All such acts as be not imprinted, if anie man will haue them exemplified vnder the broode seale, he must exemplifie them, and haue for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clearks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a bord before them, their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bils which are past both houses, and the other must read the consent or disagreement of the king.

## Of the sergeants or porters of *the higher house.*

There is but one sergeant, which hath the charge of keeping of the doores: for though there be diuerse doores, yet the keepers thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept sweet.

He ought not to suffer anie maner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned councell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bils or otherwise, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to haue anie thing there to do.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, vnlesse he be lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale: for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be commanded to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or sergeant hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for euerie date of the parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, fortie shillings.

Also he hath for euerie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of euerie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

## Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distinct from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, hauing foure rowes of seates one aboue an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table bord, at which sitteth the clarke of the house, and thereupon laieth his bookes, and writeth his records. Vpon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings priuie councell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claimeth, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he commeth, sauing that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said councels, the Londoners, and the citizens of Yorke do sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordinglie. Without this house is one other, in

in which the vnder clearks do sit, as also such as be suitors and attendant to that house. And when soeuer the house is diuided vpon anie bill, then the rome is voided; and the one part of the house commeth downe into this to be numbered.

## The office of the speaker of the *lower house.*

The chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, or the more part of them; he himselfe being one of the same number, and a man for grauitie, wisedome, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office, during the time of the parlement; and is to be presented to the king the third daie folowing.

His office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinances, vsages, and customs of the same to be firmelie kept and obserued.

When he is presented vnto the king, sitting in his estate roiall in the parlement house for the purpose, he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the lawes and of the parlement; which done, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in the parlement, may haue and inioie the ancient priuileges, customes, and liberties, as in times past haue apperteined, and béene vsed in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue libertie of spéech, and freelie to vtter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to anie bill or question to be proponed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free comming and going to and from the said parlement; as also during the said time of parlement; & that they, nor anie of their seruants or retinue to be arrested, molested, sued, imprisoned, or troubled by anie person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or anie other of that companie, béeing sent or come to him of anie message, and do mistake himselfe in doing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but gratiouslie pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and see that the clearke do enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bils as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third daie, and when soeuer he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bils, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clearke.

He ought to cause and command the clearke to reade the bils brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which done, he must breefelie recite and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bils brought in he hath choise, which and when they shall be read: vnlesse order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue three readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clearke to ingrosse the same, vnlesse the same be reiected and dashed.

If anie bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house.

If when a bill is read, diuerse do rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake: neuertheless, euerie one shall haue his course to speake if he list.

If anie speake to a bill and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and will him to come to the matter.

If anie bill be read three times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not: saieng thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in maner & forme as hath béene read; saie Yea: then the affirmatiue part saie Yea. As manie as will not haue this bill passe in maner and forme as hath béene read, saie No. If vpon this question the whole house, or the more part, do affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the more part do denie the bill; then the same is to be dashed out, and to be reiected: but if it be doubtfull vpon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the vtter rome, which (by the sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they do come in, one by one: and as vpon the triall the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If vpon this triall the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for otherwise he hath no voice.

Also if anie of the house do misbehaue himselfe, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If anie forren person do enter into that house, the assemblie thereof being sitting, or do by arresting anie one person thereof, or by anie other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himselfe from dealing or intermedling in anie publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himselfe wholie to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to anie noble man, councellor, or other person, to deale in anie of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his doings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send anie offendor, either to sergeants ward, or to the tower, or to anie other prison at his choise, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both houses, and enacted, fiue pounds.

At the end, and on the last daie of the parlement, he maketh his oration before the king in most humble maner, declaring the dutifull seruice and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humblie praieng his pardon, if anie thing haue béene done amisse.

## Of the clearke of the lower house.

There is onelie one clearke belonging to this house, his office is to sit nert before the speaker at a table, vpon which he writeth & laieth his bookes.

He must make true entrie of the records and bils of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bils appointed vnto him by the speaker to be

read: he must read openlie, plainelie, and sensiblie.

The billes which are to be ingrossed, he must doo it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the booke of the orders of the house; he hath to deliuer the same vnto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, receiuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie priuat bill passed and enacted, fortie shillings.

He hath allowed vnto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

## Of the sergeant or porter of the *lower house.*

The sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to keepe the doores of the house: and for the same he hath others vnder him, for he himselfe keepeth the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and seeth the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there; vnlesse he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person doo come, he ought to bring him in, going before him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to keepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to doo his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carieng his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance (during the time of the parlement) is twelue pence the daie of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence; and of euerie burgesse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the daie, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie priuat bill doo passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

## Of the conuocation house.

The conuocation house is the assemblie of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons: euen so the archbishops and bishops doo sequester themselues, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and vsages; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vsed in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops doo sit all at a table, and doo discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question before them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or from anie priuat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degrée, which degrees are knowne by such degrees & offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned: for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a sexton, and so forth, as such officers were wont to be in the church.

The bishops doo not sit at forenoone, but onelie at afternoone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, doo resort and assemble themselues there at the forenoones with the temporall lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie doo obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons doo vse. For being assembled togither on the first daie, with the bishops, are by them willed to make choise of a speaker for them, whom they call the proloquutor: when they haue chosen him, they doo present him vnto the bishops: and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and doth all things as the speaker of the lower house for the commons doth, as well for the ordering of the clergie & of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things done among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onlie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their doings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vnlesse they be confirmed by act of parlement: but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the keeping thereof; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) doo consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others: these shall suffice for this matter.

## Of extraordinarie persons which ought *to be summoned to the parlement.*

Besides the personages of the former degrées, which ought to be summoned to the parlement: the king also must warne and summon all his councellors both of the one law and of the other; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namelie the two cheefe iustices and their associats of the kings bench and the common plées, the barons of the exchequer, the sergeants, the attornie, the solicitor, the maister of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue councell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtfull cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceiued and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and reforme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie councellors to the same.

They are all reteined at the kings charges.

Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namelie the chancellor of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are reteined at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is alreadie particularlie declared.

Of

## Of the daies and houres to sit in *parlement*.

All daies of the weeke are appointed, saning and excepted the sundaies and all principall feasts, as namelie the feast of Alhallowes daie, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and saint John the baptists daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the morning, and doth continue vntill eleuen of the clocke.

They do not sit at afternoones, for those times are reserued for committees and the conuocation house.

In the morning they beginne with the common prayer and the letanie, which are openlie read in the house.

## Of the king, his office and authoritie.

Hauing declared of all the estates, degrees, and personages of the parlement, it resteth now to speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in all, the beginning and ending, and vpon whome resteth and dependeth the effect & substance of the whole parlement. For without him and his authoritie nothing can be done, and with it all things take effect. Neuertheless, when he calleth & assembleth his parlement, there are sundrie orders which of him are to be obserued, and which he ought to see to be kept and executed; or else the parlement ceaseth to be a parlement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these be the cheefe which do insue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assigning and appointing the time, date, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least fortie daies before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and prouide all such officers as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens, burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the common house, or proloquutor of the conuocation house: but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, orders, and customs of the realme, as they were wont and ought to be, and the kings good aduise yet not to be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow to all and euerie of the estates, and to euerie particular man lawfullie elected, and come to the parlement, all and euerie the ancient fredoms, priuileges, immunities, and customs, during the parlement; as also during the times and daies, comming and going to and from the parlement: but yet the same humblie to be requested of his highnesse by the speaker in his oration at the beginning of the parlement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the parlement three daies at the least, during the time of the parlement; that is to saie, the first date, when the whole estates according to the summons make their appearance, which is called the first date of the parlement. On the second date, when the speaker of the common house is presented, which is counted the beginning of the parlement. And the third date, which is the last day, when the parlement is prorogued or dissolued: for vpon these daies he must be present, vnlesse in case of sickenes, or absence out of the realme, for in these cases the king may summon his parlement by commission, and the same is of as good effect as if he were present in person: and as for anie other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propone to the parlement house in writing all such things & matters of charge, as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accordinglie as the same shall then by the consent of all estates be aduised, concluded, and agreed: so the king either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can (of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish ante bill; but accept the same as it is presented vnto him from the estates of the parlement, or else altogither reiect it.

Also the king as he doth prefix and assigne the date and time when the parlement shall begin; so also he must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall be prorogued or dissolued: which ought not to be as long as anie matters of charge, weight, or importance be in question, and the same not decided nor determined.

## Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie *of the parlement, and of the orders* of the same.

The parlement is the highest, cheefest, and greatest court that is or can be within the realme: for it consisteth of the whole realme, which is diuided into three estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons, euerie of which estates are subiect to all such orders as are concluded and established in parlement.

These three estates may iointlie and with one consent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, orders, and statutes for the common wealth: but being diuided, and one swarming from the other, they can do nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and his lords onelie, nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king do anie thing of auaile. And yet neuertheless, if the king in due order haue summoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not yet appeare; or if they come and appeare, yet will not do or yeeld to any thing, then the king with the consent of his commons (who are represented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses) may ordeine and establish ante act or law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectuall, as if the lords had giuen their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summoned and will not come, or comming will not appeare, or appearing will not consent to do anie thing, alleging some iust, weightie, and great cause; the king (in these cases) cannot with his lords deuise, make, or establish ante law, the reasons are these. When parlements were first begun & ordeined, there were no prelats or barons of the parlement, and the temporall lords were verie few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parlement, which authoritie was hitherto neuer abridged. Againe, euerie baron in parlement doth represent but his owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are represented the commons of the whole realme; and euerie of these giueth not consent onlie for himselfe, but for all those also for whome he is sent. And the king with the consent of his commons had euer a sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordeine, and establish good and wholesome lawes for the commonwealth of his realme. Wherfore the lords being lawfullie summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or consent in parlement, can not by their follie abridge the king and the commons of their lawfull proceeding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all in one house, but for the auoiding of confusion they be

be now diuided into two seuerall houses, and yet neuertheles they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houses being named and counted a péere of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, censure, and iudgement of a meane burgesse, is of as great availe as is the best lords, no regard being had to the partie who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called péers, as it were fathers, for *Pier* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, lerned, and expert men of the land: for such were the senators of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisedome and care that was in them in gouerning of the common-wealth. They are also called councellors, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good councell, in making and deuising of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgesses, ought to be well aduised that they do elect and chuse such as being to be of that assemblie, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and carefull men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithfull and trustie councellors) should do that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, otherwise they do great iniurie to their prince and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his comming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or suite taking effect which during that time is begun, entred, or commensed against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murther, and fellonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person hauing voices in parlement, hath free libertie of speach to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to anie matter proponed; or of himselfe to propone anie matter for the commoditie of the prince and of the commonwealth: but hauing once spoken to anie bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgesse, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a laieman. But if by errour a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no briber nor taker of anie rewards, gifts, or monie, either for deuising of anie bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to do all things vprightlie, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behauiour; none taunting, checking, or misusing an other in anie vnséemelie words or deeds: but all affections set apart, to do and indeuour in wisedome, sobrietie and knowledge, that which that place requireth.

Also if anie one do offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, gaoles, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to anie of them by the said parlement houses, or anie of them: howbeit most commonlie the tower of London is the prison which is most vsed.

Also if anie one of the parlement house be serued, sued, arrested, or attached by anie writ, attachment, or minister of the Kings bench, Common plæs, Chancerie, or what court so euer within this realme: the partie so troubled and making complaint thereof to the parlement house: then forthwith a sargeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelie aduertising that the partie so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said processe, and not to deale anie further against the said partie: for the parlement being the hiest court, all other courts as inferior yéeld and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of sutes to be commensed against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, vpon paine of imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and adiudged.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to kéepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and done in the parlement house, to anie manner of person, vnlesse he be one of the same house, vpon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or otherwise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leaue obteined of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recorded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one comming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entreth and commeth in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to do his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bare headed, and speake his mind plainlie, sensiblie, & in decent order.

If anie come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must state at the inner doze vntill they be called in, and then being entred, must first make their obeisance; which done, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to state vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwards must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie; and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be done at the departure.

Also when anie knight, citizen or burgesse doth enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And you shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shew himselfe in his apparell. For in time past, none of the councellors of the parlement came otherwise than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men readie to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse words to chose such for

knights

knights as be girded with the sword: yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed, but be such as be skilfull in feats of armes, and besides their good aduises can well serue in martiall affaires. And thus the Romane senators vsed, who being men of great knowledge and experience, as well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat alwaies in the senat house and places of councell in their gowns and long robes. The like also was alwaies and hath béene the order in the parlements of this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old customes, and good orders thereof were kept and obserued.

Also if anie other person or persons, either in message or being sent for, do come: he ought to be brought in by the sergeant, and at the first entring must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeisance, and being past in the middle waie, must make one other; and when he is come before the speaker, he must make the third, and then do his message; the like order he must kéepe in his returne. But if he do come alone, or with his learned councell, to plead anie matter, or to answer to anie obiection: he shall enter, and go no further than to the bar within the doore, and there to do his three obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committées haue not authoritie to conclude, but onelie to order, reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed vnto them, and of their doings they must giue report to the house againe, by whome the bill is to be considered.

Also euerie bill, which is brought into the house, must be read three seuerall times, and vpon three seuerall daies.

Also euerie bill, which vpon anie reading is committed and returned againe, ought to haue his three readings, vnles the committées haue not altered the bill in anie substance or forme, but onelie in certeine words.

Also when anie bill vpon anie reading is altogither by one consent reiected, or by voices after the third reading ouerthrown, it ought not to be brought anie more to be read, during the sessions of parlement.

Also if anie man do speake vnto a bill, and be out of his matter; he ought to be put in remembrance of the matter by the speaker onelie and by none other, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoeuer anie person doth speake to anie bill, he ought to stand vp, and to be bareheaded, and then with all reuerence, grauitie, and séemelie spéech to declare his mind. But whensoeuer anie bill shall be tried either for allowances, or to be reiected: then euerie one ought to sit, because he is then as a iudge.

Also euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, before he do enter into the parlement, and take his place there, ought to be sworne and to take his oth, acknowledging the king to be the supreme and onelie gouernour of all the estates within this realme, as also to renounce all forren potentates.

## The order of the beginning and *ending of the parlement.*

On the first date of the summons for the parlement, the king in proper person (vnlesse he be sicke or absent out of the realme) being apparelled in his roiall and parlement robes, ought to be conducted and brought by all his barons of the cleargie and laitie, and the commons summoned to the parlement, vnto the church, where ought a sermon to be made by some archbishop, bishop, or some other famous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in like order be brought to the higher house of parlement, and there to take his seat vnder the cloth of estate: likewise euerie lord and baron (in his degrée) ought to take his place.

This done, the lord chancellor, or he whom the king appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh his oration to the whole assemblie, declaring the causes whie and wherefore that parlement is called and summoned, exhorting and persuading euerie man to do his best indeuour in all such matters as shall be in the said parlement proponed, as shall be most expedient for the glorie of God, the honor of the king, and the commonwealth of the whole realme. Then he directeth his talke vnto the knights, citizens, and burgesses, aduertising them that the kings pleasure is, that they do repaire to their house; and there according to the old and ancient custome, do chose and elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among themselues to be speaker for them, and giueth them a daie when they shall present him to the king. And these things thus done, the king ariseth, and euerie man departeth. This is accounted for the first daie of the parlement.

The second or third daie after, when the speaker is to be presented: the king with all his nobles (in like order as before) do assemble againe in the higher house, and then come vp all the commons of the lower house, and then and there do present their speaker vnto the king. The speaker forthwith maketh his dutifull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his oration before the king, and prosecuteth such matters as occasion serueth, and as is before recited in the office of the speaker; and this done, euerie man departeth. And this is accounted for the beginning of the parlement, for before the speaker be presented, and these things orderlie done, there can no bils be put in, nor matters be intreated of.

Lastlie when all matters of weight be discussed, ended, and determined, the king commandeth an end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles, and commons do againe assemble in the higher house in their robes, and in like order as is before recited, where the speaker maketh his oration, and is answered by the lord chancellor or speaker of the higher house. Then all the bils concluded and past in both houses, that is to saie, in the higher house of the lords, and in the lower house of the commons, are there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his consent or dissent to euerie of them as he thinketh good. And when the titles of all the bils are read, the lord chancellor or lord speaker, by the kings commandement, pronounceth the parlement to be proroged or cleane dissolued. And this is called the last daie or the end of the parlement, and euerie man is at libertie to depart homewards.

The mondaie following, sir Christopher Barnewell and his complices, hauing better considered of themselues, were quiet and contented, and the parlement begun with some troubles had his continuance and end with better successe. In the time of this parlement, and after the same, sundrie grieuous complaints were exhibited to the lord deputie and councell by the late wife of the deceased baron of Dunboin, Mac Brian Arra, Oliuer Fitzgirald, sir William Mcarell, and diuerse others the queenes good subiects, against sir Edmund Butler and his brethren, for sundrie routs and riots, spoiles and outrages which they were charged to haue done vpon hir maiesties subiects. Whereupon first letters and then commissioners were sent in to the countries of Kilkennie and Tipperarie for the hearing and redressing thereof: but they returned without doing of anie thing. For sir Edmund, conceiuing some hard dealings to be meant toward him by the lord deputie,

Commissioners sent to heare the cõplaints made against the Butlers.

tie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and gard, did not appeere before the said commissioners, but both he and his brethren combined themselues with James Fitzmoris Desmond, Mac Arthe Moyle, Mac Donagh, and the seneschall of Imokilie and others of Mounster, who before (and vnwitting the Butlers) had sent the vsurped bishops of Cashell and Emelie togither with the youngest brother of the erle of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine, for reformation of the popish religion, & for freeing the land from the possession of hir maiestie and of the imperiall crowne. Which mater in the end brake out into an open and actuall rebellion, and the lord deputie by proclamation published them all to be traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting. But before the same was fullie prepared, he sent his letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew knight then being at Leighlin, to enter into the action of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Malbie, capteine Basenet, and others, latelie sent vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his commandement, and first assaulted the castell of Cloughgriman in the Dullogh belonging to sir Edmund Butler, and toke it, and gaue the spoile vnto the souldiers.

The noblemen & gentlemen in Mounster sent their messengers to the pope.

The noblemen & gentlemen in Mounster proclamed traitors.

Sr Peter Carew is cõmanded to serue against the Butlers.

Cloughgriman taken.

From thense they remoued to Kilkennie towne, where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle of Ormonds, espieng vpon a certeine daie sir Peter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell of Kilkennie alone, he charged his peece, and leueled the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the castell. At which verie instant a chapleine of the said earls & his steward, comming by him, & suspecting some euill thing towards, turned vp the mouth of the peece, which therewith was discharged, and so no bodie hurt; and vnderstanding the thing was meant against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and for a time thrust him out of the house. Whilest these capteins laie at Kilkennie, it was aduertised vnto them, that a great companie of the rebels were incamped about three miles out of the towne, & were there marching in verie good order. Wherevpon sir Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled all the capteins, and taking their aduise what was best to be done, they concluded that Henrie Dauels a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman, who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had maried his wife out of that towne, and him they sent out to discouer the matter, who about three miles off had the view, and espied a great companie of about two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in battell araie. When he returned with this report, then sir Peter Carew appointed the vward to capteine Gilbert, who togither with Henrie Dauels and twelue other persons of his companie galloped before the rest, and finding as it was before aduertised, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie followed with the like hast vnder sir Peter Carew, and then capteine Malbie, and capteine Basenet, seeing and assured that all things were cleere behind them, followed so neere, that all the companie euen as it were at one instant gaue the like charge, where they slue foure hundred Gallowglasses at the least, besides others. The residue of the companie were fled into the mounteins fast by, and none or few escaped but the horsemen and Kerns. And of hir maiesties side no one man slaine, but a man of capteine Malbies was hurt.

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obteined this victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with all his companie to the towne of Kilkennie, euerie capteine and souldier cariens two Gallowglasses ares in his hand, but left the spoile to their followers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not in the campe, but was at his vncles house at dinner. The townesmen of Kilkennie were verie sorie for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet neuertheless not long after, James Fitzmoris came to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being well garnised with certeine soldiers, & they themselues well appointed, did so carefullie and narowlie loke to themselues, that they defended and kept the towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the countrie and other small townes did not so escape, for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Powre, the countie of Dublin, and all the countrie were spoiled, preied, and ouerrun; and among all others the old Fulco Quimerford a gentleman, of long time seruant to three earles of Ormond, was robbed in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in monie, plate, and houshold stuffe, besides his corne and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford, which thing had not lightlie beene seene before, and at a faire kept then at Enescorth, there the souldiers committed most horrible outrages, lamentable slaughters, filthie rapes, and deflourings of yong women, abusing mens wiues, spoiling the towne, & slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape the sword were caried captiues & prisoners. From hense they went into Offerie and into the queenes countie, and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villages, murthered the people: and then they met with the earle of Clancare, and James Fitzmoris Desmond, with whom they then combined; and agreed to cause Tirlough Lennough to procure in the Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and to the king of Spaine. Finallie, nothing was left vndone, which might ante waies tend to the subuersion of hir maiesties imperiall crowne of Ireland, and to discharge that land from all Englishmen and English gouernement, and by these means (the English pale and the good cities & townes excepted) the most part, if not the whole land, was imbrued & infected with this rebellion.

James Fitzmoris besiegeth Kilkennie.

Fulco Quimerford spoiled & robbed.

A wicked massacre at Enescorth.

A wicked conspiracie & combining of the traitors.

The earle of Ormond himselfe, a man of great honour and nobilitie, was all this time in England: but from time to time was aduertised of the troublesome state in that land: and whereof no little detriment redounded to his lordship, by reason that a great and most part of all his lordships throughout that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so much greeue him as the follies of his brethren. For great were his griefs, & verie much was he vnquieted therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his brethren, nature moued him, and reason persuaded him, that no such outragious parts could proceed from them, which in ante waies should either concerne hir maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his house, which hither to hath beene alwaies found sound and true. Wherefore, when he heard of anie matter against them herein, he would plead their innocencies, and defend their causes, vntill such time as by credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw apparant matter and manifest proofes of the contrarie. Which reports albeit they greeued him verie much, yet (as I said) nothing greeued him more, than their disloialtie and breach of dutie against hir maiestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Wherefore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards hir highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others, by the sword, or by some other means, to recouer and reclaime them.

The earle of Ormonds lands spoiled.

The good affection of the earle of Ormond to his brethren.

The earle of Ormond offereth to serue against his brethren.

Wherevpon hir maiestie, standing assured of his

Henrie Dauels sent to discouer the enimie.

Sir Peter Carew and the English capteins giueth charge vpon the rebels & haue the victorie.

his fidelitie, and hauing a speciall trust in him, sent him ouer into Ireland, who arriued at Wexford the fourteenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked massaker was committed and done at the faire at Innescorth. Immediatlie vpon his landing, he aduertiseth vnto the lord deputie his comming, and with all conuenient spéed maketh his repaire vnto him, who then was incamped and laie néere Limerike: and then and there offereth his seruice with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open view and sight of the whole campe did yéeld and submit himselfe simplie to hir maiesties mercie, confessing his follie and craning pardon. And then was he deliuered to the earle his brother vpon his bonds, to bée forth comming before the said lord deputie at his comming to Dublin: and also promised to doo the like with his two other brothers, which he did vpon the firteenth of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and councell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causers whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord deputie did not broke nor like him, for he could haue no iustice at his hands, nor against sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered vpon some part of his lands, nor yet against any other person. Then that the said lord deputie had threatned him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his lustie lokes. Thirdlie, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would doo manie things.

The earle of Ormond arriueth at Wexford.

The earle repaireth to the lord deputie.

Edmund Butler submitteth himselfe.

Sir Edmund Butlers excuses.

When all these things were heard at full, and nothing in proofe falling out as was auouched, the three brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which sir Edmund escaped, and made breach: neuertheless the earls brought him againe.

1569 And vpon the last of Februarie 1569 he brought also his two other brethren, for whome he had vndertaken, and presented them before the lord deputie and councell, where the matter being heard at large, the councell conferred hereof among themselues, and in the end they all the three brethren were againe called before the lord deputie and councell, and there knéeling vpon their knées, did confesse their follies, and submitted themselues in all dutifulnesse and simplicitie to the quéens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturallie as a brother made humble petition for them: but grauelie as a father recited their errors, reproued them of their outrages, and counselled them to their duties: and in the end condescended in the due consideration of hir maiesties roiall estate. And thereupon they were committed to safe kéeping within hir maiesties castell of Dublin, at hir highnesse disposition; and not long after vpon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the matter againe.

The loue and grauitie of the earle of Ormond to his brethren.

The lord deputie followed his first begun hosting, who when he was incamped neere Clomnell, where it was thought he should haue béene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the citie of Waterford, to send vnto him the assistance of a few souldiers onelie for three daies; who did verie insolentlie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their liberties with hir maiesties prerogatiue, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they shewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disloialtie to hir highnesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within half a mile of Clomnell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thense went into the towne, where the souereigne and his brethren receiued him with all the honour they could, and gaue him a banket in their townehouse; where, vnto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speach, teaching them the dutifulnesse and obedience of a subiect, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the contrarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore laieng before them their present estate for example, did moue and persuade them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they owght to hir maiestie, and not to be dismaid at the dooings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the prince, and vnder whome all kings and princes doo rule, hath béene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: euen as of the contrarie he sendeth his manifold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subiect. And so hauing vsed sundrie and notable sentences and examples to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

The citie of Waterford standing vpon their liberties refuse to send aid to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie went into Clomnell & vseth verie good speeches vnto them.

And from thense he remoued and marched towards Cashell, which lieth in the countie of Tipperarie, néere vnto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie approching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared themselues to defend the pile. The lord deputie taking the same as a defiance, approched thereunto and besieged it: and whilest the assault was in preparing, it was yéelded by composition, and after restored to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thense by iourneies he marched and went to Corke, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Roch and Barrie, and by sir Corman Mac Teege: and being aduertised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Imokillie, a principall rebell, and combined with James Fitzmoris, had spoiled and preied the whole countrie, and had also warded and vittelled his castell of Balie martyr, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to mainteine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end tooke it full of vittels. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

Balie martyr a castell of the seneschals besieged and taken.

The seneschall escapeth out of his castell.

The spoile was giuen to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was giuen to Jasper Horsete, & so he returned to Corke, and from thense he tooke iourneie to Kilmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and named Humfreie Gilbert hir maiesties seruant to be coronell, and besides his owne band of an hundred horsemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeine Kernes there to remaine. And there he did knit and conioine vnto him by oth, and vnder good pledges, the vicounties of Roch and Dessis, with the lord Powre, the lord Courcie, sir Corman Mac Téege, sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Oge, and the most part of the freeholders in the counties of Limerike and Corke. And this done he passed by iourneies to Limerike, and from thense he went to Gallewaie, and there established a president and a councell, and placed sir Edward Fitton to be lord president, the earles of Thomond and Clanricard, and all the noble men & septs of gentlemen of that prouince yéelding to the same.

Humfreie Gilbert made coronell of Mounster.

Sir Edward Fitton made president of Connagh.

Thense he marched to Athlon, taking in the waie the castell of Rosocomen, which he left with the ward of twentie horsemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by iourneies trauelled and came to Dublin, and there remained. Captaine Gilbert in the meane time, hauing a speciall respect and regard to his charge, his valiancie and courage was such, and his good hap so well answering his worthie and forward attempts, that he in short time broke the hearts, and appalled the

Captaine Gilberts good seruice.

the courages of all the rebels in Mounſter, and no rebell knowne left in effect, which dare to withſtand and make anie reſiſtance againſt him. And to ſuch an obedience he brought that countrie, that none did or would refuſe to come vnto him, if he were ſent for but by a horſſe boy: for all yéelded vnto him, ſome by putting in recognisances, & ſome by giuing of pledges, and all in ſéeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare ſubmitteth himſelfe to capteine Gilbert.

And that proud earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before vſurped this name to be king of Mounſter; euen he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limerike vnto him, and there falling vpon their knées acknowledged their treſons, and moſt humblie deſired hir maieſties pardon: and offered to put in his eldeſt ſonne, and the ſonnes of his chiefeſt freeholders for pledges and hoſtages. Likewiſe the preſident of Connagh in ſuch wiſedome, courage, & vprightneſſe, directed his gouernement, that he was obeied of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The wicked he ſpareth not, but being found faultie either in open ſeſſions, or by martiall inquiſition, he cauſeth to be executed: and by theſe meanes hauing rid awaie the moſt notable offendors and their fofterers, the whole prouince reſted in good quietneſſe and in dutifull obedience to hir maieſtie and hir lawes.

The earle of Clancare ſubmitteth himſelfe to capteine Gilbert.

The good ſeruice of ſir Edward Fitton lord preſident in Connagh.

The Cauenaghs, the ancient enimies to the Engliſh gouernement, and who in the rebellion were conioined with the Butlers: theſe bordering vpon the frontiers appointed to ſir Peter Carew, were ſo by him chaſed and perſecuted, that finding no place of reſt or quietneſſe, he hath brought them to ſubmit themſelues ſimplie to hir maieſties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide ſuch orders and conditions as ſhall be laid vpon them. Turlogh Lennogh in Vlſter, being at ſupper with his now wife, aunt to the earle of Argile, was ſhot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caliuer, by a teaſter or rimer of the Donilogbs. Wherevpon the Scots whome he reteined were in a maze, and the countrie ſtanding vpon the election of a new capteine: howbeit, he was in hope of recouerie. And thus after long troubles was the ſtate of the whole realme recouered to quietneſſe. Wherevpon capteine Gilbert, when he had ſetled Mounſter in outward appéarance in a moſt perfect quietneſſe, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertiſed and recounted all his doings at full.

The Cauenaghs ſubmiſſions.

Turlogh ſhot through with two bullets.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he deſired licence to depart ouer: whome the ſaid deputie did not onelie moſt courteouſlie receiue; but alſo moſt thankefullie did accept his good ſeruice, and in ſome part of recompenſe, vpon Newyeares daie in the church at Drogheda, he did beſtow vpon him the order of knighthood; which he well deſerued, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to hir highneſſe, and to the lords of the councell. And now by the waie, if without offenſe a man maie, after the maner of Cambrenſis in his hiſtorie, and after the vſage of noble gouernors and capteins in other realmes, who for the increaſe of vertue, and incouraging of worthie perſons, do attribute to ſuch as do deſerue well their due praiſes & commendations, I hope it ſhall not be offenſiue to the reader, nor impertinent to the hiſtorie, to ſet downe ſomewhat of much, what maie be ſaid of theſe two worthie perſonages, ſir Peter Carew, and ſir Humfrie Gilbert: both which were of one countrie and birth, borne in the countie of Deuon, and of néere bloud, kinred, and conſanguinitie.

Drogheda.

Capteine Gilbert dubbed knight.

The deſcription of ſir

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a ſecond brother, and borne of a great parentage, whoſe anceſtors came and deſcended from the earle of Cornewall, a man of a higher ſtature than of the common ſort, & of complexion cholerike; from his childhood of a verie pregnant wit and good diſpoſition: his father died leauing him verie yong, and he conceiuing ſome great good thing to come of his towardneſſe, prouided ſome portion of liuing to mainteine and kéepe him to ſchoole. And after his death, his mother, being no leſſe carefull of him, did cauſe him to be ſent to ſchoole to Eton college: from thenſe, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was ſent to Oxford, & did there proſper & increaſe verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furniſhed, they would haue put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named miſtres Katharine Aſhleie, who was attendant to the quœnes maieſtie, after that ſhe ſaw the yong gentleman, and had had ſome conference with him, ſhe fell in ſuch liking with him, that ſhe preferred him vnto hir maieſties ſeruice: and ſuch was his countenance, forwardneſſe, and behauiour, that hir maieſtie had a ſpeciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarlie diſcourſe and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares ſpent in the court, he paſſed ouer into Ireland, being commended by hir highneſſe to ſir Henrie Sidneie then lord deputie: who gaue him interteinement, and made him a capteine ouer an hundred horſſemen: wherein he ſo well acquited himſelfe, that he was alſo made coronell of Mounſter; and had appointed vnto him, beſides his owne band of one hundred horſſemen, foure hundred footemen, beſides ſuch Geraldines as Thomas of Deſmond, brother to the erle of Deſmond had procured, & vpon his oth of loialtie and pledges had promiſed his faithfull ſeruice.

Humfreie Gilbert, and his deſcent.

And albeit he were but yong of yeares, which might ſéeme to hinder his credit: yet ſuch was his deuout mind to ſerue hir maieſtie, and ſo effectuallie to his great praiſe he followed the ſame; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he ſo ſupplied euen as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie atteine vnto. For in ſeruice vpon the enimie he was as valiant and couragious as no man more; and ſo good was his hap to anſwer the ſame: for he alwaies for the moſt part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courage; as did appéere in the ouerthrow giuen néere Kilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with twelue perſons gaue the onſet vpon a thouſand men, of which ſir hundred were armed Gallowglaſſes, who then were ouerthrowne: and likewiſe in Mounſter, which was altogither vp in rebellion; and he coronell, did not onelie in martiall affaires ſhew himſelfe moſt valiant; and in ſhort time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the proudeſt of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but fiue hundred againſt ſundrie thouſands; and inforced that proud earle of Clancart to follow him to Limerike, and there humblie vpon his knées to aſke pardon and mercie: but alſo, after that he had ſubdued and ouercome them, did moſt vprightlie order and direct his gouernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, & determine the complaints & griefs, and compound all the cauſes of euerie ſuitor. Which was ſo rare a thing in one of his yeares, as ſcarſe was credible, had not eie witneſſes and dailie experience proued and iuſtified the ſame.

The valiantneſs in ſeruice, and the wiſedome in gouernement of ſir Humfreis Gilbert.

After that he had eſtabliſhed peace and tranquillitie in that countrie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his ſeruices, and the good ſucceſſe thereof; and in what quiet ſtate he left the countrie, he deſired leaue to paſſe ouer into England, for and about certeine matters of great importance, which

which he had to follow, which he did obteine: as also in reward of his seruice, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honored and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to hir maiestie, and the lords of the councell, he departed. Assone as he had presented himselfe before hir highnesse, hir good countenance and fauour, in respect of his good seruice to hir maiestie was increased and doubled; and he specially aboue all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was maried to a yong gentlewoman, and an inheritrix: and thenceforth he gaue himselfe to studies perteining to the state of gouernement, and to nauigations. He had an excellent and readie wit, and therewith a long at libertie to vtter what he thought. Which being adorned with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notablie discourse anie matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good proofe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisedome, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwelth of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in nauigations; and finding out by his studies, certeine nations and vnknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made hir maiestie acquainted therewith, and obteined of hir a licence to make a nauigation, which he toke in hand. But before he could compasse the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Onelie he of all his brethren had fiue sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giuing a hope of a good towardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceassed, yet in their visages, and in the memoriall of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall liue in fame immortall. Thus much without offense, and not altogither impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert is drowned.

Turlogh Lenough thinking to inuade vpon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repressed, and driuen to kéepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wearie of the other; and his wife and he not agréeing, they were vpon a point to sunder. The earle of Thomond reuolteth from his due obedience, and becommeth a rebell: whome the earle of Ormond so hardlie pursued, that he draue him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thense into England. For the discouerie of whose treasons and rebellions to hir maiestie & to the lords of the councell, one Rafe Rockelete chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long sute made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receiue according to his deserts: hir maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from iudgement of death.

Turlogh Lenough prepareth to inuade the English pale.

The earle of Thomond reuolteth.

The earle of Ormond followeth the earle of Thomond, and driueth him out of the land.

This yéere the queenes maiestie, considering the good seruice of Lucas Dillon hir generall attorneie in Ireland, was vpon the death of baron Bath made chéefe baron of the exchéker there; & capteine Piers for his good seruice at Knockfergus was liberallie considered and countenanced by hir maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, sutes, and requests made to hir maiestie for a president and councell to be established in Mounster; and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sickenesse and vnabilitie of sir John Pollard, appointed to be the president, it was lingered and deferred, is now renued and renewed: and sir John Perot knight was made lord president, and a councell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, interteinment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Penbrokeshire in Southwales, and one of great reuenues and worship, valiant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more méet to gouerne and tame so faithlesse and vnrulie a people, as ouer whome he was now made ruler. They heard no soner of his comming, but as a sort of wasps they fling out, and reuolting from their former feined obedience, became open rebelles and traitors vnder James Fitzmoris an archtraitor, and as dogs they returne to their vomit, and as swine to their durt and puddles.

Lucas Dillon made chéef baron.

Sir John Perot appointed to be lord president of Mounster.

The rebelling of Mounster against the president.

And here may you sée the nature and disposition of this wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and vnfaithfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and peruerse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant, faithfull in that they be alwaies vnfaithfull, and trustie in that they be alwaies trecherous and vntrustie. They doo nothing but imagin mischeefe, & haue no delite in anie good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the good, and such as be quiet in the land. Their mouths are full of vnrighteousnesse, and their tongs speake nothing but cursednesse. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their hands imbrued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in the paths of righteousnesse they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie vpon among them. Their quéene and soueréigne they obeie not, and hir gouernment they allow not: but as much as in them lieth do resist hir imperiall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much aboue a yeare past, that capteine Gilbert with the sword so persecuted them, and in iustice so executed them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselues, craued pardon, and swore to be for euer true and obedient: which, so long as he maistered and kept them vnder, so long they performed it; but the cat was no soner gone, but the mise were at plaie; and he no soner departed from them, but forthwith they skipped out, and cast from themselues the obedience and dutifulnesse of true subiects. For such a peruerse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obedient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebelles. Such is their stubbornesse and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be brideled; and such is the hardnesse of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer feare, no longer obedience; and no longer than they be ruled with seueritie, no longer will they be dutifull and in subiection; but will be as they were before, false, trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much vnlike to Mercurie called quicke siluer, which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire consumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while vntouched nor medled with, it will returne againe to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And euen so dailie experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For withdraw the sword, and forbeare correction, deale with them in courtesie, and intreat them gentlie, if they can take anie aduantage, they will surelie skip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishrie and sauage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obedience; the more they are vnder their Brian gouernment, the lesse dutifull to their naturall soueréigne and prince. But concern-

The nature of the Irishmen.

The nature of quicke siluer.

ting the inhabitants in the English pale, and all cities and townes, the contrarie (God be praised) is dailie seene.

The gouernment of sir John Perot.

Well, this worthie knight knowing that he should haue to dow with a sort of netles, whose nature is, that being handled gentlie, they will sting; but being hard crushed togither, they will dow no harme: euen so he began with them. The sword and the law he made to be the foundation of his gouernement, by the one he persecuted the rebell and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and gouerned in iustice and iudgement. Great troubles he had in both, but little he did prevaile in the latter, before he had ouercome the first: and therefore minding to chastise the rebelles, and to bring them to obedience, he followed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plaines he fought with them, and in their castels and holds he besieged them, and would neuer suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, vntill he had tired and wearied them out, and at length inforced James Fitzmoris and his complices to come vnto Killmalocke vnto him, and there simplie to submit himselfe, and vpon his knees in the open sight of all the people to confesse his disloialties, and in all humble manner to craue mercie and pardon. Whome though vntill hir maiesties pleasure knowne he did forbeare, yet the residue he spared not; but after their deserts he executed in infinit numbers. And hauing thus rid the garden from these weeds, and roted vp the fields from these thornes, he entreth into the gouernement by order of law, and from place to place throughout all Mounster he trauelleth and keepeth his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans complaints, and redresseth their greefes, and in short time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could passe through the countrie, but was in danger to be murdered and robbed, and no man durst to turne his cattell into the fields without watch, and to keepe them in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with a white sticke onelie in his hands, and with great treasures might and did trauell without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by triall knew it to be true) and the white sheepe did keepe the blacke, and all the beasts laie continuallie in the fields, without anie stealing or pretieng.

His seruice against the rebelles.

James Fitzmoris seeketh for peace, and submitteth himselfe.

The ciuill gouernement of sir John Perot.

The quietnes and safetie in Mounster.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and setled all things in good order, then he beginneth to reforme their maners in life and common conuersation and apparell, suffering no glibes nor like vsages of the Irishrie to be vsed among the men, nor the Egyptiacall rolles vpon womens heads to be worne. Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat greeued, yet they yelded: and giuing the same ouer, did weare hats after the English manner. In this his seruice he had two verie good & notable assistants, the one concerning the martiall affaires, and the other for his gouernement by the course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires martiall George Bourchier esquier was ioined with him in commission, and did him notable good seruice, he was the third sonne to John earle of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loines of kings, and men of great honor and nobilitie; and they were no more noble of bloud than valiant, wise and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices of chiualrie and matters of policies, and whereof the histories of England in manie places do make mention and report. And this gentleman, hauing some motion of the value and valiantnesse of his ancestors derived and descended vpon him, was affected and giuen to all feats of chiualrie, and especiallie to the seruice in the warres, wherein he proued a verie good souldior, and an expert capteine, both as an horseman, and as a foteman, both which waies he serued, as the seruice and time required. If he serued vpon foot, he was apparelled in the manner of a Kerne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as no Kerne swifter: for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in passes, and in streicts whatsoeuer; and neuer leaue them, vntill he did performe the charge and seruice committed vnto him. If he were to serue vpon his horsseback, his dailie seruice can witnes sufficientlie how much, and how often he prevailed against the enimie, and appalled their courages, and with whome he would incounter if he might by anie meanes.

Sir John Perots assistants.

George Bourchier his birth and seruices.

Notwithstanding, as couragious and circumspect as he was, that he would not be lightlie intrapped in the field, yet was he deceiued in the house. For vnder the colour of a parlée, and vpon a truce taken, he was inuited to a supper: and little thinking that anie breach of the truce should be made, he went into the castell whereas he was bidden. But in his being there, he was taken prisoner, and handfasted, and so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was restored and set at libertie. Concerning his other assistant, his name was George Welsh borne in Waterford, and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he was brought vp in learning, and was a student in the innes of court at London, and prospered verie well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yong, yet his knowledge, grauitie, and sinceritie counteruailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all matters he was vpright and iust, being not affectionated nor knowne to be corrupted for anie mans pleasure. In iudgement vpright, in iustice seuere, and without respect of persons would minister what the law had prescribed, he spared neither partie, nor would be affected to anie; by which meanes he did maruellous much good in that seruice, and happie was that gouernor that had so good a counsellor.

George Bourchier taken prisoner.

George Welsh a lawier, well learned, and vpright.

1571

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouernement in Mounster, sir Henrie Sidnete had libertie and licence to returne ouer into England, and receiued his maiesties letters dated the thirteenth of December one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and one, & in the thirteenth yeare of his maiesties reigne, for the placing of sir William Fitzwilliams to be lord deputie in his place. Which when he had done, he passed ouer the seas, and by iournies came to the court. He was verie honorablie receiued, and by his highnesse well commended, there being sundrie noblemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him before he came to Whitehall, where his maestie then laie, who (as time conuenient serued) did recount vnto him the whole estate in all things of the realme of Ireland, which his maestie liked verie well.

Sir William Fitzwilliams made lord deputie.

But this sir John Perot president of Mounster continued still in his office, and there remained for certeine yeares vntill he was reuoked, which was to soone for that countrie. For neuer man was more fit gouernour for that effrenated and hardnecked people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same vnto. Happie was that prouince, and happie were those people, which being eaten out, consumed and deuoured with caterpillers, he had brought and reformed to a most happie, peaceable, and quiet estate; and he left it euen in the same maner. Which if it had beene continued by the like, to haue followed him in the gouernement, the same would so haue continued: but the want of the one was in short time the decaie of the other, and that reformed countrie brought to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may

may appéere.

Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a speciall care and respect to his charge and office, disposeth all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the councell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, saue Mounster, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he being a wise and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he draweth the plot of his gouernement into certeine speciall points and articles. First, that the religion e- The points of sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputies gouernement.
stablished according to Gods holie word, should haue a free passage through the whole land, and by euerie man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, imbraced and followed. Then that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutinies and diuisions to be cut off. Thirdlie, that his maiesties great and excessiue charges to the consuming of his treasure might be shortened, and his reuenues well husbanded and loked vnto, according to his sundrie commandements tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should vprightlie minister iustice to each man according to his desert, and that all the souldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them apperteineth.

Religion.

The common peace.

The saving of expenses.

Lawes to be executed.

Souldiers to be kept in their discipline.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole councell, and well liked of euerie good subiect, because the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons: yet it toke not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irishrie, in whom was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to his maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuersation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best opportunitie and time to breake out into their wonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places begin to plaie their pagents. The first was Brian Mac Rahir of Knocking in the countie of Caterlough Cauenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Browne of Malrenkam, he tyrannized ouer the whole countrie, committed manie outrages and spoiles, preied the countrie, & burned sundrie towns. Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Werford, and namelie sir Nicholas Deuereux knight, being greeued with the death of Robert Browne, who was his nephue, being his sisters sonne, were as vnquiet on their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Rahir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole comtrie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Werford men following their matters verie egarlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they sought out Brian Mac Rahir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and toke them at that aduantage, that although he and his companie were but small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the foile and ouerthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about or aboue thirtie persons.

Brian Mac Rahir his warres in Werford.

Brian Mac Rahir hath the victorie of the Werfordmen.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drunken of the same cup, was driuen to leape vp on horssebacke behind another man, and so escaped, or else he had neuer beene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge vnsought, yet by little and little it quailed. About two yeares after, Brian Mac Rahir made humble sutes to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, confessing in writing his fowle disorders and outrages; and yet firmlie auouching that the quarell did not begin by him nor by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obteined the same. And according to his promise then made, he did thenceforth vse and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Cauenaugh, and the sonne of Charels, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the counties of Werford & Catherlough. And this Brian Mac Rahir Mac Arthur was a yonger sonne to Charels, but the chiefest for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisedome; and none of all the sept of the Cauenaughs, though they were manie and valiant men, to be compared vnto him euerie waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place.

Brian Mac Rahir his submission.

Brian Mac Rahir what he was.

Now he being assured of them, and also being allied by marriage vnto Hewen Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the Obirnes and of the Omeroughs, & so a man of great strength and abilitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer brake his promise, but stood him in great steed aswell in matters of counsell, as of anie seruice to be done in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfullie he serued, and so much he honoured sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awaie, and died in peace.

The strength of Brian Mac Rahir.

Brian Mac Rahir is a follower to sir Peter Carew.

The Omores, notwithstanding the earle of Kildare was waged by his maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without anie resistance or impechment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They inuaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie townes and villages, and carried the preies and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh was altogither in actuall rebellion by the earle Clanricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irishrie were of diuerse nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogither giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their harts were altogither imbrued in bloud and murther. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made sute to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would vndertake to bring in his sons, and to quiet the countrie.

The Omores rebell.

All Connagh in actuall rebellion.

The false dissembling of the earle of Clanricard.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the councell inlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectuallie performe in deed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgat his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the Oconners and the Omores, accompanied with a rable of like rebels, fall into open rebellion, spoile the countrie, deuoure the people, and make all waste and desolate. Tirlough Lenough in Vlster was readie to reuolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Esser, who lieng vpon the fines and marches in Vlster, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set Odoneile in open warres against him. Mounster was likewise in open rebellion. But sir John Perot then president so coursed and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league

The Oconners and the Omores rebell.

The distressed mind of the lord deputie.

was betweene James Fitzmoris and all the rebels in Connagh and Leinster, yet he kept them asunder and so sharpelie pursued James, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor anie followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue apalled the best and wisest gouernour, these three things increased his griefe and sorrow. First the losse of a most faithfull councellor and one of his chiefest and truestest assistants doctor Weston then lord chancellor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, vpright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currents of yeares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of councell most sound and perfect, in iustice most vpright and vncorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountious and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his houshold, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings apperteined. Then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in praiers and exhortations.

The death of doctor weston lord chancellor.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his houshold and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the councell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the councell, persuading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie, and lastlie remembring their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to performe the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honor to the queene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie & effectuallie, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this done he bid them farewell, and not long after he being feruent in his praiers, he died most godlie, vertuouslie, and christian like.

The earle of Desmond breaketh prison.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing giuen his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being done in so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would insue thereof. Wherefore not onelie in that land, but in England also, hir maiestie vpon knowledge did cause musters to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if anie occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatlie doubted what would follow of that his breach, sauing that the president in Mounster was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt anie disorder that waie.

The reuocation of the erle of Esser.

The third was the reuocation of the earle of Esser, who had taken vpon him to recouer the whole prouince of Ulster to obedience, with hir maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was cashed, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterprise dissolued. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed vp anie man in the gulfe of despaire, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and hir maiestie most gratiouslie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his reuocation, which hir highnes by hir letters vnto him granted; and immediatlie whereupon he (after foure yeares painfull seruice) was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Manie good & notable things were done in the time of this mans deputation worthie to be remembred, and for euer to be chronicled. But forsomuch as the records and presidents of the same cannot bee had, and the imprinter cannot staie his impression anie longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of this honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserued well and honourablie of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment. After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was deliuered vnto sir Henrie Sidneie, who now the third time entred into the gouernment of this cursed land, and arriued at the Skirries the twelfe of September 1575, who at his comming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispersed, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardlie find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And euen as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the northerne Ulstermen brake out. For he was no sooner knowne to be entred into the land, but for a bien venu to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knocksergus, there to make preie of the towne, & so proudlie assailed the same, that he slue a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortie of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whome some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuertheless by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the preie was rescued, and the Scots perforce driuen awaie.

discharged of the deputiship.

1575 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie the third time.

The pestilence great in the English pale.

Serlo Boie assaulteth Knocksergus

The lord deputie considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the euents and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand preuented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delaies be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old saieng *Principijs obsta sero medicina paratur, &c*) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of hir maiesties priuie councell, as could in that queasie time be assembled, he tooke order for the safe keeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his absence, to certeine gentlemen of best account and wisedome, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him hir maiesties armie, which was then about six hundred horsemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and councellors as he had appointed for that seruice, tooke his iourneie towards Ulster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, sauing the Newrie, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Glins and Routs which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killultagh.

The lord deputie maketh a iourneie into Ulster.

Now in all that iorneie few came to submit themselues, sauing Mac Mahon, and Mac Gwier, & Tirlough Lenough, who first sent his wife; and she being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue hir husband to liue like a good subiect, and to be nobilitated. Tirlough himselfe followed verie shortlie after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostage, and simplie & without anie condition did submit himselfe in all humblenesse and reuerence to his lordship, making the like suites as his wife before his comming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuertheless to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, vsing himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifulnesse, subiection, and

Tirlough Lenough submitteth him in all humilitie

Sir William Fitzwilliams

and reuerence, did in like maner take his leaue, and returned to his owne home. And as for Odonell lord of Tirconell, and Mac Gwier lord of Farmanaugh, albeit they came not in persons, yet they wrote their most humble letters of submission, and offered all such rents and seruices, as to them apperteined to yéeld, making request that they might onelie serue vnder hir highnesse, and be discharged from the exactions of all others.

The iourneie of the lord deputie in Leinster.

After that the lord deputie had performed this iourneie, and was returned to Dublin, then he made the like iourneies towards the other parts of the land. And beginning in Leinster, he found the whole countie of Kildare, and the baronie of Carberie, extreamelie impouerished by the Omeries, both in the time of the late rebellion, and also since, when they were vnder protection. The kings and queenes counties were all spoiled & wasted by the Oconners and the Omores, the old native inhabiters of the same, and of them Rorie Og had gotten the possession and the setling of himselfe in sundrie lands there, whether the tenants will or no, and as a prince occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. Neuertheless, vpon the word of the earle of Ormond, he came to the lord deputie at his being in Kilkennie; and in the cathedrall church there he submitted himselfe: and in outward appearance repented his former faults, and promised amendment: but how well he kept and performed it, his rebellions in the yeare following can witnesse.

Rorie Og vpon the word of the earle of Ormond came vnto the lord deputie, and submitteth himselfe.

The lord deputie interteined verie well in Kilkennie.

The lord deputie at his comming to Kilkennie was receiued by the townsmen in all the best maner they could, and the earle of Ormond himselfe feasted and intreated him most honourablie, and had great care that his lordship and all his traine should not want anie thing. At this towne the two cousins and kinsmen of sir Peter Carew late deceassed, that is, Peter Carew, and George Carew, and the gentleman who had béene his agent in all his causes within that land, came before the lord deputie, and there communicated with his lordship the state of the deceassed knight, and of his countrie; submitted the same to his order and direction, as also made humble suite vnto his lordship for his presence at the funerals at Waterford, where it was appointed he should be buried. Whose lordship as vpon the first newes of this knights death, so now also vpon the new recitall thereof, maruellouslie lamented and bewailed the losse of so worthie a knight, and the want of so wise and faithfull an assistant and councellor. And then he toke order therein, shewing most honourablie not onelie the offices of a faithfull and good friend to the dead; but also the like good will to the two yong gentlemen, of which one was then his heire, and to inioy his baronie. And according as things were determined, the corps was remoued from Rosse where he died, and carried to Waterford against his comming thither, where it was buried in verie honourable maner, as shall hereafter appeare, being not impertinent to the historie to set downe some short discourse of this most worthie gentleman and of his life.

Sir Peter Carew his death.

Sir Peter Carew died at Rosse, & was buried at Waterford verie honourablie.

Sir Peter Carew his life, birth and conditions. His descent. Baron of Carew.

Sir Peter Carew was descended of noble and high parentage, whose first ancestor was named Montgomereie, and in the time of king Henrie the second he maried the ladie Elisabeth daughter to Roesius prince of Southwales, by which mariage he was aduanced to honour, and made baron of the castell of Carew, whereof his posteritie in time toke their surnames, being called Carews. And some of them passing into Ireland did grow to be mightie men, and of great honor and possessions in that land, being marquesses of Corke, barons of Hidron and Lernew, lords of Maston, and inheritors to sundrie great lordships and seignories in that land. And likewise in England they were men of great credit, seruice, and honour, and by waie of mariages matched and combined with honourable and great houses.

His stature.

His disposition.

His skill and seruice in the warres.

His trauels.

His religion.

His qualities.

His learning.

His conditions.

His anger without malice.

His zeale.

This foresaid sir Peter, who was lineallie descended from them, was of stature meane, but verie stronglie and well compacted; of complexion cholerike, from his childhood vpwards bent and giuen to an honest disposition, and in his tender yeares he serued vnder, and was page to the prince of Orenge beyond the seas, and by that means had the greater delight & skill in martiall affaires, wherein he had good knowledge, as did well appeare in the manifold seruices he did vnder king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, and queene Elisabeth, in sundrie places beyond as also on this side the seas. He was in his yonger years a great trauseller, and had béene at Constantinople in the Turkes court, at Vienna in the emperours palace, at Venice, and in the French kings court, and in the houses of the most of all christian princes; in euerie of which places he left some tokens of his value. He was blessed of God with manie singular good gifts, as well of the mind as of the bodie, being vertuouslie disposed euen from his verie infancie, sincere in religion (and for which he was partlie an exiled man in the Marian daies) dutifull to his prince, and faithfull to his countrie, vpright in iustice, politike in gouernement, and valiant in armes, skilfull in the Italian and French tongs, and a great student in such bookes as those tongs did yéeld; and by that means some knowledge ioined with his pregnancie of wit, he would discourse verie substantiallie in anie matter concerning policie or religion, peace or warres, good to euerie man, hurtfull to no man; bountifull & liberall, abhorring couetousnesse and whordome: a great housekéeper, and of great hospitalitie. And if anie fault were in him, it was rather of too much spending, than in reasonable sauing; he would be soone warme, but without gall, and against his enimie most stout and valiant: finallie such was his vpright dealing, honest conuersation, and zeale to the commonwealth, as no man was more honoured nor vniuersallie beloued than was he.

His title to his lands in Ireland.

He recouereth some part of his lands in Ireland.

His good dealing with his tenants.

When he had spent the greater part of his age, he bethought himselfe vpon such lands as his ancestors had in Ireland, and which in right did descend vnto him: and finding his title to be good, he acquainted hir highnesse therewith; and obteined hir fauour and good will to passe ouer into Ireland, to follow the recouerie thereof. Which he did, and made such good proofes of his title, as well by records as by euidences, that he recouered so much as he did then put in suite, namelie the lordship of Maston, of which he had béene dispossessed of about seauen score yeares, which he departed with vnto sir Christopher Chiuers knight, then tenant to the same, and the baronie of Hidron then in the possession of the Cauenaughs, the ancient enimies of the English gouernment, and who had expelled his ancestors about two hundred yeares past. But being put once in possession, he dealt in such good order with them, and so honourablie vsed himselfe, that they all voluntarilie yéelded vp their lands, and submitted themselues to his deuotion; and finding him to be a verie rare man in manie and sundrie respects, as of the like they had not heard nor knowne, they much reioised of him, and counted themselues happie and blessed to be vnder his gouernment. At his first comming he resumed the whole baronie into his owne hands, and thereof he gaue some péeces in free hold, to such gentlemen as he thought good; and for the residue euerie of them what he had before, he toke it againe vnder writing by lease. He diuided the baronie into certeine

teine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betweene them were ended and determined after the English maner, according to iustice & truth. He would not suffer anie wrong to be done vnto them, neither would he beare with anie of them doing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifferencie he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a verie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not beene tofore knowne among them; and for which he was maruellouslie beloued, and his fame spred throughout that land.

His housekéeping and hospitalitie.

He kept continuallie of his owne priuat familie, aboue or néere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse for tie horsemen well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred Kerns, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as late vpon the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselues simplie to his mercie: & the residue willing to serue him at all néeds. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first stated and was interteined according to his calling, for his cellar doore was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all commers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them interteinment, and vittelled them at his owne charges, and paied readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present paiment he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning hir maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for hir highnesse, and so profitable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselues happie to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumspect, and in martiall affaires verie valiant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experience: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land.

Readie paiment for all things.

His seruice in the Irish warres.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first serue at Cloghgreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Malbeie, and capteine Basnet, and Henrie Dauels, and their bands, assaulted the castell, tooke it, and gaue the preie to the souldiers. Then they went to Kilkennie where they issued out and made a sallie vpon the whole armie of sir Edmund Butler: which being about three miles from the towne, gaue them the ouerthrow, and put all the Gallowglasses and the rest to the sword, sauing the horsemen and Kernes which fled into the woods: and then méeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres vntill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to hir maiestie. Likewise in Ulster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Ester, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe.

Sir Peter Carewes seruice in Ulster.

The fame and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisedome, valiantnesse, experience, vprightnes, housekeeping, bountifulnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spred through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all men. And certeine gentlemen in Mounster, knowledging and confessing that he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending lineallie from the marquesse of Corke) was their lawfull lord, and to whome they ought to yéeld their lands; some of them made their repaire, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelie truelie to instruct and to aduertise him throughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Corke, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselues, and yéeld vp their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his frends, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, because he had made hir highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obteined hir letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir John Parret then lord president of Mounster, that they should assist him in his sutes, and to call the contrarie parts, and to perswade them with all quietnesse to yéeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the writer hereof to Corke, where and before whome there came Mac Artie Riogh, Cormac Mac Teege, Barrie Og, the Omalions, the Orriscots, the Odallies, & sundrie others, who of their owne frée will offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, three thousand kine; and so manie shéepe and hogs and corne, as according to to that proportion; and would also yéerelie giue him in the like maner such a portion as should be to his contentation and good liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Corke for him: the said sir Peter did set the house of Leighlin to his kinsman and cosine Peter Carew, who afterward was his heire, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his houshold stuffe to Corke. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sicke at the towne of Rosse, he died the seauen and twentith of Nouember 1575, and was buried verie honorablie and in warlike manner at Waterford, the fiftéenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honor as to his degrée apperteined, there being then present sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, and the councell. And thus much concerning that worthie knight sir Peter Carew.

The death of sir Peter Carew 1575.

His buriall.

The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Ormond vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honourablie receiued at his entrie into the citie, by the maior & his brethren, and an oration congratulatorie made vnto him in the Latine tong by a young scholar clad in white attire; verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of ioie and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And whiles he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing méet and conuenient for the interteinement of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in good part; as also aduertised it to the lords of hir maiesties honourable priuie councell in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Sitiracus one of the three brethren, which came out of Norwaie, called Easterlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the riuer of Suire, which riseth in the hill or mount Mandina, named in Irish Slough blome:

The receiuing of the lord deputie at waterford.

The description of the citie of waterford.

The situation.

blome: and fléeteth by Thurles in Tipozarie, where-of the earles of Dzmond are vicounts: from thense to the Holie crosse, Ardmale, Cahir Dolweske, Ard-finan, Inisslonagh, Clomnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterfozd.

It was of it selfe a verie little pile, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares (vpon occasion of warres) inlarged in the time of king Henrie the seuenth and inclosed with a strong wall: when Lam-bert (named Perkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great contro-uersies betwéene them and Gilbert erle of Kildare. Foz the said erle being then lozd deputie sent his let-ters to the said maioz & his citizens, requiring them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other good cities had done: who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he threatened them that he would take their citie per-foze and hang the maioz. Wherevpon hot wozds grew on euerie side, & the same like to haue growne to hand fight: the Waterfozdians offering to wage the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their truth at that time auailed them much afterwards, and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the se-uenth and king Henrie the eight, by whome their li-berties and franchises were inlarged.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hils and rocks, and the lesse profitable foz lacke of good manurance and husbandzie: but what faileth in the land, is recompensed with the sundzie commodities which the riuer yéeldeth, which is not onlie plentifull and abundant of all sozts and kinds of fishes, but also it is a godlie hauen and a receptacle foz all sozts of ships: & foz this it is called *Larga porta*, The great oz large hauen. The resozt of merchants from out of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie populous and rich, & is the chiefest *Emporium* of that prouince. Great be the priuileges which the kings of England gaue to the maioz & citizens, as well con-cerning the riuer as the citie, by king John, king Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The riuer was bounded and limited from the mouth of the seas, betwéene Kindowan where Yoke tower standeth vpon the east side, and Rodibanke vpon the west side, and from thense vnto Caricke vpon Suire: and so farre beyond, as the said riuer ebbeth and floweth that waie: & from the said mouth vnto the Inosstiage vpon the riuer of Mire, and so far as the same water ebbeth and floweth; and likewise from the said mouth, vnto saint Molins vpon the ri-uer of Barrow; and so farre beyond the same, as the water ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great controuersies haue béene betwéene this citie and the towne of Rosse, which lieth vpon the riuer of Bar-row, because they of Rosse do claime a priuilege vpon that riuer as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigod earle marshall: who married Isabell the eldest daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in hir right was lozd of Rosse and of the riuer of the Barrow. Wherevpon certeine inquisitions were taken in the time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard the second: and then at Clomnell vpon the othes of six knights and eighteene esquiers, it was found foz the citie of Waterfozd. And these are the bounds of the pozt oz hauen of Waterfozd; within the which bounds and limits the citie of Waterfozd, by the grants of sundzie kings vnder their charters, haue these priuileges: That no ship shall be laden noz vn-laden, but at the citie of Waterfozd, and there to paie all such customes and duties as belong and are due foz their merchandize: Also that they haue the prisage wines and the iurisdiction of the admeraltie, within the limits of the said riuer.

I controuersie betwéene the earle of Kildare and the waterfoz-dians.

The waterfozdians re-fuse to ac-knowledge Perkin to be their king.

The waterfozdians in fauoz with the kings of England.

The commo-ditie of the ri-uer.

*Larga porta.*

I verdict passed in the behalfe of the waterfozdians.

The priuile-ges of water-fozd vpon the water.

The citie it selfe was first incozpozated by king Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king John, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with augmentations. The maioz hath the swozd bozne befoze him by the gift of king Edward the fourth, and king Henrie the seauenth, by the name of the swozd of iustice. They haue cognisance of all maner of plées as well reall, personall, & mixt. They are iusti-ces of oier and determiner, & maie sit vpon triall of treasons, murthers, and felonies, without anie spe-ciall commission to be sued out foz the same. Also that no officer noz officers of the kings oz quéenes of England, noz their deputies shall intermeddle, noz exercise anie authozitie noz iurisdiction, within the citie and liberties, but onelie the maioz & officers of the same. Also they haue a maioz and officers of the staple yearelie to be chosen, who haue the liberties foz taking of statutes and recognisances staple, not onelie within their owne towne & concerning them-selues, but also of sundzie townes in Leinster and Mounster, and the counties of Waterfozd, Kilken-nie, Werfozd, and Tipozarie. Also they haue liber-tie from time to time to transpozt, lade, and carrie a-waie cozne, vittels, woll, hozses, & hawks; and to li-cence anie other within the limits of their iurisdicti-on to do the like. Also all fozfeitures, amerciaments, fines, felons goods, and deodands goods, they haue to their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the wozds of their charters should be expounded to the best sense, and if then there were anie further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king oz his councell in the realme of England. Also that they should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue in anie hosting, except the king himselfe oz anie of his sonnes were present in person.

The citie incozpo-ration of the citie.

The priuile-ges of the ci-tie of water-fozd.

The swozd of iustice.

These and manie other like priuileges of the kings of England from time to time, of their boun-teous liberalitie, and in consideration of their du-tifull and good seruices, did giue and bestow vpon them. All which, O you the inhabitants of Mana-pia and citizens of Waterfozd, the offspzing of so good ancestozs, ought to be lessons and pzesidents vn-to you, foz your continuance in the like offices and duties: that you maie thereby shew your selues to be as were your pzedecessozs, faithfull, lotall, and obedient: and that your apozthegme maie be foz e-uer found true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*. Oth-erwise brag neuer so much of your wozthinesse, & glozie neuer so much of your values (as the Iewes did of their father Abzaham) yet it shall so little a-uaile you, that their honour shall be your repzoch, and their glozie your shame, if you do not also the like; and in the end your vtter confusion. Foz as the holie scripture saith: If you be the childzen of light, then as childzen walke you in the light; other-wise that light which is in you shall be darknesse. If you be the childzen of Abzaham, then do you the wozkes of Abzaham: otherwise God, who is able and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to A-bzaham, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a people which shall bzing fozth the fruits of dutie and obedience. Foz so did he with his owne peculiar peo-ple, the Iewes, whom foz their disobedience against himselfe, and against his annointed pzinces, did af-ter sundzie punishments and no amendment giue them ouer vnto their enimies hands: who put their yong men to the swozd, & their pziests to slaughter, their virgins were deflowzed, their widows defiled, their citie vtterlie destroied, and not one stone left vpon an other; and all the people which escaped the swozd, carried awaie captiues, & made vagabonds, euen to this date vpon the face of the earth. If he did this to his owne peculiar people, do not you of Wa-terfozd, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke

An admonitio-on to the citi-zens of Wa-terfozd.

*Waterfordia semper manet intacta.*

that

that you doing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements. Wherefore if you will eschew the wrath to come, beware by their examples, and humble your selues in all dutifulnes & obedience to God and to your prince. Examine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your priuileges with his authoritie, nor dw you dispute your liberties with his prerogatiue. For notwithstanding your priuileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugne the least part of the princes prerogatiue: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods owne ordinances, when he first erected and established a king, who gaue him so high and so absolute authoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humblenesse obeied: bicause he is Gods minister especiallie when it concerneth the interest of his maiesties imperiall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the deliuerie of your selues and that realme from the enimies and rebels.

In exhortation to the citizens of Waterford.

The princes prerogatiue.

And do not you thinke that this digression is impertinent to the historie. For as your ancestors good dwings are set downe to their praises and commendations; so the same shall be done of yours, either to your praises for your well dwings, or for your reproch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had giuen thankes to the maior and his brethren for his good interteinement, he departed thense by iournies towards Corke, and by the waie at Dungaruon the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and verie humblie offered him all the seruice he was able to dw to his maiestie, and did accompanie him from thense vnto the citie of Corke, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of good will and dutifulnesse as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townesmen or of the souldiers. To this towne resorted vnto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancar, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Mounster, and their wiues, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, murthers, spoiles, and thefts done throughout that prouince; whereupon dailie sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which three and twentie verie notable and notorious offendors were executed and put to death.

The earle of Desmond humblie offereth his seruice to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie receiued honorablie into Corke.

All the noblemen in Mounster repaire to the lord deputie.

Executions at Corke.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarmes and clusters of the idlers, which like waspes troubled the whole land, and liued onelie by spoile and rapine; that euerie nobleman and gentleman should giue and deliuer in the names of euerie seruant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found vnbooked and not registred, that he should be vsed as a fellon where so euer he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gaue their full consents, and forthwith the same was openlie proclamed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all ioy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatlie they gaue in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts setled in good and quiet order, he toke his iournie towards Limerike, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in anie place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in keeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of poore mens complaints, and toke the like order for registring of euerie noble and gentlemans follower, as he had done at Corke. Which when he had done, he rode thense vnto Thomond, where he was complained vnto of manie great murthers, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, whereof he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed throughlie to dw iustice and iudgement therein; he referred the same to certeine commissioners appointed for the purpose: sauing that he committed the principall offendors to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, vntill further order were taken for them.

Euerie noble man and gentleman to answer for his men.

The lord deputie honorablie receiued at Limerike.

Thomond is cleane out of order.

From thense he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallewaie, where he found the towne much decaied and almost desolated, sundrie of the good housholders hauing sought new habitations vnder Mac William Eughter, and the countie throughout altogither spoiled and deuoured by the Mac an Earles, the hopeles (but much better if they had bene hopelesse) sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, whose outrages were most heinous and horrible. But when these graceles impes perceiued of the great complaints made against them, and doubting what would be the sequele if some waie were not taken, they voluntarilie went to Gallewaie towne, and came to the church vpon a sundaie at the publike seruice, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knées confessed their faults, submitted themselues, and most lamentablie craued pardon, promising vnfeinedlie amendment, and neuer to reuolt more from their dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes. The deputie moued herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduise of his maiesties councell thinke it good, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he toke his iournie towards Dublin, where he came the thirteenth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed through the countrie, and placed his garrisons in places conuenient.

The towne of Gallewaie in great decaie.

The earle of Clanricards sonnes submit themselues.

1576

In this his iournie he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a spéedie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill gouernment were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was to too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the parish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no seruice said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministred. And therefore it appéered, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbezelled. A lamentable case, for a more deformed and a more ouerthrowne church there could not be among christians. The deputie considering and bethinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in store some wrath and indignation for this defiling of his holie sanctuarie, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to his highnesse, and most earnestlie praied his princelie authoritie for redresse thereof; and therewith most humblie requested, that the commonwealth being destitute of a chancellor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the gouernement, might likewise with all spéed be sent ouer. When his maiestie and councell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a redresse was taken forthwith: and the matters concerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to archbishops and certeine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the gouernment one William Gerard esquier a professor of the laws was sent to be lord chancellor, & sir William Drurie to be president of Mounster, which arriued at Dublin,

The ruine of the ecclesiasticall state.

Manie in Ireland not christened.

The spoile of the churches.

An order for the reformation of religion.

William Gerard to be lord chancellor.

Sir William Drurie to be lord president.

Dublin, the one the sixteenth of June, and the other the three and twentith of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his rome. And then his lordship prepareth to take a iournie towards Waterford, to dw the like with sir William Drurie. But when he was passed a daies iournie, word was brought vnto him from the bishop of Meth, who laie then vpon the confines of Meth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the maior of Gallewaie, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crieng out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that basterlie brood, which not scarse two moneths past had humbled themselues to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craued pardon, and had most firmelie protested and sworne most dutifull and continuall obedience.

1576

The earle of Clanricards sonnes brake out into rebellion.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stollen ouer the riuer of Shennon, and there cast awaie their English apparell, and clothed themselues in their old wonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come awaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglasses, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met togither, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenrie, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat awaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the quéenes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set vp. Bad and wicked they were before, but now ten times worse than euer they were; being come, euen as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returneth vnto the house from whense he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and séeketh out other seuen wicked spirits, and entreth and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. And if a man should aske of these bastardlie boies, and of their sier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie reuolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing bene so courteouslie vsed, so gentlie interteined, so friendlie countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pithilie persuaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surelie nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in ante part satisfie a little of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For bastardlie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the good trée onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, & which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and briers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman bestow neuer so much husbandrie vpon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so good a peare vpon him, the same shall be but a stonie peare; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will reuolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clensed from thornes, brambles & briers, prepared for the fire: euen so shall the magistrate in voie the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and iudgement is executed; when the good are preserued and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallowes) according to their deserts are punished.

The earle consented to his sonnes disloialtie.

Athenrie spoiled.

Heikewill cause of the rebellion.

Punishment of the wicked maketh a quiet common wealth.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is sweet, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the discord of that one marreth and disgraceth all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subiect is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and liueth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be vnpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden ouergrowne with weeds) in perill and danger to be ouerthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good conserued. And experience teacheth, that a théefe, murtherer, a traitor, & such malefactors do neuer better seruice to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallowes, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie vpon these aduertisements, finding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altereth his intended iourneie, and returneth to Dublin, vsing such expedition, that within three daies following he was entered into Connagh. The brute thereof when it was blowne abrode, it was scarse credited by the rebels, bicause it was so sudden and with such spéed. But finding it to be true, and they affraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mounteins, sauing certeine gentlemen of the earls countrie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castels were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and craning of pardons, he was sent to the castell of Dublin, and there kept in close prison. But the lord deputie he passed thense to Gallewaie, and after he had there staied a few daies, for the comforting of the townesmen, who stood much dismaied of their estate, and in feare to be surprised and taken for pledges: he passed through Thomond, and came to Limerike, where he setled sir William Drurie (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thense being accompanied and attended vpon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Corke, & there the lord president remained.

The lord deputie altereth his course, and entreth into Connagh.

The earle of Clanricard is sent to the castell of Dublin and kept in close prison.

Sir William Drurie placed to be lord president in Mounster.

The gouernmẽt of sir William Drurie.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernement of that prouince, did beare himselfe so vprightlie, and in so honourable a sort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and maners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the euill men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subiects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be done vpon the enimie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer cease to pursue him, vntill he had either taken him, or driuen him out of the countrie. If anie matters were in variance betweene man and man, or anie bils of complaints exhibited vnto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuilitie, & their maners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did maruellouslie reforme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, sauing the countie palatine in Kerie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse any iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the most

The earle of Desmond will haue no officer to intermeddle in his countie palantine.

The countie palantine a sanctuarie of sinne and wickednesse.

most lose and dissolute life there vsed, and that it was a sanctuarie for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of iustice was now become a cloke and a shrowd for all licentiousnesse: he purposed and was fullie determined to make a iournete into that priuileged place, to make a passage for law and iustice to be there exercised, euen as he had tofore done in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leaue a scabbed sheepe, nor good for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The lord president purposeth to doo iustice in Kerrie.

The erle, when he perceiued this, he was in a great furie and agonie, and vsed all the waies he could to dissuade the lord president from the same. Which when he by no means could compasse, then according to his accustomable dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the seruice he could doo to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to vse his house and countrie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waie; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissemblinglie and in secret deuised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing misknowing anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granteth the earles request; and when he saw time, he taketh his iourneie into Kerrie, hauing no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of six score, or seuen score persons: and as he passed through the countrie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard euerie mans complaint: and at length as his iourneie laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earls. The earle hauing the gouernor (as he thought) within his clooches, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had deuised secretlie; had appointed in a readinesse seuen hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intrapped his lordship; and in sted of a bien venu into the countrie, to haue cut him off for euer comming more there. Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship saw and vnderstood; and considering that he was so neere vpon them, as that he was either to aduenture vpon them, or with dishonor to hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his companie togither, and with verie good and pithie words incourageth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forwards, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, notwithstanding they were all well armed, and seuen to one of the other: yet being as it were astonied at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & through all that land: both the earls and his companie turned their heeles, forsoke the field, and dispersed themselues into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie

The lord president entreth into Kerrie.

The treacherous practise of the earle to haue intrapped thr lord president.

The lord president gineth the charge vpon the earle of Desmond.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorow and heauinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigaell went and met the lord president, fell vpon hir knees, held vp hir hands, and with trilling teares praied his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could hir husbands follie, saieng that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting, nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men seeing his lordship could not be persuaded to make anie staie: and so praied his lordship to take it. And herein she so wiselie and in such modestie did behaue hir selfe, that his lordship granted hir request, and temporised with the earle. But he followed his determination, and vsed his authoritie to decide matters in and throughout the palantine of Kerrie. This greeued the earle to the hart, who hauing no other waie to be reuenged, he deuiseth certeine articles against the president, which he with great exclames exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Corke, he returned to Dublin, where he was aduertised that the Mac an Earles in Connagh had hired a new supplie of two thousand Scots, and were in actuall rebellion. Wherevpon he prepared a new iournete thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were vp in campe and in outragious maner spoiling the countries. But before his comming they had besieged Bailie Riogh which was the earles their fathers house, and for his treacherous dealings confiscated.

The earle complaineth against the lord president.

The Mac an Earles in Connagh rise in rebellion.

The earls sons doo besiege Bailie Riogh.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thense, had placed Thomas le Strange, and capteine Collier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsemen to lie in garrison; but the earls sons, thinking themselues of sufficient strength to recouer the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and inuironed it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not preuaile; but the garrison within did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and slue at sundrie times six of their principall capteins, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they saw they could not preuaile, they raised their siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countrie; but especiallie vpon Mac William Eughter, from whome they tooke sundrie of his castels, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not slacking nor slowing his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who skipped to and fro in such sort, that in no case could he find them at any aduantage. Wherfore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursute to be made vpon them. And by that meanes, although he could not méete with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full aduantage vpon them; yet manie times he met with some of them, slue them, hanged and executed them, tooke their preies from them, and gained awaie their holds and castels. And at length hauing good espials, it was aduertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confins and marches of Mac William Eughters countrie: and thereupon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie manie of them fell into his lap, who had their rewards. Vnto whose lordship resorted the said Mac William with all the force he had, & could make; who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of power in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew himselfe most loiall, and did the best seruice that was done vpon the rebels: and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recouered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castels, which in this rebellion had béene taken from him.

Maister william Eughter his countrie spoiled.

The lord deputie followeth the rebels.

The Scots incamped in Connagh.

Mac william Eughter commeth with all the force he could make vnto the lord deputie.

The Scots, when they heard of the approching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenlie dispersed themselues, and the most of them, being werie of their abode and interteinment, fled into the rout in Vlster. The residue like vnto the bare arsed rebels sculked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the galles of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by iournies returned towards Dublin, and hauing a little before receiued hir maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Malbie hir seruant, whome she commended for his sufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes: and as well for the incouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; hir pleasure was to commit vnto him the chéefe charge and gouernement

The Scots forsake Connagh and returne home.

Sir Nicholas Malbie appointed gouernor of Connagh.

uernement vnder the said deputie in Connagh, and willed that he should be forthwith established in that office, & to be sworne one of hir priuie councell, & to haue that countenance, authoritie, & interteinement as was meet, conuenient & agréable for the place, office, & person. Which the said deputie most willinglie & gladlie performed, dubbed him knight, and made him gouernor by the name of a colonell of Connaugh: thinking himselfe most happie, that he was assisted with such a man, as who for his experience in iudgement, his discretion in gouernement, and his painefulnesse and skill in martiall seruice was sufficient and compleat; and best able, partlie by force, partlie by persuasion, and chieflie by ministring of iustice, was (I saie) best able, and would frame the rude and barbarous people of that prouince to ciuilitie and good order. And thus much he aduertised vnto hir maiestie by his letters, with thankes for hir choise of so meete and apt a man.

During the time of this seruice and being of the lord deputie in Connagh, the earle of Esser, a man of great nobilitie and parentage died in Dublin. Great doubts were made of his death; some thinking that he should be poisoned, because he was then in the best time of his age, of a verie good constitution of bodie, and not knowne to haue beene sicke anie time before his death. But the matter examined by all the meanes that could be deuised, there was no such thing then found: but supposed, that for so much as he had a flux, which was a spise of a *Dysenteria*, and wherewith he had beene oftentimes before troubled, by the inspection and iudgement of such physicians & others who were present, it was iudged and found that it was some cause of his death. Some thought rather that he should be bewitched, as that countrie is much giuen to such dailie practises. But how far is that from all christianitie, all wise and godlie do know, and euerie good christian should vnderstand. It is against the word of the Lord and all christian religion; and therefore not to be credited. It was thought and so affirmed by the most part of all men, that some inward griefe of the mind and secret sorrow of the hart had hastened that, which no infirmitie of the bodie nor anie other deuises extraordinarie could compasse. For where that maladie is once entered, and hath seized and taken possession, and which by no physicke can be releeued or cured: it is but in vaine to minister the same to the bodie, which can not indure when the other faileth, no more than can an accident remaine, when the substance is gone; or else as the imbers or ashes giue heat, when the wood is burned and consumed.

The death of the earle of Esser.

*Dysenteria.*

The sundrie opinions of his death. Poisoning. Witchcraft.

Sorrow and griefe of mind.

No physicke against the sorow of the mind.

He was no more honorable of birth and parentage by his ancestors, of whome some descended out of kings loines; but as singular a man for all the gifts both of mind and bodie, as that age had not manie better. Towards God he was most deuout and religious, whome he serued according to his holie word in all truth and sinceritie, and his whole life according to his vocation he framed after the same; being not spotted with drunkennesse, couetousnesse, whoredome, incontinencie, or anie other notorious crime: a great fauourer of the godlie, a friend to the professors of the gospell, & an extreame enimie to the papists & enimies of the true religion: to his prince & souereigne most dutifull and humble, faithfull & obedient: his superiors he honored, his elders he reuerenced, his equals he loued, his inferiors he fauored: to his countrie trustie, to the commonwealth zealous, to all men courteous, and to the poore and oppressed bounteous and liberall.

The vertues of the earle of Esser.

In matters of policie he was verie prudent, and of a great reach: in causes of counsell sound, and of a deepe iudgement: in martiall affaires most valiant and of great courage, and of so heroicall a mind, that if his abilitie had answered his good will, he had not bin a second, neither to Lacie, nor to Courcie, nor to anie the first conquerors of Ulster to the crowne of England. For such a plot he had laid for the regaining therof, that it could not be denied, but if the same had beene followed, great good would haue insued in processe of time to hir maiestie, in obedience and reuenues, and a great suertie to that estate, and the like increase of benefit to the whole commonwealth. The more noble were his good and worthie attempts, the more he was crossed and contraried: but by such secret meanes, as which he did rather for the most part coniecture amisse, than hit aright: but yet such was the great valour of his mind, and the magnanimitie of his stomach, that his good meanings & attempts, for the honor of his prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth, being so contraried and ouerthwarted, be whome no trauels, no paines, no seruice, no hardnesse could breake; the verie griefe of mind and sorrow of heart (as it was thought) did onelie consume and ouerthrow. He was also verie learned, and of great reading, and sometimes a scholer in the vniuersitie, and had verie good knowledge in all kind of letters, as well theologicall as humane, and of a verie quicke wit to conceiue, of a good capacitie to vnderstand, and of a readie tong to vtter and deliuer in a verie good order what he had conceiued; and so well he would discourse and argue anie matter, as few scholers better, and not manie so skilfull in anie one, as he was generallie in all good vertues. A more noble man euerie waie, not England, nor anie other nation hath lightlie afforded. And certeinlie, if it had pleased God that Lachesis had bene idle, or had spun a longer thread, that he might haue liued to haue beene imploied according to his excellent vertues, either in matters of counsell, of policie, or martiall, no doubt he would haue proued a most worthie and beneficiall member vnto hir maiestie, and hir whole commonwealth. As his life was, so also was his death most godlie, comfortable, and vertuous, the one answerable to the other, euen as S. Augustine writeth; *vix malè moritur qui benè vixit*. In all the time of his sickenesse, which was about twentie or one and twentie daies, although he were manie times tormented with grieuous pangs in the bellie: yet was he neuer heard to grudge or murmur, nor to speake anie angrie or idle word, but most patientlie and meekelie tooke all things in good part. After he perceiued that nature began to faile and defect, he yéelded himselfe to die, and was verie desirous that his friends and wellwillers should haue accesse vnto him, and to abide by him at their pleasure. And by that meanes he had continuallie about him diuerse men of all degrees, as well of the clergie, as of the laitie, both men and women, gentlemen & seruants, before whom he did shew most apparant arguments of a godlie and vnfeined repentance of his life past, and of a most christian and perfect charitie with all the world, freelie forgiuing euerie offense done vnto him, and asking the like of all others. His faith he openlie confessed, and witnessed a most vndoubted assurance of his saluation in Christ Jesus, purchased for him in his bloud and death: and manie times he would with a lowd voice saie; *Cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo.* He spent most part of the time, when the extremitie of his sickenesse did not let him, in praiers, and in hearing the word read vnto him, and would vse such godlie admonitions, such pithie persuasions, & so graue instructions, as he neuer did, nor thought he could do in all his life time: for he neuer seemed in all his daies to be halfe so wise, learned, and eloquent. The nearer that death drew, the more feruent he

A plot for the regaining of Ulster.

The earle of Esser contraried in all his attempts.

The earle verie well learned.

His patience in his sickenes

A godlie life hath a godlie end.

His repentance and charitie.

He confesseth his faith.

His praieng and hearing the word.

he was in praier, and requested all his companie to dw the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Jesus. And when his tong gaue ouer to speake anie more, he lifted vp his hands & eies to the Lord his God, vntill most sweetlie, mildlie, and godlie he did yéeld vp his ghost, which manie times before he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man vpon the two and twentith daie of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his frends, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaine of himselfe, who by all apparant arguments and testimonies of his vndouted faith, doth assure vs of his euerlasting ioie, and eternall felicitie.

See more of this earle of Essex in the chronicles of England, pag. 1263.

About three daies before his death, he wrot his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good frendships past betweene them, and wished that the good and faithfull dealings betweene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. Then he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a speciall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselfe should die to his frends, yet his sonne the earle of Essex might liue to the seruice of his prince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his buriall, and herewith he sent vnto his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memoriall of the loue and goodwill past betweene them. And now leauing this honorable earle in his heauenlie ioie and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this effere and effrenated nation.

His letters to the lord deputie.

The effect of the earles letters to the deputie.

The prouince of Mounster was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betweene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which vpon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeie, vntill *volens nolens* he were pressed thereunto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie wilfull man, notwithstanding he had at Corke yéelded himselfe (of his owne frée consent) to abide the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countrie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered followers, he would not be withdrawen from his wonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie cesse; and wrote his letters to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell in England, complaining much, and prouing nothing, and aggrauating the taking of the cesse, with most manifest vntruths. And so far he was carried in misliking the gouernment, bicause he saw his owne wonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie faine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiration with the forelorne sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, as was his brother sir John of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue ioined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Mounster, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which caried the more likelihood, bicause his intention was to put awaie his owne wife, & to haue matched himselfe in marriage with Shanes sister, who was Orwackes wife, & of late forsaken by him. Neuer the lesse, the erle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to espie out both his and all the rest of their doings, and in such a readinesse to be at inches with them, and vpon their bones if they started out neuer so little, that he kept himselfe quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which before he denied, being verie notorious malefactors and practisers of vnquietnesse.

The disagréements betweene the earls of Desmond and Thomond.

The earle of Desmond repineth against all good orders, and complaineth against the cesse.

Sir John of Desmond committed to ward.

Sir D. Desmond putteth away his wife and marrieth another mans wife.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward shew more quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whome least suspicion of anie euill was thought, they begin verie inconsideratlie to repine against the cesse: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue mainteined it: because that the same was procured for the defense of themselues, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdome, knowlege, and experience, when he considered the fickle state of that wauering and rebellious nation of the Irishrie, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmly promised, sworne, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to hir maiestie: yet vpon euerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and dutie, would fling out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appeasing thereof, and the preseruation of hir good subiects, hir highnesse was driuen to inlarge hir garrisons, and to increase hir armie to hir excessiue charges, and all which companies were victelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributorie to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and priuileges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the more greéued, & the greater burthened, to their impouerishing, & the hinderance of their seruice: the lord deputie caused a through search to be made in hir highnesse court of the exchéker in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and all manner of liberties which at anie time had tofore bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoeuer: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were vsurped, or by statute repealed.

The gentlemen in the pale begin to repine against the cesse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the cesse.

The records searched for liberties.

Wherevpon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be borne more vniuersallie, and so more indifferentlie; and for the better furtherance of hir highnesse seruice: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and frédoms to be dissolued, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are greéued, and therefore do repine against cesse; and with open mouths crie out, that they were so poore that they could not beare anie cesse, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what cesse is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogatiue of the prince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of victels for men and horsse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the quéens price, to all and euerie such souldiors as she is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be yéerelie rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the councell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices as the souldiors may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his interteinment.

Liberties dissolued by proclamation.

what cesse is.

These things although they were orderlie done, yet certeine malecontents, finding themselues greéued, bicause they should also now beare a portion, and be

The malecõtents make their supplication to the

lord deputie & councell to be discharged of the cesse.

be contributaries: first they draw their heads togither, and make there supplication to the lord deputie and councell, which was receiued verie willinglie, and offer made that conference should be had with them, how and what waie it might best be deuised to ease there grieues, & not to charge the queene. Wherevpon at a time appointed they all met, and came in persons before the deputie and councell, where the said malecontents first opened their grieues, that they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and liberties which were taken from them; then that they were compelled to yeeld to an vnreasonable cesse, which they were not able to beare, and that was will and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and reason, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon them without a parlement or grand councell.

When the lord deputie and councell heard them at full, they appointed a daie, when they should come and receiue their answer. In the meane time the lord deputie and councell consulted and considered of the matter, and resolued themselues vpon an answer. And when the daie came and they appeered, answer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord chancellor, that they had no charters nor liberties at all to be found in hir highnesse records, other than such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for the greatnesse of the cesse, the burden whereof they had alleged to be vnreasonable and not to be borne, because they said & auouched that it was ten pounds & twelue pounds of ech plough land; it was offered that they should be discharged, if they would paie but fiue markes for euerie plough land. And whatsoeuer they said in deniall of the paieng of the cesse, it was and is to be proued, that it was not onelie hir maiesties prerogatiue which may not be impeached; but also to be prooued by most ancient records, that euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the like charges imposed by the name of cesse by the deputie and councell, and such nobilitie as were sent for and did come to the same, now in question and by them repined at. Neuertheless, they repined and flatlie denied that they would yéeld to anie cesse, saieng and alledging as before, that it was against reason and law, and therefore praied that they might haue his lordships libertie to make their repaire ouer into England, and to acquaint hir highnesse with their case. Whereunto he answered, that he would neither giue any such leaue nor denie them to go. Wherevpon they assembled themselues togither againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie headed lawiers and malecontented gentlemen, who had stirred and set them a worke to conioine themselues to follow this suite, and contributed a masse of monie amongst themselues, for the charge of the said lawiers, namelie Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard Peteruill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing béene sometimes students in the ins of the court in London, & acquainted with Littletons tenures, thought themselues so well fraughted with knowledge in the laws, as they were able to wade in all matters of the déepest points of the law. But if they had first (as it becommeth dutifull subiects) to haue looked in the booke of God, they should haue found it written there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings and established their thrones, and gaue them most excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogatiue, that all inferiors and subiects should and ought in all humblenesse and dutifulnesse submit themselues vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake: because so is it the will of God, without sifting of his authoritie or examining his gouernment. For there is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God, & they are ordeined of God; wherfore who so resisteth them, resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences the Lord himselfe hath reuenged oftentimes on the disobedient. Wherfore euerie man is to be subiect in all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all maner of ordinances, being not against God, not onlie because of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especiallie in matters being well considered, & which do concerne their one benefit and safetie. If this be the infallible truth, how farre were these men ouershot, that thus would dispute the princes prerogatiue with their Littletons tenures; and measure the same with their owne rules and deuises? It had bin much better for them, & more to their commendations, if they had (as the scholers of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held their peace, vntill such time as they had bene better studied in their owne lawes: and then they should haue found it written that the prince or king is the head and most excellent part of the bodie of the commonwealth; and through his gouernance the preseruer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the prophet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which causes the lawes do attribute vnto him all honor, dignitie, prerogatiue, and preeminence aboue all others; and which his prerogatiue doth not onelie extend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of his owne, but also to all his subiects. And the lawyers themselues do so far stretch this for a *Maxime*, that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established either for the benefit of holie church or common profit, it is alwaies implied *Saluo in omnibus regis prærogatiua*; and that nothing shall be intended to be preiudiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likelihood these men were not so farre read; or if they had, their malice or desire of some pelting lucre, which blindeth manie of that profession, had made them forgetfull of themselues & of their duties. Well, these great lawiers beare the malecontented lords & gentlemen in hand, that their cause & suite was good and reasonable, and by the law to be warranted, & not to be doubted but the same would haue good successe. Wherevpon they made vp their supplication and letters to hir maiestie, with the like letters to hir honorable priuie councell, dated the tenth of Januarie, 1576, and vnder the hands of Rowland vicount of Baltinglas, Ed. of Deluin, Christopher of Hoth, Peter of Trimleston, James of Kellew, and Patrike Naugle barons; sir Oliuer Plunket, sir Thomas Nugeat, sir Christopher Chiuers, and sir William Searefield knights; Edward Plunket, Patrike Naugle, Patrike Hussete, George Plunket, Francis Nugeat, Laurence Nugeat, Nicholas Talle, James Nugeat, and William Talbot, in the names of all the inhabitants within the English pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered in the like order their letters of atturneie vnto their said agents, and so much monie for their expenses as was thought sufficient, with their order and promise to supplie what soeuer they should need. And thus being furnished with all things to their contentments, they past ouer the seas, and made their repaire vnto the court of England, and there at time conuenient did exhibit their supplications and letters to hir maiestie and the lords of the councell, which in effect consisted in these points.

The kings prerogatiue by the lawes of the realme.

The impaled gentlemen send into England their agents to complaine.

The prerogatiue of a prince by the law of God.

First, that where there was a cesse imposed by the lord deputie and councell vpon the English pale for hir maiesties garrisons, they finding themselues grieued therewith, made their complaint thereof vnto the said lord deputie and councell for redresse, and could not be heard.

The effect of the letters & complaints exhibited to hir maiestie and councell.

2 Secondarilie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or ante other like to be imposed vpon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vsages of that realme.

3 Thirdlie, that the cesse was a most intollerable and grievous burden, there being exacted out of euerie ploughland ten and twelue pounde.

4 Fourthlie, that in the leuieng and exacting, there were manie and sundrie abuses done and committed.

The matter is referred to the councell.

When hir maiestie had throughlie read both the complaints and letters, she forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lords of hir priuie councell to be considered, and the same to be throughlie examined; who forthwith assembled themselues, and hauing read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lords & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and councell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of the matter, that they might the better proue and vnderstand the greatnesse therof, did by hir highnesse commandement call before them the earles of Kildare and Ormond, the vicount of Gormanstone, and the baron of Dunsanie, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the maner of these mens proceedings both heere and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie deed, vnder color to seeke some reliefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of ante cesse, and so consequentlie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogatiue, which hir maiestie & predecessors haue alwaies inioied, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselues preserued.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, seemed to be sorie, and to mislike of their vnaduised proceedings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath beene alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subiect, who would denie or impugne the same: although they wished and did praie, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarsitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lords of the councell had proceeded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered vp their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the doings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: because he had written otherwise.

The answers of the councell to the articles of the complainers.

To the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogatiue, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath beene vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecessors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vnlesse hir highnesse would lose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne purse: neither which extreamities could or might in anie wise be tollerated.

To the third, that the cesse was intollerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounds and twelue pounds should be demanded out of euerie ploughland, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and councell the contrarie, & that they were offered at fiue marks the ploughland: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

To the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were done, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redresse thereof to be ordered.

When hir highnesse had read and thoroughlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vndutifullie to be handled by hir subiects, commanded by the aduise of hir councell the said agents which followed their suite, to be committed to the Fleet, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and councell, finding hir selfe grieued with the said hir subiects of the pale, that the releeuing of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse, should be auouched to be a matter against law, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie beene imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed thereunto, in preiudice of hir prerogatiue, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therfore she did not onelie mislike, & was greatlie offended with these their presumptuous and vndutifull maner of proceeding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir councell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogatiue in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which meanes the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue beene remedied. And therefore as hir highnesse had alreadie giuen order for committing them to the Fleet, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their iustifieng and mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore seeking to impeach hir prerogatiue and roiall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole councell to send for those lords and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and auow the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogatiue, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and auowing to be likewise committed.

Hir maiestie offended with the complainers.

The agents of the complainers sent to the Fleet.

Hir maiestie offended with the lord deputie and councell for suffering the complainers vnpunished.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the maner of the leuieng the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoeuer were culpable therein, he should be punished with all seueritie. And herewith also she was contented, and had giuen order for some qualification to be yeelded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and councell should be thought meet: considering the scarsitie and the dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lords and gentlemen vpon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselues simplie, and vnder their handwritings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbeare (contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in mainteinance against the said prerogatiue, to be displaced and discharged out of hir fee, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought meet. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the councell, the lord deputie and councell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and councell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were specialle noted to be councellors, ringleaders, and procurors of these letters to hir maiestie and the lords of hir councell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of freedome from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogatiue, and affirming boldlie in plaine speeches and without anie sticking, that no cesse

The complainers which subscribed to be sent and committed to ward.

The malcontents & their abettors sent for.

The proud answers of the malcontents.

ceſſe could be impoſed but by parlement or a grand councell; and whatſoeuer was otherwiſe ſet downe, was againſt the law: and ſo ſtubbornelie they were bent therein, that they would not yeeld to anie conference: whereupon they were all committed to the caſtell of Dublin, notwithſtanding ſome of them (after they had better aduiſed themſelues) yeelded a ſubmiſſion and praied mercie.

The malcontents are all committed to priſon.

Which doings when the lord deputie and councell had forthwith aduertiſed to hir highneſſe & the councell in England; they nothing liking theſe arrogant and diſloiall parts of theſe impaled malecontents, ſent for their agents; and hauing the like conference with them, found them of like diſpoſition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie froward, arrogant, and wilfull: whereupon they were remoued from the Fleet to the Tower: a place appointed for the offendors in capitall cauſes, and for ſuch (being impugners of hir prerogatiue) as be ſuppoſed to offend in the neereſt degree to the higheſt. Theſe things when they were notified vnto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were maruellouſlie greeued; but not the one nor the other would giue ouer, vntill their arrogancies and inſolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie conuinced, and condemned: for which the lord chancellor of verie purpoſe was ſent ouer into England, who ſo fullie, effectuallie, and diſcreetlie did reſolue hir maieſtie and councell in euerie point, which the parties agents could not denie.

The agents for their frowardneſſe ſent to the Tower.

The lord chancellor of Ireland ſent into England.

Now in the end they conſidered better of themſelues, and ſent their humble ſubmiſſion in writing vnder their hands to the ſaid lords of hir maieſties priuie councell, confeſſing that they had diſloiallie and inſolentlie, both in words and writings offended moſt greeuouſlie; proteſting yet that their intent was neuer to denie hir roiall prerogatiue, to vſe the ſame as occaſion ſhould ſerue, but onelie to redreſſe certeine abuſes; and therefore moſt humblie praied they might find ſome mercie, and that the hard and painfull impriſonment which they had ſuſteined, might be a ſufficient puniſhment for the ſame.

The agents ſubmit themſelues.

The agents were releaſed vpon their bonds to appeare before the lord deputie and councell.

Whereupon they were releaſed, putting in bonds of one thouſand pounds, that within fiue daies they ſhould depart homewards into Ireland; and after their tranſportation & arriuall thither, ſhould make their immediat repaire, without faile or lingering, to the lord deputie and councell, and there to giue their attendance, vntill by them they ſhould be licenced to depart. At their comming home they performed the conditions of their obligations, and moſt humblie in like order ſubmitted themſelues to the lord deputie and councell, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the councell in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and councell in Ireland) the ſame was after long trauerſe ended and determined. But here to ſet downe what practiſes, informations, & deuiſes were made againſt the ſaid deputie, by the ſaid malecontents, and ſome (by their means) of no ſmall calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the ſubiects from loiall obedience, that he had farmed all the whole relme, that he had waſted hir maieſties treaſures and reuenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he ſhould for this dealing with hir ſubiects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduiſe of others, contrarie to the courſe of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the imboldening of manie which offended the more.

The falſe accuſations made againſt the lord deputie.

These and manie ſuch other like vntruths they ſpred. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifeſt it to the whole world, that their ouerthrow was his credit, and his preuaile was to their reproch and ſhame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward griefes, which for a time by the meanes of their falſe ſuggeſtions he ſuſteined, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great ioy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offenſe ſhould fall into the conſideration of this their reſiſtance, and repining againſt the ceſſe, which was then enterpriſed and taken in hand; when the whole land ſtood in a broken and doubtfull ſtate, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Deſmond frowardlie kicked at the like, and all the lords in Mounſter had contrarie to their owne orders and promiſes, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the Engliſh pale, to paie anie ceſſe; when James Fitzmoris being furniſhed with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was dailie loked for to come and inuade the land; and when the great ones hauing hollow harts, and addicted to papiſtrie, did dailie gape and expect for the ſame; when the diſloiall Iriſhrie in Mounſter and Connaugh were combined and ioined in theſe conſpiracies; when Rorie Og, Dmore, Connor Mac Cormake, Dconnor & others, animated by the forſaid conſpiracies, were vp in open rebellion, and vſed moſt execrable outrages; when ſome of the beſt townes in Leinſter did aid, comfort, and mainteine theſe rebels, and beſides manie other circumſtances concurring herewith: might it not be well preſumed (and as it was ſo doubted) that the cauſe being like, they ſhould alſo be combined and linked alike? And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better herring? And yet notwithſtanding it fell in the end to a better effect. For the lords and inhabitants in the Engliſh pale, ſince the time of the conqueſt by king Henrie the ſecond, and ſince their firſt arriuall into this land, it hath not beene lightlie knowne that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in anie warres againſt the crowne of England, and the kings of the ſame; ſauing as now in reſpect to ſaue their purſſes, rather than meaning anie breach of dutie, had ouer ſhot themſelues: which vpon a further conſideration of the truth they repented, and vpon their ſubmiſſion were pardoned, in hope and vpon their promiſe that they would neuer thenſeforth offend, nor be found faultie with the like. During the trauerſe about the ceſſe, manie things happened in the land worthie to be reprehended (as great and ſundrie were the aduertiſements from out of France by ſuch Engliſhmen as were there imploied) of an intention of James Fitzmoris to inuade Ireland, who had beene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and returned from thenſe with a good maſſe of treaſure, making his returne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furniſhed with men, munitions, & treaſures, and all things neceſſarie. Which things were by letters from him ſignified vnto the chéefeſt of all Mounſter his ſecret confederats, and they being papiſts both in bodie & ſoule, deſirous of change of gouernement, and to be vnder a prince of their owne ſuperſtition, did dailie languiſh and expect his comming. Wherefore hir maieſtie and councell, hauing the like intelligences, do alſo prepare monie, munitions, victuels, and men, and all other things neceſſarie for the withſtanding of him.

The fidelitie of the Engliſh pale to the crowne.

Rorie Og, Dmore, and Connor Mac Cormake, Dconnor, and their coparteners, contrarie to their othes, ſubmiſſions, and promiſes, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began anew to gather their frends and confederats out of ſeuerall places, to the number of a hundred ſwords, which with his owne made aboue ſeauenſcore; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerſe mens

haggards, poore mens houses, and sundrie villages, and committed manie outrages: and being not resisted, he toke such incouragement of his successe, that leauing poore villages, he went to great towns, as to the Naas, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same daie that he came thither at night, was the patrone daie of the said towne, commonlie called the church holie daie, which daie after the maner of that countrie, and not much vnlike the festiuall daies which the Ethniks and Pagans were wont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and Uenus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkennesse, and surfetting. And after they had so filled their panches, and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, hauing forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put anie watch to ward them. Which thing Rorie Og when he knew, and hauing intelligence that euerie man was in his bed a-sléepe, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who like vnto a sort of furies and diuels new come out of hell, carried vpon the ends of their poles flankes of fier, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house toke fier of another, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the towne supposed to be fiue hundred persons in outward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but they being in their dead sléeps, suddenlie awaked, were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the fier was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enimie they were altogither vnfurnished, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they could tell which way to follow him. For he taried verie little in the towne, sauing that he sat a little while vpon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and triumph, that he had done and exploited so diuelish an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed vsage in all his euill actions, but yet contrarie to his vsage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he returned he preied and spoiled the countrie, and ranging to and fro, as his wauering head carried him, he came verie shortlie vnto the towne at Leighlin bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

The burning of the Naas by Rorie Og.

Rorie Og burneth the towne at Leighlin bridge.

But George Carew brother vnto Peter Carew, then constable of the said towne and fort, hauing then but a small ward to defend the violence of the enimie, and yet thinking it should be too great a dishonour vnto him to be bearded with a traitor, and to let him depart vnfought withall: he issued out vpon him, hauing with him onelie seuen horsemen and fiue shot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels, being two hundred and fortie, with such a courage and valiantnesse (and they astonied bicause it was so sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of them: and then they with the losse of those men began to flie. But at last when they perceiued his force to be but small, and too weake to resist their great number, they returned and chased him to the verie walles of the castell; where if he and his small companie had not like valiant and good souldiers acquitted themselues, the rebels had entred into the house; for they were within the gate and there fought, but driuen out and the gate shut. At this bickering they lost sixtéene men, and one of their chiefe captaines named Piers Poinagh, who died verie shortlie after of his hurt. Capteine Carew lost but two men and one horsse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie was hurt.

George Carew with twelue persons against 240 setteth vpon them & driueth them to flie.

The castell in danger to be taken.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this interteinement, presentlie retired and departed, by which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saued. After their returne from hense, they spoiled sundrie townes and villages vpon the confines & borders of the English pale. And albeit they were verie egerlie followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse of his companie, yet he was so mainteined, and his watch and spiall was so good, that partlie by the helpe of his acquaintance, and partlie by meanes of the water bogs and fastenesse in euerie place, he was in safegard and safetie. In this pursute made vpon him, it happened that a parlée was appointed betwéene capteine Harington and him: vnto whom Rorie Og swore and promised most faithfullie to yeeld himselfe to some conformitie and order. The capteine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much credit to his subtill promises, and did so open himselfe vnto him, that through his owne follie Rorie toke aduantage, and perforce toke him and Alexander Cosbie, who was with him in hand, both which he handfasted togither, and caried them along with him as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs, threatening them still to kill them. This thing being knowne, great sorow and greefe was conceiued of the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and dailie practises were deuised for their deliueries; and at length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a manner concluded. But before the same was fullie perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught vpon Rorie: for he knowing where the said Rorie was wont to haunt, and by good espials learning where his couch and cabine was, he being accompanied with Parker lieutenant to capteine Furse and fiftie of his band, earelie in the morning, about two houres before daie, he went and marched to the verie place where Rorie late, and beset the same. Rorie hearing an vnwonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddenlie vpon Harington and Cosbie, thinking to haue slaine them, and gessing in the darke to the place where they late, gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open the doore of the cabin, he toke as manie as were within prisoners: but Rorie himselfe and one other priuilie in the darke stole awaie and crept among the bushes, so that he could not be found. The souldiers in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there, but saued capteine Harington and Cosbie.

The enimie is driuen to retire and flie awaie.

Rorie Og by slight and deceipt taketh capteine Harington prisoner.

A draught made vpon Rorie Og by Harepole.

Capteine Harington is hurt.

Rorie Og escapeth.

Rorie Og albeit he was glad that he was so escaped, yet in a great griefe for the losse of his prisoners, and minding to be reuenged, priuilie with all the companies which he could get, besides them which Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh, he went to Catherlough earlie in the morning, and burned a few haggards of corne and a few houses, and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hereof, forthwith followeth them with ten or twelue horsses which he had in a readinesse, and at a ford not far off he ouertoke them, and killed sirtéene or seuentéene of his best men, and Rorie himselfe escaped verie narowlie; and so continued still in his former outrages, vntill he was intrapped and taken by a deuise of his owne to intrap others, which was in this manner. Vpon the nine and twentith of June 1578, he set forth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cunninglie framed, and made apt for the purpose to go to sir Barnard Fitzpatrike lord of vpper Ossorie, and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and in secretie, that Rorie Og had béene of late in the countie of Kilkennie, and there had taken a great preie and spoile of pots, pans, and other houshold-stuffe, which he might easilie take if he would aduen-

Capteine Harington is deliuered.

Rorie Og burneth Catherlough.

1578

A bait laid for the lord of vpper Ossorie.

ture

ture the matter; and if he did wiselie handle it, he might also take Rorie himselfe and all his companie, which as he said (but vntrulie) that they were but few in number. The lord of vpper Osserie, neither beléeuing nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet forecasting the worst, did put himselfe in readinesse to follow the occasion that was offered; and taking with him a good companie of horsemen and footmen, went towards the place where the bait was laied; and being come néere vnto it made staie, or else he had béene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his men into the woods to serch for Rorie. But the baron himselfe with certeine of his horsemen and shot staied in the plaines, to attend the issue of the matter. The companie were no soner entered into the woods, but Rorie the rebell shewed himselfe with a thirtie persons, the rest lieng in ambush; and he was of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so great, and of such value among the Irishrie, that no man durst to aduenture vpon him if he once saw his presence. But he was deceiued. For at the first sight and view of him, the lord of Osseries Kerne gaue the charge vpon him, and at their incounter one of them lighted vpon him, and with his sword presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was no soner done, but two or three hacked vpon him, & gaue him such deadlie wounds that he fell downe and died, the same being the last daie of June beforesaid; and so this bloudie caitife, delting all in bloud, perished and died in his owne bloud.

Rorie Og is slaine.

But before Rorie Og was thus brought to destruction, the lord deputie made a iournie to the borders of Offallie and Ler, to haue met with the foresaid Rorie Og & his companions the Oconnors for the suppressing of their insolencie, who were growen into such a pride by taking of capteine Harington, and their strength so increased, that with most vndutifull termes they breathed out slanderous spéeches against hir maiestie, as which were not to be indured. Wherefore he beset the whole countrie & confines as he thought best, to stop their passage and to annoie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and there by sundrie examinations found people of all degrees in that towne to haue relieued the said Rorie with vittels and all other necessaries, for his feeding and defense, with whome he toke order according to their deserts. At his being there he sent for the earle of Desmond to come vnto him, because he had refused to come to the lord president when he sent for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said lord president was there to complaine vpon him, as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without anie warrant, gathered togither a rable of lewd and vnrulie followers, which harried vp and downe the countrie, eating and spending vpon the same, contrarie to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered.

The lord deputie maketh a iournie vpō Rorie Og.

The earle of Desmōd sent for to come to the lord deputie to Kilkennie.

Which earle forthwith, vpon the receipt of the said letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and there being examined of those his vnséemelie parts, confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and much mistrusted and doubted the president, least he would haue staied him, and haue vsed him hardlie, for which he was blamed and reproued by the lord deputie. But in the end, when they came togither, they were reconciled and made good friends, and then he promised vpon his returne home to disperse abroad his companions, and to obeie the president as hir maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to come vnto him at all commandements, and which things he performed. For not long after he vttered and bewraied to the said lord president the practises of James Fitzmoris, who by the arriuall of certeine Frenchmen and Irishmen vnto Sligo, in a ship of saint Malowes, did what he could to stirre & make a rebellion in Mounster and Connagh, whereby a plot was laied for the staie of those Frenchmen, and the apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good demonstrations to the vtter shew of the obedience and loialtie of the said earle, but in truth méere dissimulation, as afterwards it appeared.

The earle of Desmond and the lord president of Mounster are reconciled.

The earle of Desmond discouereth to ỹ

lord president Iames Fitzmoris his practises.

Connagh was in some part troubled, by meanes of Owarke capteine of his surname; in whose countrie there were certeine coiners of monie, and maintained by him. The colonell vnderstanding hereof, he sent vnto Owarke for them, and who denied to deliuer anie of them: wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a priuat band of footmen, who distressed Owarke, slue his men, toke his castell, and put all the ward to the sword. Whereupon he came with all humilitie, and submitted himselfe, and craued pardon. All the residue of Connagh was verie quiet, and increased hir maiesties reuenues to the yearelie summe of eighteene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good contentation. And now when it was thought that all things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold sudden aduertisements were giuen both vnto hir maiestie and councell in England, and to the lord deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukeleie was arriued out of Italie vnto Cadis in Spaine, with certeine men, ships, and munitions assigned vnto him by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine strangers attending vpon him, he was come to the seas, to land vpon some part of the realme of Ireland, in traitorous maner to inuade the same, and to prouoke the people to ioine with him in rebellion. All things, as well men, munitions, monie, vittels, and all other things necessarie were prouided and prepared for the preuenting of them, as well by sea as by land: but in the end, aduertisement was giuen from out of Portugall, that his enterprise was diuerted another waie, and to another purpose, and so all things were quiet. Neuertheless, it appeared that he was in great fauour with the pope, and was appointed to some speciall seruice against hir maiestie, if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the incouraging of him, the pope besides great treasures liberallie bestowed vpon him, he gaue him sundrie titles of honour, and made him knight, baron of Rosse and Idron, vicount of the Morough & Kenshlagh, and earle of Wexford and Catherlough, and marquesse of Leinster, and generall to the most holie father Gregorie the seuenth *Pontifici maximo*.

Coiners in Connagh.

Owarke refusing to deliuer ỹ coiners his castell is taken, and he submitteth himselfe.

Great preparation made against Stukeleie.

The pope his fauour to Stukeleie.

Stukeleie his honour and titles.

In the middle of these broiles, the vicount Baltinglasse, one of the chiefe impugners and malecontents against the cesse, wrote his letters to the earle of Ormond, then attendant at the court of England, and complaineth of great iniuries and spoiles to the value of two hundred pounds in monie, besides numbers of sheepe and kine, done vpon him and his tenants by the English souldiers, vnder sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Baltinglasse, in the time that they serued vpon the rebell Rorie Og. Which letter was by the said earle shewed to hir maiestie, and to the lords of hir most honourable priuie councell. Upon which complaint, because it seemed somewhat pitious and lamentable, and hir maiestie partlie persuaded (as a matter verie likelie to be true) that such grieuous extortions suffered vncorrected, made hir gouernement more hatefull to that nation, than did anie of the Irish eractions: letters were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all diligence, that the poore oppressed might be satisfied, and the offendors also be punished, according to the quantities and qualities of their offenses.

The vicount Baltinglasse complaineth to the earle of Ormond against sir Nicholas Bagnoll.

The earle of Ormond aduertiseth the complaint of the vicount to hir maiestie and councell. Hir maiestie sendeth letters in the behalfe of the vicount Baltinglasse.

The vicount Waltinglasse complaineth to the lord deputie against sir Nicholas Wagnoll.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained vnto by the said vicount, and sir Nicholas Wagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were obiected against him. And vpon the replication of the vicount, sir Lucas Dillon and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for proofe of the surmises, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be proued to ante purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first comming to that towne, had giuen great charge to euerie capteine, to foresee that no iniurie should be offred, no spoiles committed, nor anie thing to be taken by anie souldier or other person without present paiment, protesting and proclaming execution according to marshall law, vpon such as should do the contrarie.

Likewise at his departure from thense, he made the like proclamation, that if there were anie which had ante cause of complaint for ante wrong or iniurie done, or that anie thing were taken and not paied for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it doth appeare, that the surmises were made rather to aggrauat his greefe conceiued against the imposition of the cesse, than for anie good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices preuailed little in the one, no more had he successe or credit in the other. For the matter was fullie certified vnto the lords of the councell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said vicount might be represued, and also terrified to prefer or practise any such vntrue and indirect dealings. By these and other the like practises of the said vicount, that because he did not brooke nor like of the cesse, he thought by waie of exclames to aggrauat his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of hir maiestie, and be out of fauour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne reproofe and discredit.

The vicount Waltinglasses complaints are vntrue.

The whole land in peace

When the lord deputie had ended and finished all his businesse, and had set the whole realme in order and peace, being now deliuered from inward and ciuill warre, and from the feare of Stukeleies inuasion, he prepared (according to hir maiesties former letters of the six and twentith of March last past) to take his passage for England, and to make his repaire to hir highnesse. And so when all things were accordinglie prepared, and the wind & weather so serning, he deliuered vp the sword according to hir maiesties commandement, the six & twentith of Maie 1578, vnto sir William Drurie, then lord president of Mounster. And then being conducted by the said now lord iustice and councell, and all the nobilitie, citizens & people to the waters side, he imbarked himselfe, taking his leaue in most honourable, louing, and courteous maner of euerie man. And at his verie entring into the ship for his farewell vnto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the 114 psalme, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro*: alluding thereby to the troublesome state of Moses in the land of Aegypt, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwithstanding he had in great wisedome, care, and policie gouerned the stifnecked people of Israell, had done many miracles and wonderous works to their comfort, had deliuered them from manie great perils and dangers, had preserued and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pharao, and from out of the land of Aegypt, and had giuen them the sight of the land of promise: yet he found them alwaies a froward and peruerse generation, a stiffenecked and an vngratefull people: euen no lesse as this noble man, and most worthie gouernour hath found of the people of this most cursed nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie painfull traueller both by daie and night, in fowle and in faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in troubles and in dangers, in scarsitie and in penurie, in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet continuallie studieng, deuising, trauelling, toiling, and labouring to do them good (as he did full manie and often times) which so long as they felt the ease & comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but otherwise most vngratefull and vnthankefull. And offering vnto him the like reward as Licurgus receiued of the most vnthankfull Lacedemonians, who when he had recouered that sauage nation to a ciuill life, and a politike gouernement, and in the end reduced them to that order and maner, as they became to be feared of all their neighbors, they in recompense euill intreated him in verie bad speaches, and strake out one of Licurgus his eies. But these men for thousands and infinit commodities, would not onelie haue bereft his lordship of both his eies, but also done him a further inconuenience (if successe had happened) according to their malice.

The painfull trauels of the lord deputie not considered.

The ingratitude of the Lacedemonians to Licurgus.

And now here by the waie, let it not be offensiue to set downe somewhat of much concerning this worthie and noble man for the course of his life. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, his father named sir William Sidneie, a knight of great reputation and credit in the countie of Kent, and in great fauour with king Henrie the eight, in whose time, and with his great good liking, he and others lustie yong gentlemen of the court trauelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and to see the maner of the emperours and other princes courts: his mother descended of the house of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, vnto whom she was verie neere alied. This yong gentleman, his father being deceassed, and he of verie tender and yong yeeres, was brought vp in the court vnder the same maister as was king Edward the first, and profited verie well, both in the Latine and French tongs, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie forward in all good actions, and whereof was conceiued some good things would come of him: his countenance was verie amiable, and his behauiour verie gentle and courteous, in whome king Henrie the eight (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaisefellow with prince Edward.

The parentage of sir Henrie Sidneie.

Sir Henrie Sidneie was brought vp in the court.

This prince fell in such a good familiaritie and good liking of him, that he vsed him not onelie as a companion; but manie times as a bedfellow, and so delighted in his companie, that for the most part they would neuer be asunder, neither in health, nor in sickenesse, vntill the dieng daie of the prince: who then departed his life in this gentlemans armes. Somewhat before his death, the king gaue the order of knighthood to this gentleman, for a memorie and a recompense of his good will and loue: vpon which verie also he did the like vnto sir William Cicill, now lord Burghlie and lord high treasuror of all England: by meanes of which their continued aduancement, there entred a verie feruent affection and good will betweene them, with a reciproke answering of beneuolence each one to the other, vntill their dieng daies. This noble gentleman for his forwardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the paragon of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts which God had bestowed vpon him euerie waie. For concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and well compact, and well beseene; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and

Sir Henrie Sidneie the king his companion and bedfellow.

The king died in sir Henrie Sidneis armes.

The king dubbeth sir Henrie Sidnete and sir William Cicill knights in one daie.

Edm. Molineux.

1578 The sword is deliuered to sir William Drurie as lord iustice.

The departure of sir Henrie Sidneie, and of his last saiengs.

The notable works of Moses, & yet he not accepted.

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of so good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so vertuous and so godlie, so discréet and so sober, as he was another Scipio; being but yong in yeares, and old in behauiour, and finallie so rare a man, as that age had not affoorded manie better. This man for his excellent good gifts, he was made ambassador into France, being but about one and twentie yeares of age; and twise in one yeare after that into Scotland: and by quéene Marie ioined in commission with others to attend king Philip his comming into England, for the mariage betwéene their maiesties. And now in this hir maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassador into France, to treat a peace or pacification betwéene the prince of Condie and the duke of Guise.

Sir Henrie Sidneie an ambassador sundrie times.

In the beginning and about the second or third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, he was made knight of the garter, and lord president of Wales; and after one of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell. But before this, immediatlie vpon his returne from out of Spaine, he accompanied the lord Thomas lord Fitzwaters his brother in law into Ireland: where he was made treasuror at the wars, one of the principall offices in the land: and in course of time & yeares for his excellencie in knowledge and experience in that land, he was made lord iustice foure times, and was lord deputie three times. In which offices, how he did most honorablie acquite himselfe, his acts do declare, and the summarie recitall shall partlie discouer and set downe. He was no sooner placed in gouernement, but first and forthwith he laid downe his plot, whereupon he would ground & laie the foundation of his gouernement, and according to it would he frame and direct all his actions: which plot and deuise consisteth in these points; religion towards God, obedience to the prince, the peace of the people, and the well gouernement in all things concerning the commonwealth; either in causes ciuill or martiall.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord treasuror at armes.

He was lord iustice foure times.

The plot of Sir Henrie Sidneis gouernement.

Religion.

Concerning religion, he was no more carefull in his owne person, but the like also in his priuat familie, where he had dailie exercises of praiers, both earlie and late, morning & euening, neither would he haue anie to serue him, who was not affected to religion, and of an honest conuersation. Atheists and papists he detested, dronkards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide. And at his first being in authoritie in Ireland, & finding the whole land generallie (a few priuat places excepted) to be either of no religion, or of papisticall religion; and being openlie by a preacher out of a pulpit aduertised, that in the remote places of that land, manie a soule was borne which neuer receiued baptisme, nor knew anie christening; great was his grése, and much was he vnquieted, vntill he had found the redresse thereof. Wherfore he aduertised hir maiestie, & most earnestlie sued & praied for redresse & reformation, which in the end was granted, & a commission sent to him for the same: which forthwith he committed to the archbishops & bishops to execute, with whom he ioined, furthered and holpe them accordinglie to the vttermost. But yet it toke not that good effect as he wished and willed it might. And as for ecclesiasticall liuings which were of his gift and disposition, he would neuer bestow, but vpon such, as of whome he conceiued a good opinion, both for his religion and honestie.

Manie borne in Ireland neuer christened.

The prince, who was scarse knowne in manie places in that land, he brought both to knowledge and obedience. The wild he tamed, the froward he reformed, the disobedient he punished, the traitors he persecuted, the rebels he chastised, the proud he made to stoope, and that arrogant and most insolent Shane Oneile, who could abide no equall, nor acknowledge a superior, by a draught was brought to his deserued confusion: & whose head for a trophcie, & for the example of Gods iustice laied vpon him, was set vpon a pole vpon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Vlster, with all the mightie personages of the same, he brought to the quéenes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he toke and imprisoned, and his vntamed springals he draue to submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The vnconstant earle of Desmond and all his Giraldines and followers, and the proud and vngratefull earle of Clancar, and all the Irishrie of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselues, and to craue pardon. The Cauenaghs, the Otooles, the Obirnes, the Ocomors, the Omores, and a rable of other like septs, togither with Rorie Og, Pheon Mac Hew, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare loialtie and subiection. Lastlie, the malecontents against hir maiesties prerogatiue for the cesse in the end cried *Peccaui*, and conformed themselues in all dutifulnesse. And when he had trauelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, vnlesse they by some other meanes might be kept vnder gouernement: he by pithie persuasions, sound arguments, great reasons, and continuall sutes to hir maiestie and councell, obteined to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces and sound, learned, and vpright iust lawiers out of England to be sent ouer, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end hir maiestie most gratiouslie granted, and he most ioifullie obteined.

All Vlster brought to obedience.

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned.

The mightie earles in Mounster brought to submission.

The rebels in Leinster tamed.

The malecontents against the cesse reformed.

In Mounster therefore first he placed a colonell to breake the ise; namelie sir Humfreie Gilbert, a valiant, a worthie, and a notable man, both for his martiall seruice, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthie gentleman sir John Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Drurie, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a verie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasuror at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Malbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and verie wise and of good knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie exactlie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he (I saie) was made colonell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their capteins, and how vprightlie they ministred law and iustice by the aduise of the councellors in their seuerall prouinces, the records and registers of their doings do at large witnesse and set forth. The like order he toke also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are hir maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all suitors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of kinred, affinitie, and priuat affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest sutes to hir maiestie, procured them to be remoued, and their romes to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, atturnie, and sollicitor. And further also, whereas there were manie good lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid vp and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and vtterlie vnknowne to the most part of the whole land, and euerie man ignorant

Sir Humfreie Gilbert colonell in Mounster.

Sir John Perot, Sir William Drurie lord presidents in Mounster.

Sir Edward Fitton and sir Nicholas Malbie gouernors in Connagh.

English lawyers placed to be iustices in the courts.

The statutes to be reuewed and printed.

Shane Oneile slaine.

norant in the lawes of his owne native countrie, he caused a through view, and a review to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in vre and execution: which being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

The records searched and set vp in places conuenient.

And likewise for the records, which were verie euill kept, not fensed or defended from raine and foule weather, but laie all in a chaos and a confused heape, without anie regard; he caused to be viewed and sorted, and then prepared méete romes, presses, and places for the kéeping of them in safetie, and did appoint a speciall officer with a yearelie fée for the kéeping of them: and for all such matters as were to be heard and determined in the castell chamber, before the lords, as it is in the starchamber in England; he would be for the most part present at euerie court, and alwaies would haue the assistants and persons of hir maiesties learned councellors. Neuertheless, he himselfe had a marueilous head to conceiue, a déepe iudgement to vnderstand, and a most eloquent tong to vtter whatsoeuer was requisit to be spoken, either in that place, or in anie other assemblie; which he would deliuer in such an eloquent phrase, and so pleasantlie it would flow from him, with such pithie reasons, sound arguments, and effectuall discourses, as that the lesse learned he was, the more strange it was that such great good things could come out of his mouth. And such was his amiable countenance, his comelie behauior, his commendable personage, that he would and did conquer their hearts, and gaine the loue of euerie man; and the people of all sorts would and did fall in loue with him for his vprightnesse, indifferencie, and iustice, in determining of euerie mans cause. And he knowing the nature and disposition of that people, who could not abide anie long sutes in law, he was so affable and courteous, that euerie suter should haue accesse vnto him, and forthwith he would heare his cause, and with such expedition would cause the same to be determined, that he purchased to himselfe the vniuersall loue of all the Irishrie, who thought themselues the more happie, if their causes might be once brought to his hearing, & the more willing to leaue their Brian law, & to imbrace the course of the English lawes. Whereupon he deuised, and consequentlie with great policie and wisedome executed the diuision and distribution of the wild, sauage, and Irish grounds into shire grounds and counties, appointing in euerie of them shirifes, constables, and all such kind of officers as are vsed to be in all other counties: by which meanes hir maiesties writ had passage amongest them, and they brought to the order of the English lawes & gouernement, which neuer tofore was heard or knowne among them.

Edm. Molineux.

The castell chamber dulie kept.

The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires.

When he had done all such things as are before recited, for and concerning the due course of gouernment by order of law: then also he bethought himselfe vpon such other things as were necessarie in sundrie respects to be done, as the castell and house of Dublin, which before his comming was ruinous, foule, filthie, and greatlie decaied. This he repared, and reedified, and made a verie faire house for the lord deputie or the chiefe gouernor to reside & dwell in. The towne of Carigfergus, being open to the northerne rebelles, he began to inclose with a wall and to fortifie, which for shortnesse of time he could not finish. A gaole at Wolengar he builded, a verie necessarie thing in those parties, for restreining and safe kéeping of malefactors. The towne of Athenrie in Connagh he caused to be reedified, & the faire bridge of Athlon vpon the déepe and great riuer of the Shenin he builded with masonrie and fréestone, and raised vp the walles & battlements verie faire.

The castell of Dublin repared.

The towne of Carigfergus fortified.

A gaole at Wolengar builded.

The towne of Athenrie reedified.

The bridge of Athlon new builded.

By building of which bridge a passage (neuer tofore had) was made open & free betweene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, apalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had done. Sundrie like common workes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his forsaid doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to hir maiestie. And for easing whereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also promised and deuised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and hir highnesse be releeued of the great and intollerable charges which she dailie was at in that land, he did by good means inlarge and increase hir reuenues and yearelie receipts to about eleuen thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he haue done, if he had staied there but a short time longer than he did.

The quéenes great charges to be releeued.

Hir maiesties reuennes increased.

Thus much briefflie of his generall actions, and concerning his priuat dealings and conuersation. He was godlie disposed, & a zelous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent spéeches, such pithie sentences, such persuasorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor atteine vnto. He had some sight in good letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, seldome or neuer in anie distempered or extraordinarie choler, vpright in iustice, free from corruption, and liberall to euerie deseruing person, a bounteous housekéeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a louer of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, whome he would honor and estéeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most louing maister to all such as serued him, whom he loued full dearlie. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not do anie thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were priuie to all or most part of his actions; sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawier, and yet not ignorant in anie thing perteining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a déepe iudgement and experience in all matters of policies. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Meus fidelis Lucas*; and the other *Meus fidus Achates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinit respects, as partlie by the course of this historie it doth appeare, he hath deserued most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for euer amongst them: yet most vnnaturallie and vngratfullie they haue requited and recompensed him. Not much vnlike the viper, who when he hath done the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturalles saie) it is done by the mouth, she immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroieth him; and likewise the yong, conceiued with the death of their sire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and readie now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most vnnaturallie do gnaw out hir wombe and bellie to hir confusion; and so they are conceiued with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This vngratfull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the dailie purchasing of their wealth, preseruation, and safetie,

The good vertues and disposition of sir Henrie Sidnete. Religious. Eloquent. Affable. Temperat. Liberall. A housekéeper.

Sée more of this sir Henrie Sidnete in the English chronicles, An. Dom. 1586, noted by Edm. Molineux.

The ingratitude of Ireland.

The nature of the viper.

safetie, could ne would be euer thankfull. As besides manie examples it appeared at the parlement holden in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, where when lawes were to be established for their benefit, and the abolishing of certeine wicked and lewd vsages, which were among the Irishrie, they not onelie did impugne and resist that assemblie, as much as in them laie: but recompensed the good things (for their benefits established) with open war and rebellion against hir maiestie. Also, when a reasonable and a vsed cesse was to be set and leuied for the benefit of the inhabitants and dwellers in the English pale; and for the represse of their enimies which thirsted after their confusion: they immediatly repine and do resist the same. For this is their corrupt nature, that if he did at anie time pursue the enimie for their peace and quietnesse, and did aduenture neuer so great dangers for them, were his successe neuer so good, yet would they enuie at him. If he by the aduise of the councell did determine anie thing for their behoofe, yet would they mislike it. If anie thing well meant had euill successe, they would like it; and vpon neuer so little occasion offered they would make their complaints, libels should dailie be exhibited, and accusations be deuised, with open mouths they would exclame, and nothing would they leaue vndone which might turne to his discredit and impechment of his gouernement. But truth the daughter of time, which in the end was manifested; and when he had yéelded before hir highnesse and councell a true and a perfect account of all his doings, and had trulie manifested the course of his gouernement, then their glittering gold was found to be worse than copper, not abiding the hammar; he according to his desert receiued thanks, and they reproch and ignominie. Wherefore great good cause had he to be glad and ioifull, that he was to be deliuered from so vngratfull a people and vnthankfull a nation. But shall a man saie the truth? It is a fatall and an ineuitable destinie incident to that nation, that they cannot broke anie English gouernor; for be he neuer so iust, vpright, & carefull for their benefit, they care not for it: let him be neuer so beneficiall to their commonwealth, they account not of it; let him be neuer so circumspect in his gouernement and aduised in his doings, they will discredit and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then like a sort of nettles they will sting him; if he be seuere, they will curse him; and let him do the best he can, he shall neuer auoid nor escape their malice and spite.

This was a troublesome parlement.

The cesse impugned.

The corrupt and vngratfull nature of the Irishmen.

The fatall destinie vpon all gouernors in Ireland.

This noble and worthie man, who aboue all others had best triall thereof, thought himselfe most happie when he was deliuered from them, and gone out of their Egypt, and now returned to his owne natiue countrie of Chanaan, who thenceforth sometimes attended the court, and serued hir maiestie as a most faithfull, graue, and wise councellor: sometimes he followed his charge and calling of president in Wales, which office he did most honorablie vse and discharge. In the end, when Lachesis had spun out the thread of his life, and Atropos readie to execute hir office, he fell sicke at Worcester: and féeling a decaie of nature, and that he did dailie wax weaker and weaker, he yéelded and humbled himselfe to die; and holding vp his hands, and lifting vp his eies, he continued in most hartie and incessant praiers vnto God, crauing with a most penitent hart, pardon for his sins, and commending his soule into the hands and mercie of God, thorough the bloud of Jesus Christ. And when his hands gaue ouer, his tong ceassed, and his sight failed, he yéelded vp his spirit, and departed this life in a most godlie and christian maner the fift daie of Maie, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and sir. His bodie was imbowelled, and his entrails were buried in the deans chappell of the cathedrall church in Worcester: his hart was carried to Ludlow, & there intomed in the tome that his welbeloued daughter Ambrosia was buried, which he had builded in the collegiat church of the same towne; wherin he had erected a certeine monument for a perpetuall remembrance to that town & to Tikenhill, to which he was verie much affected, & made his most abode during the time of his presidencie. And from thense his bodie by easie iournies was verie honorablie caried to his house of Penshurst in Kent, & in his parish church there he was interred in all honorable maner, as to his estate did agrée vpon the one and twentith of June, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and sir, he being then about the age of seauen and fiftie yeares. And thus this noble and worthie knight, who had spent the whole course of his life in the dutifull seruice of his prince, and to the great benefit of the commonwealth, is now deliuered vnto the euerlasting seruice of the eternall God, in whose celestiall heauens he resteth in blisse and ioie with the foure and twentie elders, who there are now beholding the face of God, and praising his holie name for euer.

Edm. Molineux.

But to returne to the lord iustice, who being entered into the gouernement, and finding it in some quiet state, did by the aduise of the councell follow that course as néere as he could, as which was left vnto him; and by that meanes kept the whole land verie quiet and in peace. For almost a yeare after his entrie into that office and gouernement, vntill that Romish cockatrice, which a long time had set abrod vpon hir egs, had now hatched hir chickins; which being venemous as were their sire, raised, wrought, and bred great treasons, open warres, and hostilitie through out that land. For James Fitzmoris a Giraldine & cousine germane to the earle of Desmond, who not manie yeares before had bæne an archtraitor, and a principall capteine of the warres and rebellion in Mounster; and wherein he was then so followed at inches and pursued by sir John Perot, then lord president of Mounster; that after manie and sundrie conflicts, he was in the end compelled and inforced to yéeld and submit himselfe, and to craue hir maiesties gratious pardon: insomuch that he came in simplie into the towne of Kilmallocke, and there in the church before all the people did humble and prostrate himselfe before the said lord president, and asked pardon, swearing and promising then all dutifulnesse, truth, & obedience for euer to hir highnesse, and to the crowne of England.

Sir William Drurie the lord iustice followeth the course of his predecessor to rule in peace.

James Fitzmoris an archtraitor.

James Fitzmoris submitteth himselfe and sweareth obedience.

Euen this periured caitife, who for his treasons and great outrages, villanies, and bloudsheds, had deserued a thousand deaths, and yet in hope of amendement hir maiestie gaue him his pardon, and sent it vnto him by hir seruant Francis Agard esquier: euen this man (I saie) most traitorouslie fled into France, and there comming into the kings presence, did offer to deliuer into his hands the whole realme and land of Ireland, if that his maiestie would giue him aid, and furnish him with men and monie, and such furniture as he should haue néed of in such an action. The king at the first gaue him good countenance, great rewards, & liberall interteinement, and accepted his offer: but when he had well considered the matter, and had further loked into the same, he changed his mind. James Fitzmoris, who had staied there in the French court about two yeares, and saw nothing go forward, & the French king wared cold; who in the end gaue him no other answer, but that he would commend him by his letters to his sister the quæne of England, for obteining of a pardon for him, and for hir good countenance

James Fitzmoris hath his pardon sent vnto him.

James Fitzmoris fleeth into France and offereth the crowne of Ireland to the French king.

The French king mistrusteth to deale in Ireland matters.

James Fitzmoris seeketh to king Philip and to the pope.

nance towards him: he forsoke France, and made a iournie into Spaine vnto king Philip. The king who had receiued the gift of Ireland of the pope by meanes of the bishop of Cashell, being not willing to deale therein, without his assistance & aduise; James Fitzmoris made his iournie from thense to the pope, vnto whom he declared that he had béene with king Philip, as doth appeare by his letters of credit to his holinesse; and that he would deliuer and cause to be deliuered the kingdome of Ireland vp into their hands, and reduce the same againe to the holie church of Rome, if he might haue men, monie, and such furniture of munitions, & other necessaries as should be requisit in that seruice. The pope was verie glad of this suit, and liked it verie well, and did accept this offer, as also gaue him good countenance and interteinement. And in the end vpon sundrie conferences betwéene the pope and king Philip, it was agréed betwéene them, that Fitzmoris should be furnished with men, monie, and all things necessarie for this seruice. James Fitzmoris during his being in Rome, he fell acquainted with doctor Sanders an English Iesuit, & doctor Allen an Irish Iesuit, and both traitors to hir maiestie and crowne; and these two men being glad of such a suit, & they in great fauor with the pope, followed the suit verie earnestlie, and promised to follow it to the vttermost in their owne persons.

James Fitzmoris his promise to king Philip and the pope.

The pope is glad of James Fitzmoris offer.

James Fitzmoris falleth acquainted with doctor Sanders and doctor Allen.

Now when all things were concluded betwéene the pope and king Philip, doctor Sanders, doctor Allen, and James Fitzmoris made their last repaire to the pope, who forthwith made Sanders his legat, & gaue him the holie ghost, with authoritie to bless and curse at his will and pleasure; and to him and the others he gaue then also his blessing: and therewith his letters of commendation to king Philip, who according to the conclusion made betwéene them both, he was furnished with all things méet and necessarie for them. Whereupon when time serued they imbarked themselues, and their companie in three ships well appointed for the purpose, and arriued at Smerewicke, *alias* saint Marie wéeke, in the beginning of Julie 1579, néere the Dingle a cush in Kerrie in Ireland: where he landed, and all his companie, being about the number of foure score Spaniards, besides a few Englishmen and Irishmen, and there builded a fort in the west side of the baie for their safetie: and drew their ships close vnder the said fort.

James Fitzmoris is furnished with ships and all necessaries.

James Fitzmoris landeth at Saint Marie wéeke in Ireland with foure score Spaniards.

The two doctors, when they had hallowed the place after their popish maner, promising all safeties, and that no enimie should dare to come vpon them, and trouble them: neuertheless they were beguiled. For at that instant, there was in Kensale a Deuonshire gentleman and a man of warre, named Thomas Courtneie, and he hearing of the landing of this James Fitzmoris, and of the popes traitorous legats, was contented, and by the persuasion of Henrie Dauels, being then in those parts; and hauing a good wind, did come about and doubled the point, came into the baie of Saint Marie wéeke or Smerwœke; and finding the three ships of James Fitzmoris at anchor, was so bold in the waie of good speed to take them. And after that he had staied there a while in that seruice, he tooke them all along with him: whereby James Fitzmoris and his companie lost a péece of the popes blessing, for they were altogither destituted of anie ship, to ease and releéue themselues by the seas, what néed soeuer should happen. As soone as they were thus landed, newes was sent and carried abrode forthwith to James & John brethren to the earle of Desmond, and so consequentlie to the whole countrie. These two brethren, who had long looked for the arriuall of this their cousine,

James Fitzmoris ships are taken away by one Thomas Courtneie a gentleman of Deuon.

Sir James and sir John of Desmond the earles brethren come to James Fitzmoris.

and archtraitor, assembled all their tenants, followers, and friends; and out of hand made their present repaire vnto him: whose commings and companies he accepted verie thankefullie, sauing that he had not a thorough and a full liking of his cousine sir John of Desmond. Which when sir John perceiued, he deuised how he would salue that sore, as most wickedlie afterwards he did.

The earle of Desmond at this time was in reedifieng of a castell, which he had in the confines of Kenne Agonellis countrie, who assone as he heard of the arriuall of his cousine James Fitzmoris, he forthwith did discharge and dismisse his whole companie of workemen and labourers, pretending in outward shew what he neuer meant, that he was to withstand and resist his cousine and all his companie, and forthwith maketh his repaire into Kerrie, and there assembleth all his followers and force, as though he would do great things and worke miracles. And forthwith likewise he sent his letters to Mac Arthe More earle of Clancar, & willeth him in all hast to assemble all the force he could make, and to make his spéedie repaire to him, for vanquishing (if they could) of the enimies now landed at S. Marie weeke. The earle of Desmond in the meane time had receiued a péece of the popes blessing, and his heat was abated. But the erle of Clancar returned his answer, that he would come vnto him with all spéed, and lie in campe with him where he would, as néere to the Dingle as he might: and accordinglie he came to the place appointed. Which Desmond séemed to like well though it were against the splene, neuertheless when he saw the forwardnes of Clancar, albeit he would not, nor yet well could in open termes fall out with him, yet he deuiseth matters whereupon he might haue some occasion to dislike with him, & to make him wearie of his companie. Which when Clancar perceiued, and saw the vnwillingnesse of Desmond to do anie seruice against the rebels, but rather inclined towards them, he tooke the best opportunitie he could, and departed awaie from him, and dismissed his companie.

The erle hearing of the landing of James Fitzmoris giueth ouer his buildings.

The earle of Desmond pretending some seruice against the rebels sendeth to the earle of Clancar to ioine with him.

The earle of Clancar attendeth the earle of Desmond.

Desmond liketh not Clancars readinesse.

Clancar departeth from Desmond.

The lord iustice, who was at Dublin, as soone as he was aduertised of James Fitzmoris landing, he maketh all the preparation he can, & marcheth with all the quéenes force towards Mounster, dispatching also a messenger to hir maiestie of these toward broiles and rebellion. But before he could prepare all things, as to such a great action did apperteine, he sent Henrie Dauels an English gentleman before him, that he being verie well acquainted with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, should practise with them to prepare themselues to be in a readinesse to assist his lordship, for the resisting against those enimies. Who being accompanied with one Arthur Carter prouost marshall of Mounster, made his spéedie repaire to the earle of Desmond & his brethren being in Kerrie, and aduertised vnto them the lord iustices pleasure, as also as much as in him laie did perswade them to the like, who as then had all his force and souldiers about him. From thense he departed to the fort, whereof when he had taken the view, & saw the force as yet not so great but might be easilie as yet ouerthrowne; he returned backe to the earle, and gaue him aduise to draw all his force and companie towards the fort, perswading him to assaile it while it was but weake, of small force, and easie to be taken, and that in so doing it should be great lie to his honour. But the earle being not of so good a mind, or bent to do so good a péece of seruice, answered; that he would not aduenture to take so great an enterprise in hand with so small a companie as he then had. Then Dauels went to sir James and to sir John of Desmonds the earles brethren, and

The lord iustice prepareth to march into Mounster.

Henrie Dauels sent to the earle of Desmond.

Henrie Dauels perswadeth Desmond to serue against the rebels.

Desmond refuseth to giue the onset vpon James Fitzmoris.

and perſuaded them to aduiſe their brother the earle, either to doo that ſeruice which would be to his great honour and commendation, or elſe that they would take it in hand; which if they would alſo refuſe it, that then the earle would ſpare to him a companie of his Gallowglaſſes, and about three ſcore of his ſhot, and he would ioine with capteine Courtnete who laie then within the baie with his mariners, ſ he would giue the aſſault by land, and the other ſhould doo the like by ſea.

The earle refuſeth to doo anie ſeruice.

But the earle, being moued hereof, would not yéeld to this motion, but anſwered that his ſhot was more méet to ſhoot at foule than fit to aduenture ſuch a peece of ſeruice, and his Gallowglaſſes were good men to incounter with Gallowglaſſes, and not to anſwer old ſouldiers. Whereupon when he ſaw the bent and diſpoſition of the earle, that he minded not to annoie, but rather to ioine, aid, and helpe the traitors: he togither with the prouoſt marſhall toke their leaue of the earle, and minded to returne backe vnto the lord iuſtice, to giue his lordſhip to vnderſtand how all things ſtood, ſ what ſucceſſe he had had in his meſſage. And by the waie they laie that night at Traleigh, which is about fiue miles from caſtell Maine, and laie that night in one Rices houſe, who kept a victelling houſe and a wine tauerne, the houſe being both ſtrong and defenſible, but ſo little that their companies and ſeruants were diſperſed, and laie abroad in other places where they might haue lodging. But ſir John of Deſmond, whoſe hart was imbrued with a bloudie intent, followed him, but ſomewhat late, and came to the towne of Traleigh, and immediatlie ſet ſpies vpon Dauels, as alſo had corrupted the man of the houſe which kept the gate, that he ſhould leaue the doores open. Henrie Dauels miſtruſting no hurt, and leaſt doubting of that tragedie which was ſo néere at hand, eſpeciallie to be done by him, whom of all the men borne in that land he leaſt doubted, ſ beſt truſted, gat him to his bed; ſ Arthur Carter the prouoſt marſhall with him. Now about the dead of the night, when they were in their déepe ſléepes, ſir John according to his wicked deuiſe came to the houſe, the caſtell doore being left open for the purpoſe, with all his companie, euerie one being armed and their ſwords drawne, and went forthwith vp into the chamber where Dauels ſ his companie were in their beds faſt aſléepe, but with the noiſe they were ſuddenlie awaked. When Dauels ſaw ſir John of Deſmond armed and his ſword drawn, he was ſomwhat aſtonied at that ſight, and riſing vp in his bed ſaid vnto him (as he was euer wont to ſaie verie familiarlie) What ſonne! what is the matter? But he anſwered him; No more ſonne, nor no more father, but make thy ſelfe readie, for die thou ſhalt. And forthwith he ſ his companie ſtrake at him ſ his companion, both naked in their ſhirts, and moſt cruellie murthered them both. Then they ſearched the whole houſe ſ ſpared none, but put all to the ſword, ſauing a boie named Smolkin, who laie in the chamber, and had béene a continuall meſſenger betweene Dauels and this John Deſmond. This boie ſéeing his maiſter to be thus murthered ran vpon John of Deſmond, and held him by the armes as well as he could, crieng; What wilt thou kill my maiſter? But he anſwered; Go thy waies Smolkin, thou ſhalt haue no harme. But the boie ſeeing blowes ſtill to be giuen, caſt himſelfe downe vpon his maiſter, crieng; If thou wilt kill him, then kill me alſo. And ſo ſaued him as well, and ſo long as he could. But it auailed not, for ſlaine and moſt cruellie he was there murthered.

Henrie Dauels departeth from Deſmond.

Sir John of Deſmond followeth Dauels and corrupteth the porter.

Henrie Dauels moſt cruellie murthered.

The faithfulneſſe of a boie to his maiſter.

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, borne in Deuon, and deſcended of a verie ancient and a worſhipfull houſe, and being but a yonger brother, and hauing but a verie ſmall portion left vnto him, when he came to ſome yeares and knowledge, he gaue himſelfe to ſerue in the warres. And king Henrie the eight, hauing then warres againſt the French king, he entred into France to ſéeke his aduenture: and there he had verie good interteinment, and proued to be a verie good ſouldiour. After whoſe warres he ſerued in Scotland, and was in garriſon at Barwike: and from thenſe he was remoued into Ireland, where he ſerued vnder ſir Nicholas Herne knight conſtable of Leighlin, and ſeneſchall of Wexford; and ſo well he behaued himſelfe there, that he was commended for his good ſeruice towards the prince, well beloued of his countriemen, and in maruelous fauour of the Iriſh people; for no ſeruice was too hard for him in the kings cauſes: and ſo well he was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better knew and had the ſkill to ſerue than he could there. As for his countrimen, he was ſo déere and louing towards them, as he was more like a father than a frend, and more like a frend than an vnacquainted countriman: for he was an hoſt and a harborer to euerie one of them, of what eſtate and condition ſo euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentleman or a begger, he was frendlie to euerie one; and no man did or could lacke that interteinment, that he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and afford: which a number of Engliſhmen tried and found to their great comfort, and to his euerlaſting fame.

The loue of Dauels to his countrimen.

And as for the Iriſhmen, the longer he liued the better beloued among them: for as he would not iniurie them, no more would he ſuffer them to be oppreſſed or iniured: a great houſekéeper amongſt them, which they maruelouſlie eſtéemed. When he was in office among them, he was vpright and iudged righteouſlie; if out of office, louing ſ frendlie to euerie man, and by that means ſo well (as no man better) beloued and truſted. For what he had once ſaid and promiſed, that would he ſurelie kéepe and performe, and thereof it came into a bie-word in the countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of them had ſpoken the word, which was aſſuredlie loked to be performed, they would ſaie; Dauels hath ſaid it: as who ſaith, it ſhall be performed. For the nature of the Iriſhman is, that albeit he kéepeth faith for the moſt part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was ſo carefull of his word, that if he once promiſed, he would not breake it for anie mans pleaſure; and by that means he was ſo well beloued, that his verie horſeboies had frée paſſage euen through the enimies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And that which is more, as the writer hereof ſpeaketh vpon knowledge, that if anie Engliſhman had anie occaſion to trauell in that countrie throughout Leinſter or Mounſter, if he had but a horſeboie of his, he ſhould not onelie paſſe frélie through the countries without impeachment, but ſhould haue alſo verie good and frendlie interteinment. Among the noblemen he was greatlie eſtéemed, and was in great fauour with the earles of Ormond and Deſmond: who although they were for the moſt part at iarres and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was in ſuch fauour, as he could and did paſſe to and fro in the greateſt matters of importance betweene them: wherein he bare ſo indifferent a hand, as both parties imbraced him for his vprightneſſe and indifferencie. The earle of Ormond himſelfe loued him ſo well, as no Engliſhman better; and all his brethren found ſuch a frend of him, and ſuch interteinment with him and eſpeciallie ſir Edmund Butler, that at all needs and in all diſtreſſes they were ſure to haue him to their frend; and manie times it ſtood

The credit of Dauels word.

Henrie Dauels what he was, and of his conditions

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them in good ſteed.

And as for the earle of Deſmond, though he were a verie vncerteine and a mutable man, yet Henrie Dauels could preuaile with him; and were his furie neuer ſo hot, and he neuer ſo haſtie, yet could he appeaſe and quiet him. And as for ſir John of Deſmond the earles brother, ſuch was his profeſſion and outward affection towards him, of a moſt firme frendſhip; that it was thought to be impoſſible, that the loue and goodwill betweene them could by ante meanes be diſſolued. For in what diſtreſſe ſo euer ſir John of Deſmond was (as he was in manie) Henrie Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at ſundrie times redeemed him out of priſon, yea out of the caſtell of Dublin, when he was committed for capitall crimes, and became ſuertie for him in great ſums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie for him; Dauels purſſe was at his commandement, his houſe at his deuotion, and what he had at his diſpoſition. And ſo farre this good will grew betweene them, that John of Deſmond, as one knowledging himſelfe moſt bounden to him, did call him father; euen as the other called him ſonne. And now ſee, when treaſon and treacherie was entred into him, how contrarie to all faith, frendſhip, and humanitie, the ſonne moſt vnnaturallie bereft the father of his life, and moſt cruellie murthered him. Woe worth to ſo wicked a villaine, that ſo bereft the prince of ſo faithfull a ſubiect, the gouernor of ſo truſtie a ſeruitor, the commonwealth of ſo good a member, of a man moſt dutifull to his ſuperiors, vpright in iuſtice, truſtie in ſeruice, expert in the warres, faithfull vnto his frend, louing to his countrie, fauoured of all men, hurtfull to no man, of great hoſpitalitie to all good men, good to all men, a father vnto the diſtreſſed, and a ſuccorer of the oppreſſed; finallie ſuch a rare man of his degree and calling, as few like haue béene found in that land; and yet againſt all pittie and mercie, moſt cruellie murthered by a traitor to God and his prince, euen to the greefe of the traitors of his owne brood. But here it falleth out that is of old ſaid; Saue a murtherer or a theefe from the gallowes, and he ſhall be the firſt that ſhall cut thy throte.

Henrie Dauels alwaies a faſt frend to ſir John of Deſmond.

When this bloudie murtherer had executed this crueltie vpon his good frend, he forthwith made his repaire to James Fitzmoris, and to his doctors and companie in great brauerie, recompting vnto them what a noble act and a valiant ſeruice he had done in murthering of an honeſt, faithfull, & friendlie gentleman, ſaieng; I haue now killed an Engliſh churle (for ſo maliciouſlie the Iriſhmen terme all Engliſhmen) & ſaid to his couſine James; Now thou maiſt be aſſured of me and truſt me, for now that I haue begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now ſtand to the matter with thee to my vttermoſt. James Fitzmoris when he had heard him at full, although both he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the Spaniards did reioiſe and were glad of his death, yet James did blame and abhorre the maner of his death, blaming and reprouing him verie much, that he ſhould murther him in his bed, being naked and ſcarſe awaked out of his ſléepe, which he ſaid was too cruell, becauſe he might otherwiſe haue had aduantage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwiſe to his commendation. Howbeit, doctor Sanders terming his bloudie murther to be a ſweet ſacrifice before God, did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie remiſſion of all his ſinnes. The earle himſelfe likewiſe, when he heard hereof, he was marueilouſlie gréeued and offended with his brother, and gaue him ſuch ſharpe ſpéeches and reprooſes, as it was thought they would not ſo ſone haue bene frends againe: but wicked doings amongſt the wicked eſtabliſh and confirme them in their wickednelle. At this preſent time, there was with the earle (as verie often he had béene) one Apeſlete an Engliſh captaine, who could do verie much with him, and vpon the hearing of the death of his good friend Henrie Dauels, he began to doubt and miſtruſt of himſelfe and of his owne aſſurance. Wherefore he goeth to the earle, and diſſembling his griefe, perſuadeth him to draw his companie together, and to remoue from thenſe to his houſe of Aſketten, which is about fourteene miles from Limerike, and there to abide the comming of the lord iuſtice, and to ioine with him in this ſeruice againſt the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing leſſe than ſo to ſerue, diſſembled the matter, and followed this counſell, and remoued from thenſe to Aſketten, where he late cloſe and did nothing, but ſtill ſéemed in ſpeeches and outward ſhewes to miſſlike with James Fitzmoris and all his companie; and yet dailie his beſt followers and ſoldiers flocked and repaired to James Fitzmoris, manie of them for zeale to the popiſh religion, wherin they were as deuout as the popes legates and the Spaniards: but manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for feare and auoiding of his diſpleaſure. The Spaniards, who had continued there in the fort and elſewhere, and not finding the repaire of the ſouldiers, nor yet anie other thing anſwerable to that ſeruice as it was promiſed them, began to miſſlike it; and diſtruſting of ante good ſucceſſe, did repent and were ſorie, wiſhing themſelues at home againe: but ſuch was their caſe, that they could not ſhift for themſelues to eſcape neither by ſea nor by land; and therefore neceſſitie ſo compelling, they reſolued themſelues to abide the brunt.

The earle of Deſmond remoueth to Aſketten.

The earles chiefe men turne to the enimie.

The Spaniards like not their cõming.

James Fitzmoris, perceiuing their diſcontented minds, had conference with them, & perſuaded them to be of a good comfort, for they ſhould verie ſhortlie haue a greater ſupplie and companie which he dailie looked for, and all things ſhould be had according to their owne minds: aduertiſing them that in the meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of three or foure daies iournie from thenſe, called the holie rood or croſſe in Tipperarie, and there to performe a vow which he had before made when he was in Spaine, praieng their patience. But in verie truth his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into Vlſter, and in both his waies, his neereſt waie was through Tipperarie, and there to flocke and draw vnto him all and ſo manie of the rebels as he could wage to ioine with him, whereof he made no doubt, but aſſured himſelfe to find as manie readie to go as he willing to haue. And ſo taking his iournie with three or foure horſſemen, and a dozzen kernes, he paſſed through the countie of Limerike, & came into the countrie of ſir William Burke his verie néere couſine and kinſman, and who before in the laſt rebellion did ioine with him, to the great danger of his life and loſſe of all his goods.

James Fitzmoris perſuadeth the Spaniards to patience.

James Fitzmoris pretendeth a pilgrimage.

And when he came ſo farre in his iournie, being now about three ſcore miles from S. Marie wéeke, his cariage horſſes (which they terme garons) waxed faint, and could not trauell anie further: wherefore he commanded ſome of his men to go before, & take what garrons they firſt found in the fields, they ſhould take them and bring them vnto him. And as it fell out they eſpied a plow of garrons plowing in the field, which they forthwith take perforce from the poore huſbandmen two of them, and caried them awaie. Whereupon according to the cuſtome of the countrie, the hobub or the hue and crie was raiſed. Some of the people followed the tract, & ſome went to their lords houſe, which was ſir William Burke being néere at hand to aduertiſe the matter, who hauing three or foure of his ſonnes and verie tall gentlemen

James Fitzmoris ſtealeth garrons.

The Burkes follow the purſuit.

The bragge of John Deſmond for killing of Dauels.

His crueltie miſliked.

The popes doctors do allow and commend the murther.

tlemen at home with him, they take their horſſes and a few kernes and two ſhot with them, and followed the tract, and ouertoke them at a faſtenes faſt by the woods ſide, where they found James Fitzmoris, whome before they knew not to be come into thoſe parties, to make head to anſwer them. But when he ſaw that it was his couſine Theobald Burke and his brother and his companie, who had bene his companions in the late rebellion when ſir John Perot was lord preſident of Mounſter, he ſpake ouer vnto them, and ſaid; Couſine Theobald (who was the eldeſt ſon to his father) two carriage horſſes ſhall be no breach betweene vs two; and I hope that you which do know the cauſe that I haue now in hand, you will take my part therein, and do as I and others will do: and ſo continuing ſome ſpeeches, did what he could to draw him and all his companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he anſwered that he and his father had already dealt too much that waie with him, and that he will neuer do the like againe: for his father, he, and all his brethren, had ſworne to be true, obedient, and faithfull to the quéenes maieſtie, and which oth they would neuer breake: curſing the daie and time that euer they ioined with him in ſo bad a cauſe againſt hir maieſtie, and therefore required to haue his garrons againe, or elſe he would come by them aſwell as he could.

This was a draught made by the lord preſident.

James Fitzmoris maketh head to reſiſt.

James Fitzmoris perſuadeth the Burkes to rebellion.

James Fitzmoris ſtanding vpon his reputation, thought it too much diſhonorable vnto him to depart with that which he had in hand; and therfore vtterlie denied the deliuerie, and thereupon each partie ſet ſpurre to the horſſes and incountered the one the other. The ſkirmiſh was verie hot and cruell, and Theobald Burke & one of his yonger brethren were ſlaine, & ſome of their men. James Fitzmoris likewiſe and his companie had the like ſucceſſe, for he himſelfe was firſt hurt and wounded, and then with a ſhot ſtriken thorough the head, and ſo was ſlaine, with ſundrie of his companions: wherein he found that the popes bleſſings and warrant, his *Agnus Dei*, and his graines had not thoſe vertues to ſaue him, as an Iriſh ſtaffe or a bullet had to kill him. Thus was hir highneſſe moſt happie, and that whole land moſt happieſt, that they were deliuered from ſo wicked and bloudie a traitour, and that the great & venemous hydra was thus ſhortened of one of his heds. For otherwiſe it was to be doubted that if he had liued, he would haue bin the cauſe of much bloudſhed, and all the rebels in that land would haue ioined with him. For he was of verie good credit & eſtimation thorough the whole land, he was of a verie good gouernement, and of a great reach; but a déepe diſſembler, paſſing ſubtill, and able to compaſſe anie matter which he toke in hand, familiar to all men, and verie courteous, valiant, and verie expert in martiall affaires, but ſo addicted to poperie and that baggage religion, that he became a moſt horrible traitour to hir maieſtie, and a mortall enimie to euerie good man: and ſo far he was imbrued herein, that a man might ſaie that he was borne to the ſame end, euen to be a traitor and a rebell to God, to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

James Fitzmoris ſlaine.

Some thinke that this péece of ſeruice was a draught made by ſir William Drurie lord iuſtice.

The conditions of James Fitzmoris.

After that he was thus dead, and the ſame made knowen to the lord iuſtice, he gaue order that he ſhould be hanged in the open market of Kilmallocke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to be ſet vpon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a perpetuall memoriall to his reproch for his treſons and periuries, contrarie to his ſolemne oth taken in that errour. Hir maieſtie, when ſhe was aduertiſed of this péece of good ſeruice of ſir William Burke and the loſſe of his eldeſt ſonne, ſhe wrote hir letters of the good acceptation of his ſeruice, comforted him for the loſſe of his ſon, and in recompenſe did create him baron of the caſtell of Connell by hir letters patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentith yeare of hir reigne, & gaue him the yearelie penſion of a hundred marks, to be paid at hir maieſties ercheker yearelie during his life, wherof he toke ſo ſudden ioy that he ſowned, and ſeemed to be dead.

Sir William Burke being made a baron ſowned for ioy & ſhortlie after died.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmoris was brought to the fort at S. Marie weeke, great ſorow was amongeſt them all, they being all amazed and wiſt not what to do, eſpeciallie the Spaniards who depart could not, and to ſubmit themſelues they would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue ouer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which purpoſe they would haue followed, if that ſir John of Deſmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he hauing imbrued himſelfe ſo vnnaturallie in bloud, and doubting the ſame would neuer be pardoned, did follow the matter. The lord iuſtice (as is afore ſaid) immediatlie vpon the newes of the arriuall of theſe Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Dauels, made his preparation of all the forces which hir maieſtie had in that land, which was but foure hundred footmen and two hundred horſſemen, a verie ſmall companie for ſo great ſeruice towards: yet conſidering that the victorie conſiſteth not in the arme of man, nor in horſſe or mule, but onelie in the good gift of God; he marcheth forth in his iournie, hauing in his companie of Engliſhmen ſir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marſhall, ſir Nicholas Malbie coronell of Connagh, Jaques Wingfield maſter of the ordinance, and Edward Waterhouſe one of hir maieſties ſeruants, Edward Fitton, Thomas Maſterſon, and others. And of the Iriſh lords he was accompanied with the earle of Kildare, ſir Lucas Dillon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the baron of vpper Oſſerie, and the baron of Dunboine, who had of themſelues two hundred horſſemen, beſides footmen and kernes: and ſo they marched forward by iourneis vntill they came to Kilmallocke, where not farre from the towne they all incamped; & then he ſent from thenſe a meſſenger to the earle of Deſmond, and ſo likewiſe to all the principall gentlemen of the beſt accompt in thoſe parties, to come vnto him.

The ſpaniards amazed with the death of Fitzmoris.

Sir John of Deſmond ſupplieth James Fitzmoris roome.

Sir William Drurie lord iuſtice maketh a iournie into Mounſter.

The lord iuſtice incampeth neere to Kilmallocke.

The earle in outward appéerance ſeemed verie willing to come, but vntill he had receiued ſome promiſe of fauour from the lord iuſtice, he ſtill lingered and trifled the time and came not. But in the end his lordſhip being verie well accompanied with horſſemen and footmen, he went to the campe, and preſented himſelfe before the lord iuſtice, and made a ſhew of all dutifulneſſe, obedience, & fidelitie, whereas indéed no ſuch thing was ment. For though his bodie were there, his mind was elſewhere; for whiles he was in the campe, ſundrie trecheries were practiſed by him; yet they were not ſo ſecretlie done but they came to light, & were diſcouered to the lord iuſtice. Whereupon he was committed to the cuſtodie of the knight marſhall. Whiles he was in his ward, and fearing leaſt ſome greater matters would be reuealed againſt him, he praied acceſſe to the lord iuſtice; and then he humbled himſelfe verie much, and promiſed and ſware vpon his honour & allegiance, that he would faithfullie and to the vttermoſt of his power ſerue hir highneſſe againſt the rebels. Whoſe humbleneſſe and promiſe the lord iuſtice by the aduiſe of the councell did accept, and ſo inlarged him: which was in the end the vtter confuſion of the earle himſelfe and all his familie, and in the meane time great troubles, cauſes of much bloudſhed, and vndoing of all Mounſter.

The earle of Deſmond cõmeth to the lord iuſtice to the campe.

The earle of Deſmond is committed to ward.

The earle of Deſmond doth humble himſelfe and ſweareth to ſerue truelie.

Whiles the lord iuſtice laie thus in campe about Kilmallocke, newes was brought vnto him, that ſir

John of Desmond incampeth at Slewlougher.

John of Desmond was incamped with a great companie of the rebels vpon the borders of Slewlougher. Wherevpon his lordship remoued and marched thitherwards, the earle then promising that he would in person incounter and fight hand to hand with his brother. Now when they were come to the place of seruice, the earle being best acquainted with the countrie, gaue aduise to the lord iustice, that he should diuide the armie into two parts, and the lord iustice should take one waie, and he the earle would take another waie: which aduise was followed. But bicause that place of the present seruice is adioining to a great wood, and wherein were manie fastnesse, the lord iustice did diuide the rest of his companie into two other parts, and so euerie of these three companies toke waie into the wood & serched it throughout, but there they found no bodie. For sir John had some secret knowledge of the lord iustices comming, and so was gone before.

The daie being spent to small purpose, & the night drawne towards, he incamped that night in the same places where the rebels had lien before, & there he remained somewhat longer than he thought: bicause he would spend and waste the forrage of that countrie, which was one of the chiefest places of reliefe that the enimies had. And from thense he went backe againe towards Kilmallocke, where he incamped himselfe at a place called Gilbons towne, which lieth in the plaines betweene Limerike and Kilmallocke towards Emelete and Yarlo; & there he continued about nine weekes in continuall toiling and trauelling to and fro, in all such seruices as was dailie offered to be done vpon the enimie, from which he had no rest neither day nor night. Wherevpon for the better seruice he diuided his bands, and toke out of the Irish companies one hundred, and deliuered them to the guiding of capteine John Herbert, a man of verie good seruice, and one other hundred to capteine Price.

These two capteins had made spiall vpon certeine rebels, which shrowded themselues in the great wood called the blacke wood, vpon whom they made a sallie, and did verie good seruice vpon them. But as they were to returne to the campe, which laie beside Getenbre castell, the said John of Desmond, who laie in ambush for them, met and incountered them, where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two capteins with the most part of their companie slaine: & John of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men was a great weakening to the lord iustice his armie; his enimies being strong and manie: and his companie weake and few, sauing at that instant the souldiers sent out of Deuon and Cornewall arriued at Waterford to the number of six hundred men, vnder the leading of capteine George Bourchier, capteine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose comming at so present a distresse was both toilsull and also gladsome.

And neere about this time, it was aduertised vnto the lord iustice, that John of Desmond was at Connell, which was about sixteene miles from the campe; and his lordship being well furnished & prepared, and he minding to do some peece of seruice vpon him, made verie secretlie a iourneie thither: but Desmond wanting not his good espials, had an inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so shifted himselfe awaie, wherevpon the lord iustice returned to his campe. The queens maiestie and councell, being alwaies mindfull of hir Ireland, and by reason of the newes that the enimies were dailie stronger and stronger, she sent ouer sir John Perot late president of Mounster, with six ships well furnished and appointed, whereof he was admerall; and William Gorge maister porter of the tower and a pensioner, viceadmerall: and all these arriued vnto the citie of Corke. Whereof the lord iustice being aduertised, was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred vnto sir William Stanleie, who before was capteine of certeine horsemen, and one other hundred he assigned vnto capteine Hind. And seeing now some good seruice towards, and to incourage certeine gentlemen to be the more willing to follow the same, called before him George Bourchier, William Stanleie, Peter Carew, and Edward Poze, and vsing vnto them verie good speeches, to incourage and persuade them to do hir maiestie good seruice in these hir affaires, and in hope they would performe the same, he dubbed them knights: who accordinglie did acquit themselues, and some of them with the losse of their liues ended their daies in this seruice.

Knights dubbed in the field.

And he further also for his owne part, the more hee bethought himselfe of the great seruice and charge laid vpon him, the more carefull he was to do what the same required: where, in his owne person he so toiled and trauelled, and so ouercame himselfe with studieng, watching, labouring and trauelling, that he ouerthrew his owne health, and was no longer able to indure the same: but being ouercome by sickenesse, and driuen to yeeld thereunto, was determined to haue dissolued his campe, and so to haue returned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time. But the capteins seeing the necessitie of the present seruice, persuaded him not to dissolue the armie, but to take some order herein for hir highnesse seruice, and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health. Upon whose aduises he prepared himselfe to trauell towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the seruice did commit the gouernement to sir Nicholas Malbie, who was then gouernour by the name of coronell of Connagh; and then by easie iourneies hee came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe euerie daie more weaker than other, and in the end did distrust his owne recouerie.

Sir William Drurie falleth sicke & goeth to Waterford.

Sir Nicholas Malbie made gouernor of Mounster.

And yet mindfull of hir maiesties seruice, he to incourage other therein, sent & called before him William Pelham esquier, William Gorge esquier viceadmerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and heire to sir John Perot, and Patrike Welsh maior of the citie of Waterford, and gaue vnto them the order of knighthood, vsing the like persuasions as heretofore he had done vnto others in the like case. And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet that was no sufficient physicke to recouer his helth of bodie, but that still decaied. And douting verie much of his recouerie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chancellor, and to the ladie Thame his wife, for their speedie comming vnto him, who accordinglie satisfied his request. But he inioied their companie a verie short time: for he died within two daies after their comming, being the last of September 1579, and after his death his bodie was caried vnto Dublin, where it was buried.

Knights dubbed at Waterford.

Sir William Drurie lord iustice dieth.

But here by the waie (which should before haue beene said) as he came towards Waterford through Tipperarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him, and brought with hir hir onelie sonne and heire to the earle; and being a suter in the behalfe of hir husband, presented him to the lord iustice to be a pledge for the truth and fidelitie of the earle hir husband. For after the time that he was set at libertie in the campe neere Kilmallocke, he neuer repaired any more to the lord iustice, but stood vpon his owne keeping; notwithstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie and obedience, which he neuer meant. For in verie truth he was (notwithstanding his dissembling) a verie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie shortlie

The countesse of Desmond giueth hir son to be a pledge for his father.

Sir John of Desmõd lieth in an ambush for the English capteins and discomfiteth them.

The Deuonshire souldiers arriue at waterford.

Sir John Perot sent to serue on ses.

shortlie appeare, to his owne deserued confusion.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Malbie, who immediatlie vpon the departure of sir William Drurie vnto Waterford, according to the office & charge laid vpon him, he set in hand forthwith to follow and performe the same. For he was able to do it being of great experience in martiall affaires, hauing béene seruitor that waie vnder sundrie kings, & in strange nations; as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great knowledge in matters of policie, hauing béene a student in good letters, and a great traueller in sundrie nations, and therein did obserue the maner of the seuerall gouernments in euerie such place as where he trauelled. He had vnder him in the whole an hundred and fiftie horsemen, and nine hundred footmen, to command; and diuiding them according to the seruice then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, and capteine Sentleger, vnto Kilmallocke with three hundred footmen, and with fiftie horsmen, there to lie in garrison, and a speciall place meet for the same, & which the enimie most specially coueted to possesse. But the more his care was that waie, the like was their diligence, vigilancie, & care of the other waie to keepe the same. Then with the residue of the companie he marched himselfe to the citie of Limerike, where he staied and remained for a time to refresh his souldiors.

The commendation of sir Nicholas Malbie.

During his abode and being there, it was thought good by him and his capteins, to send vnto the earle of Desmond for his repaire vnto him, and to haue conference with him, to vnderstand his bent and aduise for hir maiesties seruice against the enimies. The earle hauing receiued the gouernours letters, gaue verie good words, & promised much, but performed nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe sent for from time to time, but he came not, but laie still at his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike. For albeit as yet he was not in anie actuall rebellion, yet it was not vnknowne but that he was secretlie combined with his two brethren, which as open traitors were in open rebellion and in armes against hir maiestie. Which the earle, suspecting the same might be laid vnto his charge, would not aduenture himselfe to come in person to the gouernor; but still fed him with faire words and friuolous answers. Wherefore the gouernor thought good to spend no more time in vaine to looke for him, but left Limerike, and went into the fields, where he incamped himselfe, and so set forwards to do some seruice vpon the enimie, hauing then in his companie six hundred footmen vnder the ensigns of sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, capteine Fisher, capteine Furse, capteine Piers, & capteine Hinds; and he himselfe and capteine Apslie reserued one hundred horsemen betweene them. Now being aduertised that a great companie of the rebels were incamped in Connilo vnder their capteine John of Desmond, he marched towards them. And being come néere to an abbeie or monasterie called Monaster-Nenagh, seuen miles from Limerike, there appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of horsemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand or there abouts, marching in battell arate, and had cast out their wings of shot, and placed euerie thing verie well and orderlie.

The gouernor sendeth for the earle of Desmond.

The earle giueth onelie words and dissembleth.

The gouernor remoueth from Limerike to Connilo.

When the gouernor perceiued and beheld this, being verie glad that some peece of seruice was towards, he likewise conferreth with his capteins, and by their aduises setteth his companie in like good order, and brought them into a quadrant proportion, setting out his flankers in seuerall places according to the seruices, & appointed verie good leaders for the same: but his cariages he placed in the rereward, with shot sufficient for their safegard. Now when all things were thus ordered, he marched forwards to the enimies. John of Desmond, when he saw that he must fight or flie, and that brags would not beare out the matter, by the councell of doctor Allen, who had the holie ghost at commandement, to giue them the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displaied; and then marching forwards in verie good order, hee tooke a plaine ditch in the open field: and minding to abide the fight, disposeth his horsemen, footmen, Calowglasses, and his shot for his best strength and aduantage.

The gouernor setteth onwards, & giueth the onset vpon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the first & second volées, & answered the fight verie well, euen to the couching of the pikes, that the matter stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fiercelie & desperatlie set vpon them afresh with the third volée, that they were discomfited and had the ouerthrow giuen them, and fled. John of Desmond, as a worthie Lerres, who (as the historiographers write of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat vpon his horsse all this while and gaue the loking: who soeuer turned first, he was the first that was gone: for he put spur to the horsse & fled awaie as fast as he could, shewing a faire paire of héeles, which was better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one, and three score others of good account. And in the chase, there were slaine and hurt, which died shortlie after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen was an Irish man borne, and the chiefest cause of this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom he knew to be verie skilfull, and also dreaming the victorie by his inchantments to be at his commandement, incouraged John of Desmond forwards: and in the campe in the waie of good spéed would néeds saie masse, and as the prophets of Baal in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God Mazim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come; for his God was asléepe and could not heare. Notwithstanding, he stood so much vpon the credit of his offrings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a victorie, and that he himselfe would be the first that should that daie giue the first blow; but whether he so did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the iust reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and disloiallie forsake the dutie and allegiance, which by the word of God he did owe vnto hir highnesse, and deuoted himselfe a professed Iesuit to the Romish antichrist, and an open traitor vnto his lawfull prince. The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of Lernew stood in the view & sight of it, vpon a little hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thense: but the whole companies were there, and had part of the breakefast.

The battell betweene the gouernor and sir John of Desmond.

The Irish lost the field.

Doctor Allen is slaine.

Doctor Allen incouraged the campers to fight.

The earle of Desmond was in view of the fight.

This baron of Lernews eldest sonne, named Patrike, was seruant to hir maiestie and sworne, and serued in the court; but had leaue of hir maiestie to come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no sooner come, and entred into his fathers house and home, but he forsoke his faith and oth to hir highnesse, and became a wicked rebell, and most traitorouslie bare armes against hir, and so continued a ranke traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth the nature of himselfe, and of the brood of that cursed generation, among whome there is neither faith, nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well resembled to an ape, which (as the common prouerbe is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple and veluet: euen so this wicked impe. For notwithstanding he was trained vp in the court of England, sworne seruant vnto hir maiestie, in good fauour and countenance in the court, and apparelled

The baron of Lernews son, seruant to the quéene and sworne, beareth armes against hir.

No faith nor regard of an oth among the Irishrie.

led according to his degrée, and dailie nurtured and brought vp in all ciuilitie: he was no sooner come home, but awaie with his English attires, and on with his brogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knaue of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as dailie experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Iupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well estéemed and honored: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the historie.

Iupiters cat.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernor incamped himselfe fast by the riuer side of the monasterie aforesaid, and there late that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: euen then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation vnto the gouernor, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and ioifull of his good successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to hir maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of hir great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernor answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference togither, and ioine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraw himselfe and his companie from thense, vnlesse he could giue him a good reason, he would not yéeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantise. And therefore he remained thenceforth in the same place three or foure daies, expecting still the earles comming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that henceforth he became a rebell in open action, and in armes against the gouernor, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to vse delaies and faire spéeches to gaine time to serue his turne, remoued from thense to a towne of the earles named Rekell, and there incamped himselfe. They were no sooner settled, but the scoutmaister, hauing béene abroad, declareth to the gouernor that he had discouered a great companie of horsemen and footmen which were within a mile of the campe, & therewith was the alarum made, & sundrie horsemen & shot according to the direction of the gouernor issued out, & met with the enimies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and tooke some prisoners.

The earle of Desmonds dissembling, & his counsell.

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

The earle of Desmond secretlie in the night stealeth to the gouernors campe to intrap it.

The gouernor remoueth to Rekell.

A garison placed at Rekell.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had béene euer since the last ouerthrow of his brother Iohn of Desmond; and likewise declareth the whole bent of the earle and his brother. This péece of seruice being done, and the night drawing néere, the watch was charged, and euerie man tooke his rest. But the earls and his brother minding to do some mischiefe, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking aduantage of the time, when men were wearie and in their sléepes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too short and missed of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernor considering the intent of the enimies was to do what they could to remoue him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enimies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enimies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water, they had a continuall recourse to & fro that waie: he before his departure from thense did plant & place a ward in the castell adioining to the bridge, which did from that time annoie the enimies verie much: and then from hense he marched towards the earles house of Asketten, and by the waie he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the riuer, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother Iohn were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the riuer, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernor hoping of some good seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbeis house of Asketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the capteins what were best to be done, it was agréed and thought good, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to persuade him to submission. The gouernor, who was a verie good secretarie, and could pen a letter verie excellentlie well, did draw a letter, vsing manie good words, termes, and reasons to persuade him to conformitie and obedience to hir maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the vtter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Roesius the great prince of South wales by his mother Nesta, daughter vnto the said Roesius, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And herewith by the waie of a parenthesis, it doth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Giraldines came out of Italie; but perhaps out of Normandie: and the first of them placed in England had some interteinement and liuing at Windesor, and thereof was called Giraldus de Windesora: and he gaue not the armes of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

Asketten the earle of Desmonds chiefest house.

A letter sent to the earle of Desmond to persuade him to submission.

The house of Desmond.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancestors were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and persuading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie; that he would reclaime himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancestors might not be buried in his treacheries and follies. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pithie, true, and effectuall reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue persuaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Pharaos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yéeld and relent: but leauing his former and wonted dissimulations, returneth the messenger with a flat deniall that he will not yeeld anie further obedience to hir highnesse. And forthwith to confirme the same, he fortifieth his strongest and best houses and castels: as namelie Asketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castels of Carigofoile and Strangicullie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernor, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordinglie; newes was brought him that sir William Drurie lord iustice was dead, who deceased at Waterford vpon the third of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto hir highnesse seruice.

The earle of Desmond will not be persuaded.

The earle of Desmond fortifieth his castels.

Sir William Drurie dieth.

This

The conditions and manners of sir william Dzurie.

This sir William Dzurie was verie valiant, wise, and a gentleman of great experience, descended of a verie ancient and a woꝛshipfull house, being a yonger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferioꝛ to his elder brother ante kind of waie in the gifts of wisedome, valiantnesse, knowledge, and experience of matters politike oꝛ martiall. In his youth he was a page, and serued in the court; and as in yeares, so in knowledge of all courtlie seruices he did growe and increase, and became to be as gallant a courtier as none lightlie excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord Russell lord priuie seale, and after earle of Bedfoꝛd, who gaue him good countenance and interteinment: His seruice at Bullongne. foꝛ vnder him he serued in France at Muttrell and Bullongnois, and after the warres ended, he went to Calis, and oftentimes being there he issued out, and did manie good seruices about Cambꝛate and in Artois: and in the end about Bꝛurelles he was taken prisoner. He is taken prisoner. Not long after he was redéemed and ransomed, and then he would néeds serue at the seas, and hauing gotten a ship well appointed foꝛ the purpose, he aduentureth that seruice. He serueth at seas. The beginning of it was so hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall stoꝛme, and in great despaire foꝛ euer to recouer: neuertheless, whom the sword could not make afraid, the seas could not dismate; but was euer one and the same man, of a good mind and great coꝛage: and the stoꝛme being past, he followed the seruice which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maritimall man, and verie expert in all seruices at the seas. When the time of this his seruice was expired, he returned into England; & attending vpon the earle of Bedfoꝛd, he accompanied him in His seruice at the commotion in Deuon. the seruice against the rebels of Deuon, at the commotion oꝛ rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first one thousand fiue hundꝛed foꝛtie and nine, and did there verie good seruice. After which in course of time, he went to serue at Berwike, His seruice at Berwike. where his valoꝛ and behauioꝛ was such, that he was made pꝛouost marshall vnder the earle of Susser being lord lieutenant, and foꝛ his sundꝛie notable good seruices he rewarded him with the degrée of knighthood. He is pꝛouost marshall. He is dubbed knight.

Not long after that, there was a péece of necessarie seruice to be done in Scotland by the said earle vpon the quéenes commandement; but he was verie sicke, and at that time he could not perfoꝛme the same: wherefoꝛe he deputed in his place this woꝛthie knight, whome he then made generall of the armie: and with such foꝛces as were thought méet he entreth into the seruices appointed vnto him, being accompanied with the earle of Lennox, sir Thomas Manners, sir Geoꝛge Carie, and sir Robert Constable, with sundꝛie other capteins, to the number of twelue hundꝛed footmen. And his commission being to serue at Edenboꝛough, which then by the reason of the diuision among the noblemen, about the murthering of the earle of Murreie, he toke, spoiled, and burned sundꝛie foꝛts and castels: and in the end he besieged and toke the towne and castell of Edenborough, and deliuered the same, according as he was commanded, to the vse of the king: and so he returned againe to his old charge, with great pꝛaise and commendation, as in the chꝛonicles of England and Scotland is at large recoꝛded. He is generall of the armie, and doth a good péece of seruice in Scotland. He besiegeth and taketh Edenboꝛough castell.

In verie shoꝛt time after, hir maiestie hauing good experience of the valoꝛ of this knight euerie waie, aswell foꝛ his valiantnes in martiall affaires, as foꝛ his wisedome in ciuill gouernement, she calleth and dꝛaweth him from his office and charge at Berwike, and remoueth him into Ireland, there to be imploied in the office of a lord pꝛesident, and assigneth vnto him the gouernement of the whole pꝛouince of Mounster, where he shall haue sufficient matter and occasion to vse both the swoꝛd & the law, iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued hir highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh his voiage & repaire into Ireland: & being now setled in his roome and office by the right honoꝛable sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, he acquiteth himselfe verie well euerie waie, being as seuere a iudge and earnest persecutoꝛ of the wicked and rebellious, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedient, to the great good liking of hir maiestie, the teroꝛ of the wicked, the comfoꝛt of the good, and the benefit of the commonwealth. After some time of his triall in this office, and sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie being reuoked into England, he who had serued well in part, is called now to serue in all: and from a particular pꝛesident is called to be a generall gouernoꝛ: and is in place of the departed deputie made lord iustice. He was no sooner entred into the office, but foꝛthwith the rebellion and warres of the Desmonds began in Mounster vnder James Fitzmoꝛis, and the Italians latelie come from the pope, and vnder the earle of Desmond and his bꝛethꝛen, who had long bꝛeathed and loked foꝛ this time. Foꝛ the pacifieng, oꝛ rather subduing of this wicked rebellion, he toke such continuall trauels and troubles, & so bꝛused his bodie, that being not able to hold out any longer, he fell sicke & died (as is befoꝛesaid) in the citie of Waterfoꝛd, and from thense his coꝛps was remoued to Dublin, and there buried; his bodie resting in peace, his soule in euerlasting blisse, and his fame in this woꝛld foꝛ euer immoꝛtall. Sir William Dzurie is made lord iustice of all Ireland. The rebellion of the Desmonds in Mounster. The death of sir William Dzurie.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, who was chéefe gouernoꝛ of Mounster, now that his commission by the death of sir William Dzurie was expired and ended, gaue ouer to follow ante actuall warres oꝛ ciuill administration in Mounster; but remoued himselfe and the whole campe vnto Lougher, and there dispersed them abꝛode in townes and villages to lie in garrison, and vpon their owne gards, vntill it were knowne who should haue the swoꝛd, and be the pꝛincipall officer. Amongest the capteins thus dispersed into seuerall places, sir William Stanleie, and capteine Geoꝛge Carew were assigned to lie at Adare. The traitoꝛs & rebels, hearing of the death of the woꝛthie knight, of whose pꝛowesse and valiantnesse by the swoꝛd, & of whose wisedome & vpꝛightnes in gouernement, they had good triall; yet not abiding to be alienated from their old leauened and wicked vsage, they were not a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were most soꝛowfull foꝛ the losse & lacke of him. Wherefoꝛe now they pull vp their spirits, & confer togither how they may in this inter-reigne win the spurs, and be vtterlie deliuered from the English gouernement. Wherefoꝛe it is agréed among them, that vpon euerie seuerall garrison of the most pꝛincipall capteins, they would set seuerall companies to watch & kæpe them in their holds, that they should not issue out, but to their perill. Some therefoꝛe are appointed at Kilmalocke, some at Carigofoile, some at Asketten, and some at one place, and some at another. And at Adare, where these two gentlemen sir William Stanleie & Geoꝛge Carew late, sir James of Desmond bꝛother to the earle with foure hundꝛed Kerns and fiftie hoꝛsses was appointed to serue and watch; which he did so carefullie & narowlie, that none durst to peepe noꝛ loke out but in danger of some perill. But when vittels waxed shoꝛt within doꝛes, the souldioꝛs, who could noꝛ would be pined, gaue the aduenture to fetch that which was without doꝛes: and as want of vittels did increase, so did their issuings out vpon the enimies growe and increase. And so often were their sallies and incountrings with the enimies, that in the end they finding & kæling the coun- The garrisons are besieged and inuiron'd by the Irishrie. Sir James of Desmond besiegeth Adare. The Irishmen leane to inuiron the garrison.



Sir William Dzurie sent into Ireland to be lord pꝛesident of Mounster.

rage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering euer lost some of their companie. Wherevpon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a generall gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captens were not to seeke, nor yet failed to dw the seruice which vnto them did apperteine, either for seruice or safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lieng in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to dw a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the breake of the daie, they toke a bote or a cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their soldiors vnto the other side of the riuer, which lieth betweene Adare and the Kerrie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & apperteining to the knight of the valleie, who then was in actuall rebellion against hir maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, where they then late at a castell named Ballilogban, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two capteins had burned and spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoeuer they thought good: in their returne before they could recouer the riuer, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the valleie, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horsemen, gaue the charge vpon these two ensignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue six score persons to the vttermost. These two capteins answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the push of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot and Kernes; and sir James himselfe with others grieuouslie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, sauing sundrie were shrewdlie hurt and wounded. At length these two capteins recouered their bote, and caused all the souldiors to be transported; they themselues being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, stood afterwards vpon a better force.

The knight of the valleie his countrie spoiled.

The knight of the valleie a rebell.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carews seruice at Adare.

The lords of the councell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselues, and toke aduise for the chosse of some one wise man, meet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolued vpon sir William Pelham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon sundaie being the eleuenth of October 1579, he receiued the sword and toke his oth in Christs church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Ormond and Kildare, and the whole councell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whome sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As sone as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancellor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of councell, and of hir maiesties good acceptation of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degree of knighthood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Sir William Pelham chosen to be lord iustice. 1579

Sir William Pelham hauing taken the sword, dubbeth the lord chancellor knight.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late treasuror of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the councell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate: and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of anie countenance and calling, perswading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Ormond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the yong lord Girald sonne and heire to the erle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Mackworth, and he to bring or conueie him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the brode seale was sent to sir Warham Sentleger, to be knight or prouost marshall of all Mounster. These and other things done concerning the keeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who had a speciall eie to the troublesome state of Mounster, prepareth to make presentlie a iournie into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancellor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to hir maiestie and councell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships iournie towards against the rebels: who had also in commission to vtter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon hir maiesties demands and councels. When all things were prepared for his iournie, he appointed the erle of Kildare to defend the borders northward, and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three bands latelie come from Berwike, vnder the leading of capteine Walker, capteine Case, and capteine Pikeman: with so manie others as he thought meet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Neile a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betweene the earle of Ormond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrike, baron of vpper Ossorie: betwixt whome was a mortall hatred. And bonds were taken betweene them for restoring ech one to the other the preies, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good interteinment.

Sir warham Sentleger made prouost marshall of Mounster.

The lord iustice maketh a iournie into Mounster.

The lord chancellor sent into England.

The earle of Ormond made gouernor of Mounster.

From this towne he departed the two and twentith of October, and by iournies he came to Cashell, where the earle of Ormond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the foure and twentith of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaire vnto him, for the appeasing of the quarrell and controuersie betweene him & sir Nicholas Malbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cashell or to Limerike. And from this towne he rode to Limerike, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Malbie and sundrie other capteins & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a braue volée of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the maior in all dutifull maner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weaponed and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thense, and went to a towne named Fanings, where sir Nicholas Malbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Ulike Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Ulike, and with most pestilent reasons perswaded him to rebellion. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from hir husband, with letters of hir husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The earle of Desmond is sent for to come to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice honorablie receiued into Limerike.

Doctor Senders wicked letters to Ulike Burke.

The lord iustice keepeth sessions at Kilkennie.

The earle of Ormond and the baron of vpper Ossorie reconciled and made frends.

The lord iustice seeing the earle to vse but delaies, toke aduise of the councell which was with him, what

what was best to dw. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Dzmond should go vnto him, and to conferre with him vpon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him vnto the said Desmond, and to require his resolute answer.

## The said articles were in summe *as followeth.*

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards.

FIrst, that he should deliuer vnto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certeine strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countries, and mainteined by such traitors and in such castels, as be at his deuotion and commandement.

The earle to deliuer one of his castels.

That he shall deliuer vp into hir maiesties hands one of his castels of Carigofoile or Asketten, for the pledge of his good behauiour: which vpon sundrie and diuerse reasons is suspicious, and he for his disloialtie greatlie suspected.

The earle to submit himselfe.

That he dw forthwith come and simplie submit himselfe vnto hir maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of hir maiestie and councell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and councell in Ireland.

That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

That he dw forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and ioine with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Dzmond, lord generall in this seruice.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errours past: but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Dzmond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Crogh the thirtith of October 1579, biing therein nothing but triflings and delaies, requiring restitution for old wrongs and iniuries, and iustifieng himselfe to be a good subiect, though he dw not yeeld to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parlee, the lord iustice was remoued to Crome, where he expected the returne of the erle of Dzmond and to that place sir William Stanleie & capteins George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen.

The earle sendeth letters but commeth not.

The earle of Dzmond being returned, & hauing little preuailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could preuaile; then it was thought good by the lord iustice & councell to proceed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice remoued from Crome to Kathkill, and he was no sooner incamped, but alarum by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice and the earle of Dzmond: & in that skirmish three or foure of the traitors were slaine, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustification to be a good subiect, he dailie accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice seeing that neither counsell nor delaie of time could auaile with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the councell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in the highest degree of treason at Kathkill the second of November 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his comming in.

The earle of Desmonds butler taken and slaine.

The earle of Desmond proclamed traitor.

## The earle of Desmonds treasons *articulated.*

THat the erle of Desmond hath practised most vnnaturallie the subuersion of the whole state.

2 That he practised to bring in strangers, and practised with forren princes to bring and allure in strangers to inuade this land.

3 That he fostered and mainteined doctor Sanders, James Fitzmoris, and others beyond the seas to worke these feats.

4 That albeit to the vtter shew of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie interteined by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrie.

5 That when his brethren most traitorouslie had murthered Henrie Dauels and others at Traleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reproouing or blaming of them, and had also commended speciallie the slaughter of Edmund Duffe an Englishman, who at the said murthering laie in the next bed vnto Dauels.

6 That when the strangers at Smerwicke had no waie to escape by sea, at the comming of sir William Dzrie, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commandement giuen vnto him by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Dingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there interteinements.

8 That he distributed the ordinances and artillerie of the forts vnto the rebels, as doth appeere by a note found in the port mantieu of doctor Allen latelie slaine in the incounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath set at libertie such strangers as he kept colourablie as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castels.

10 That he hanged most abhominablie Richard Eustace, Simon Brian, and others the quéenes subiects, for whome he vndertoke to the late lord iustice to be safelie brought vnto him.

11 That he sent sundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his houshold seruants, as also his chiefe capteins, which vnder the popes banner displaied most traitorouslie in the fields, did assaile sir Nicholas Malbie knight hir maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Enagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that daie carie.

12 That he hath vtterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, sundrie messages, and all the good means vsed and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onelie refused to deliuer vp doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which dw dailie accompanie him; but hath broken downe his castels, burned his townes, and desolated his countries aforehand, to the intent hir maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he dailie loketh for a further aid and a new supplie of forreners, & dailie solliciteth the chiefemen of the Irish countries to ioine with him in this his most execrable and rebellious enterprise.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to the

the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherfore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against hir maiesties crowne and dignitie, vnlesse within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submit himselfe. Vnto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Ormond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the vicount Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Malbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

The proclamation against Desmond is sent to all the cities in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dispersed to Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limerike, and other principall townes to be in like order proclamed. Immediatlie and within an houre after this proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword could consume. From this place the lord iustice remoued to Pople Brian, whereupon the third of November he toke a generall muster of the whole armie: and then he deliuered to the erle of Ormond two hundred and fiftie horsemen, and also eight ensignes of footmen, of the which companie George Bourchier went to Kilmallocke, and sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew to Adare, And then he remoued and toke his iournie vnto Limerike, being accompanied with the earle of Ormond, who the next date left the lord iustice and returned to his charge. After which departure of the lord iustice, the proclamed traitor of Desmond and his brothers, not able anie longer to shrowd his treacheries, went with all his forces to the towne of Youghall, where against his comming the gates of the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but colourablie: for verie shortlie after, without dentall or resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels entered the towne and toke it, and there remained about fiue daies, rifling and carrieng awaie the goods and houshold stuffe to the castell of Strangicallie and Lesinnen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards.

The towne of Youghall taken & spoiled.

A barke well appointed at Waterford is sent to Youghall.

The earle of Ormond, assone as he was aduertised hereof, he caused a barke well appointed to be dispatched from Waterford, & to come to Youghall: the capteine of which barke was named White, a man of that countrie birth, verie valiant and of a stout stomach. Assone as he was come to the wals of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recouered from the rebels certeine ordinances of the said townes; and being put to vnderstand that the seneschall of Imokellie was comming towards the towne, he set all his men on land; and setting his men in good order, he entered into the towne at the watergate, and marched in good order through the towne, till he came where the rebels were togither, and then more rashlie than consideratlie, gaue the charge and onset vpon them: but the number of them being great, and his but a handfull to them, he was in verie short time inclosed and ouerlaied, and there slaine, and with much adoo did a few of his companie recouer their ship againe. The lord generall and gouernour in the meane time, not slacking his businesse, did assemble and muster all his companie, & being accompanied with sir George Bourchier, sir William Stanleie, capteine Dowdall, capteine Furse, and others, made a iourneie into Connilo, which was then the cheefest place of trust that the earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for vittels and forage, and there his greatest force and strength of his souldiors were seized in the townes and villages. And they then little thinking and lesse looking for anie such ghests, were vnawares and vpon a sudden intraped and taken napping, and the most part of them taken and slaine, and the villages for the most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond at this present time was there, but not knowne in his castell called the New castell, and escaped verie narowlie. This peece of seruice being done, the lord gouernour marched towards Mac Willies countrie, and being to go through a certeine passe, he met with the seneschall, vpon whome he gaue the charge, who answered the same verie valiantlie, and the skirmish was verie hot, in which the seneschals brothers and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though not so manie, amongest whome capteine Vouches trumpetor was one; which so greeued the lord generall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and villages in that countrie and about Lesinnen, which in anie wais did belong to the earle of Desmond, or of anie of his frends and followers, to be burned and spoiled.

The earle of Desmond in danger to be taken.

From this he toke his iourneie towards Corke, and in his waie at Drunsenting he toke a preie of one thousand fiue hundred kine or cowes, which were all driuen and sent vnto Corke, at which citie assone as his lordship was come, and had rested a small time, then by the aduise of the capteins he diuided and bestowed his companie into sundrie garrisons and places conuenient, as which might best answer the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furse, he went to Cashell, and by the waie he toke the maior of Youghall, whome forthwith he examined, and for his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yeeld vp the towne vnto Desmond, and had before refused a band of Englishmen, which was appointed to lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof, and had promised that he would keepe and defend the same against all men; he carried him along with him vnto Youghall, and there before his owne dore hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman or child therein, saning one frier, whome he spared, because he had fetched the corps of Henrie Dauels from Traleigh, and had caried it to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancell of the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pitieng the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the reedifieng of the wals and gates, and placed therein a garrison of three hundred footmen vnder capteine Morgan and capteine Piers, who did verie good seruice in the countrie, and by good means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and impeopled the towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed thense, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and opportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the capteins for some speciall seruice, and remembring that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hitherto nothing done or said vnto them; it was agreed betweene his lordship and the capteins, to do some seruice vpon them, and to trie their value: whereupon they marched thither and laid siege thervnto.

The maior of Youghall hanged before his owne doores.

The towne of Youghall all desolate.

The inhabitants remoued to dwell and inhabit the towne.

The Spaniards, who kept alwaies good watch, and had also verie good espials abrode, they were forthwith aduertised that a companie of souldiers were drawing and marching towards the said castell, and when they themselues saw it to be true, and had discouered them, they began to distrust themselues, and to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them. Wherefore abandoning & forsaking the castell, they passed ouer the water, thinking to recouer the woods and

The Spaniards lieng in Strangicallie forsake their fort and in fleeing are slaine.

The earle of Ormond maketh a rode into Connilo, & killeth a number of the rebels.

White, capteine of the barke is slain.

and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanleie, capteine Zouch, capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, capteine Roberts, and all their companies did so egerlie follow and pursue them, that in the end they ouertoke them, and slue all or the most part of them, and so toke the castell, wherein the lord gouernour placed a ward. Likewise when he late at Adare, and vnderstanding that the erle of Desmond was abrode, the garrison minding to doo some seruice vpon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing some intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their returne; and vpon an aduantage he gaue the onset vpon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they brake the most part of their pikes, and were inforced with their swords and with the stumps of their staues to stand to their defenses; which they did so valiantlie, that the earle in the end with the losse of his men was driuen to giue ouer and to flee.

The erle of Desmond lieth in an ambush.

The like seruice did sir Henrie Wallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Holingworth, and all the residue of the capteins in their seuerall charges and garrisons, who though of themselues they were verie forward; yet the lord gouernour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the formost, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he remoued and dislodged himselfe from Adare, and marched to Boteuant a house of the lord Barries, where a peece of seruice was appointed them to be done: but suddenlie such a sicknes came among the soldiers which toke them in the head, that at one instant there were aboue three hundred of them sicke, and for three daies they laie as dead stockes, loking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recouered. This sickenesse not long after came into England, & was called the gentle correction. Now the companie being thus recouered, his lordship minding to follow a peece of seruice, diuideth his companie into two parts, the one he toke himselfe, and toke the waie by the Iland; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and diuided their companies into three parts, & so marched to Dingle a cush. And as they went they draue the whole countrie before them vnto the Ventrie, & by that means they preied and toke all the cattell in the countrie to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horses, garrons, sheepe, and gotes, and all such people as they met they did without mercie put to the sword. By these meanes the whole countrie hauing no cattell nor kine left, they were driuen to such extremities, that for want of vittels they were either to die and perish for famine, or to die vnder the sword. Neuertheless, manie of them vnderstanding that sir William Winter vice-admerall of England was newlie arriued with the queenes ships at the Ventrie, and that he had receiued a commission to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obteined protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat preiudiciall to hir maiesties seruice: bicause they persuaded themselues, that if they had followed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

The diligent seruice of the earle of Ormond.

Sickenesse in the campe.

All the countrie is preied.

Sir william Winter getteth protections.

Sir William, vicеadmerall of England, vpon the newes reported to hir maiestie that a new supplie was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to keepe the seas and to attend their comming, and as occasion serued to doo his best seruice vpon them. Who when he had so done certeine moneths, his vittels waxed scant; and see-

Sir william Winter keepeth the seas.

ing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing onwards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arriue thither, he hoised his sailes and returned into England. But he was mistaken & deceiued: for not long after they came and landed at Smerwicke, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leauing the soldiers in their garrisons, let vs returne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the fift of November 1579, being accompanied with the Berwike bands, he went into Thomond, where the earle and his sonne with two bad horsemen met his lordship; and from thense he trauelled by iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honorablie receiued. And to the end to incourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the corporation certeine branches and articles, whereof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newlie set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

The lord iustice with the Berwike bands goeth into Thomond.

The lord iustice is verie honorablie receiued into Gallewaie.

## The charter of Gallewaie with new *liberties confirmed.*

FIrst, that no writ of *Sub pœna* shall be warded out of the chancerie against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, vntill the partie which sueth out the writ, haue put in good and sufficient suerties before the lord chancellor, or the maior of Gallewaie to prosecute the same with effect.

That no new office nor officer be erected in the towne of Gallewaie by anie deputie or gouernour, otherwise than as they in times past haue vsed to doo.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discreet men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enimies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buie anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulie make paiment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne doo vse anie vndecent & vnreuerent speach to the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall inioy, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, vsages, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the partie condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called Dleigethe.

That no dead bodie shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and hauen, that the same be serched and viewed for weapons and munitions, and that none aboue the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the view of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the wals.

That the maior from time to time doo take the muster and view of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all vnseruiceable people in time of seruice be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittels from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be prouided alwais in the towne for a staple of vittels to be kept there at all times.

From

William Noris newlie come out of England meeteth the lord iustice.

From thense his lordship by sundrie iournies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about three miles before he came to the citie, William Noris newlie arriued out of England, and accompanied with certeine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, well furnished and well horsed with English geldings, euerie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attended his lordship into the citie, and from thense he was assigned and sent vnto the Newrie, where he died verie shortlie after vpon the fiue and twentith of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his splene corrupted, and his braine mixt with filthie matter. His bands were diuided and deliuered to either capteins. And immediatlie vpon his entrance into the citie, he sent for Jaques Wingfield master of the ordinance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to keepe his chamber for his contempt, because he did not attend the lord iustice into Mounster as he was commanded; but vpon his submission after foure daies he was released. And vpon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harington, who had married one of his daughters and heires, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be seneshall of the Obirnes, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter vnder their hands, dated the nine and twentith of November 1579, to the lord iustice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holinesse and king Philip, who haue vndertaken to defend and mainteine them, and therefore persuaded the lord iustice to ioine with them.

Capteine Noris sent to the Newrie.

Sir Henrie Harington is made seneshall of the Obirnes.

The proud letters of the earle of Desmond.

The lord iustice hauing set the pale in some order, & hauing committed the same to the gouernement of the erle of Kildare, he made a new iournie into Mounster, and departed out of Dublin the eighteenth of Januarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that seruice, and toke his iournies along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thense taking Tinneterne in his waie he came to Wexford, the fiue and twentith of Januarie 1579, by water from Wallshacke in certeine botes verie well appointed by the maior of the citie. And before he came thither, sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, and capteine George Carew, and capteine Piers, issued out of the citie with their foure bands, and neere to the shore in the view of his lordship, they presented him with a follie skirmish, and so retired themselues, to make ward against his landing. The bulworks, gates, and curteins of the citie were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike maner, and then all the shot of the ships in the hauen, and a great ranke of chambers vpon the keie, togither with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

The lord iustice entreth a new iournie into Mounster.

The lord iustice keepeth sessions at Wexford.

At his landing the maior and aldermen arated in their scarlet gownes met him, and presented vnto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which forthwith he redeliuered vnto them againe, and the sword the maior bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie vpon two seuerall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made vnto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging. And to this citie the earle of Ormond came vnto him, and they being togither, letters were sent from sir William Morgan of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungaruon and Poghall. Wherupon one hundred horsemen vnder capteine Zouch, and

The lord iustice receiued honourable into Waterford.

Sentleger, and foure hundred footmen vnder sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, capteine George Carew, & capteine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord iustice from Waterford, vpon notice of the trouble dailie increasing, sent a commission of the eleuenth of Februarie, to sir Warham Sentleger to be prouost marshall, authorising him to proceed according to the course of marshall law against all offendors, as the nature of his or their offenses did merit and deserue; so that the partie offendor be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the yeare in land, or annuitie, or be not worth ten pounds in goods: also that vpon good causes he maie parlee and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & sturdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlawes and theeues, and execute all idle persons taken by night: that he shall giue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in doing of his seruice, he shall take horse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man doo deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall lawes, and the same to see to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he doo euerie moneth certifie the lord iustice how manie persons, and of their offenses and qualities, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are comprised in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The articles of a commission for the marshall law.

The lord iustice, after that he had rested about three weekes at Waterford, he remoued and went to Clonmell, where the earle of Ormond met him, being the fifteenth of Februarie 1579, and from thense he went by iournies vnto Limerike, where the chancellor of Limerike vpon suspicion of treason was committed to prison, and his lodging being searched, manie masse bookes and other popish trash, togither with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Kerrie was found. He was after indicted, arreigned, and found guiltie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was vpon some suspicion committed prisoner vnto his owne house.

The chancellor of Limerike sent to ward for treason.

The bishop committed prisoner to his owne house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of March to Kathkell, where within one houre the erle of Ormond came vnto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enimie. Which when they had agreed vpon, they passed the next morning ouer the bridge of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Kathkell. Now when they had amended the bridge which the rebels had destroied, and made passable, they passed ouer the same into Connilo, where the lord iustice and the earle of Ormond diuided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroied the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kilcolman. And there it was aduertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant vnto capteine Fenton, comming from Limerike with fiue horsemen, and three shot, which were of the garrison at Adare, he was set vpon at Kathkell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge sixteene or eighteene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he espied them: but he and James Fenton the capteins brother, and Guidon, so bestirred themselues, that they gaue the enimie the repulse, and slue their leader, with fiue or six others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horses.

Nicholas Parker verie valiantlie defendeth himselfe.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot vpon the spurre, & so eger vpon the vile rebels, that that

that day they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the sword. The same daie, a souldier of the marshals incountered with two lustie kernes, the one of them he slue, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellows head with him to the campe: which when he had donne, his head also was cut off and laid by his fellowes. The nert daie following, being the twelfe of March, the lord iustice and the earle diuided their armie into two seuerall companies by two ensignes and three togither, the lord iustice taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of Slewlougher, and so they searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that daie about foure hundred men, and returned the same night with all the cattell which they found that daie.

And the said lords, being not satisfied with this daies seruice, they did likewise the nert daie diuide themselues, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie vntill it was night. And being then incamped neere togither, the baron of Lernew came to the earle of Dsmond, whome the earle in the nert morning brought before the lord deputie, where he in most humble maner yelded, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, promising and presenting his seruice with all dutifulnesse. And then, when after great trauels they had maruellouslie wasted and spoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofoile, and to laie siege to the same: for in it laie the greatest force of the Desmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This castell standeth in the riuer, and at euerie full sea both it and the bannes about it are inuironed with the said flouds and flowing waters. Assone as they were incamped, the lord iustice approched the castell so neere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordinglie he might consider the most fittest places for the laieng of the shot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine shot, and to go with him in this seruice. Now the Spaniards hauing espied them, spent manie shot vpon them, and where the lord iustice verie hardlie escaped with his life, and from being slaine with a musket shot. When his lordship vpon this view had determined what he would do, he caused the canon shot to be planted in the place most fit for the batterie, for otherwise the fort was not to be assaulted.

The baron of Lernew submitteth himselfe.

The castell of Carigofoile is besieged.

The lord iustice and capteine Carew take the view of the castell.

The castell besieged.

In the same were sirteene Spaniards and fiftie others vnder one Julio an Italian, who at the request of the countesse of Desmond vndertake the keeping of it, and who reported himselfe to be a verie notable enginer: & standing vpon his reputation, he plied the campe with continuall shot, putting out an ensigne and railing with manie bad speeches against hir maiestie; declaring also that they kept it for the king of Spaine and so still would, vntill further aid were sent from him: and which in verie deed was dailie looked for. Before the canons and other battering peeces could be vnladen, they spent the time, occupieng the one the other with such deuises as they thought good for the seruices. And the Spaniards, hauing the aduantage, did by their often shot hurt and kill some Englishmen, namelie a souldior of sir George Bourchiers, one of sir Henrie Wallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and sir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night past, was hurt with a musket shot out of the castell in the necke. Assone as the ordinance was vnladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the fort with three canons, a culuering, and a demie culuering; and in short time they so beat it, that the house fell and filled the ditches: by meanes whereof the same became to be assaultable.

The proud brags of the Spaniard.

The castell is battered with shot.

Capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entred into the vtter banne by a doore that the souldiors had broken, and was maister of it presentlie. The Spaniards thervpon retired to a turret that was vpon the wall of the barbican, & some sought other places to hide and to saue themselues, but that part of the castell was beaten downe: and then capteine Macworth recouered the possession of the whole, and did put fiftie to the sword, of which nineteene were found to be Spaniards; and sir others he toke, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe. None were saued that daie but onelie the capteine Julio, whome the lord iustice kept for certeine considerations two or three daies: but in the end he was hanged as the rest were before him. The nert daie, being the first of Aprill one thousand fiue hundred and fourescore, the ordinances were remoued and caried to the ship, which with all such souldiors as were sicke and hurt were sent to Limerike, to be relieued and cured. This castell, one of the principallest and chiefest forts thus recouered, there resteth onelie the house and castell of Asketten: and the lord iustice, and the earle of Dsmond thought nothing more necessarie, than euen forthwith to march to Asketten, and to incampe there and to besiege it, euen as they had donne to this fort of Carigofoile. Where when they came, the two lords diuided themselues, the one taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of the water: and vpon the third of Aprill they incamped at the said castell, the lord iustice lieng in the abbeie, and the earle of Dsmond vpon the further side of the riuer.

Capteine Macworth first entreth the castell.

The castell of Carigofoile is taken.

The bragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1580

The castell of Asketten appointed to be besieged.

The lord iustice viewed the place, and found no waie possible to place ante watch or ward neere to the castell, by reason of the great disaduantage of the rockes which laie altogither vpon the castell. While the campe laie there, sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteins Walker went to giue siege vnto the castell of Ballilogban, a strong house of the Desmonds, and which was warded vntill this time against hir maiestie. The ward had no sooner the sight and view of these three ensignes, but that they fired the house and fled: but they were so narrowlie pursued, that the leader of them and some of his companie were ouertaken and slaine. Whilest the siege laie at Asketten, sir Henrie Wallop treasuror at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie same night following, being a verie darke and close night, the warders of the castell fearing the example of the execution donne at Carigofoile, and doubting the sequele of the lord iustice preparation made for the batterie to be laid against it, did abandon and forsake the castell verie secretlie about midnight, leauing a traine of pouder to set it on fire, which consumed & burned a great part of the same: but the principall towers remained vntouched. The warders by fauor of the darke night escaped into the woods.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew besiege the castell of Ballilogban.

The warders forsake the castell.

The warders of Asketten forsake the castell, and by a traine set it on fire.

This castell thus recouered, the earle of Desmond had neuer a castell in all Mounster which was warded against hir maiestie: but all were now at hir deuotion. The lord iustice being possessed of Asketten, he appointed a strong garrison to reside there, and placed sir Peter Carew, and sir Henrie Wallops companie in the castell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingworth to be in the abbeie, and so vpon the fift of Aprill he dislodged with the rest of the armie, and went vnto Limerike: commanding the capteins to cut down the woods on both sides of the riuer, that the botes might passe freelie to and fro. At his comming to Limerike, all things now seeming to be at peace, the earle of Dsmond returned home to Kilkennie, & certeine of the councell

The castell of Asketten is taken.

A ward placed at Asketten.

The armie is dispersed, and the garrisons

are sent to their places appointed.

cell which had followed in this iourneie rode to Dublin: and sir Nicholas Malbie departed into Connagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of the armie was now dispersed into garrisons: yet the seruices of euerie of them neuer abated. For alwaies as the time of seruice required, the Irishmen were issued out vpon, and most commonlie had the worst side. And the lord iustice himselfe taking an occasion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water, and capteine Case went by land, and after a time spent in searching the woods, they returned with a preie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and verie good store of sheepe, besides the slaughter of manie traitors.

At his being and during his abode in Limerike, vpon the fifteenth of Maie, he receiued his maiesties commission vnder the broad seale of England to be lord iustice (where before he held the same by the election and order of the councell) and therewith also one other commission, for creating of sir William Burke baron of castell Connall, with a yearelie pension of one hundred markes during his life. And from this time, the lord iustice spent this summer in Mounster, trauelling to and fro through out the whole prouince: he himselfe and euerie other capteine in his seuerall garrison doing such seruice vpon the rebels as by occasion was offred. The lord iustice vpon the fifteenth of June, after that he had marched a few miles in Mac Aulies countrie, spoiling, defacing, and burning the same, he passed through the boggie mounteine of Slewlougher into Kerrie, and there he discouered a great preie of the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the vaward of his horsemen, and he himselfe in person toke about two thousand kine, besides store of sheepe and garons, with part of the traitors masking apparell. The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, escaped verie hardlie; and their priest for hast was faine to leaue his gowne behind. The like seruice he did the nert daie, being the fiue and twentith of June at Castelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie began amongest the souldiors vnder sir George Bourchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dowdall, by reason of their wants: but his lordship with such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir Cormac Mac Teige shiriffe of the countie of Corke did notable seruice vpon sir James of Desmond; which sir James vpon the fourth of August made a roade into Muskroie, and toke a great preie from the foresaid sir Cormac. Wherevpon his brother Donnell assembleth his brothers tenants and countrie and followed the preie, and recouered the same: sir James, who thought it to be too great a dishonor and reproch to depart with anie thing which he had in hand, withstanding the matter.

A commission to create sir William Burke to be baron.

The earle of Desmond and his wife and doctor Sanders in perill to be taken.

A mutinie among the souldiors for lacke of victels.

Sir Cormac Mac Teige doth a peece of seruice vpon sir James of Desmond.

Wherevpon they fell at hand-fight. In which conflict and fight the said Donnell behaued himselfe so valiantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the matter, that the preie was recouered, and sir James himselfe mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and all his force, being aboue a hundred and fiftie persons, were slaine and ouerthrowne. He that toke him was a smith, and seruant to sir Cormac, who forthwith handfasted him: and for auoiding of certeine inconueniences, he kept him close, and secretlie hid him in a certeine bush in the fastnesse there, and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not escape nor run awaie. And when all the companie was gone, then he toke him and carried him to sir Cormac his maister, who kept him in safe custodie, vntill, by letters of commandement from the lord iustice and councell, he did deliuer him vnto sir William Sentleger then prouost marshall, and to capteine Raleigh; who (according to a commission in like order to them addressed) was examined, indicted, arreigned, and then vpon iudgement drawen, hanged and quartered: and his bodie being quartered, it was together with the head set on the towne gates of the citie of Corke, and made the preie of the foules. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost an other of his heads.

Sir James of Desmond in taking of a preie is taken prisoner and executed.

Sir James of Desmond sent to sir Warham Sentleger & to capteine Raleigh, and was executed to death.

This seruice of this knight was marueilouslie well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and councell, and then from hir maiestie he receiued verie friendlie and thankfull letters. This man was a yonger house vnto Mac Artie Reough, and they both a yonger house vnto Mac Artie More now earle of Clancar, and whose ancestors (as is said) were kings before the conquest of Mounster. They are all men of great power, and greatlie esteemed in those parties. But this sir Cormac, in dutie and obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes, and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth all his owne sept & familie, as also all the Irishrie in that land. For albeit a mere Irish gentleman can hardly digest anie Englishman or English gouernment, & whatsoeuer his outward appearance be, yet his inward affection is corrupt and naught: being not vnlike to Jupiters cat, whome though he had transformed into a beautifull ladie, and made hir a noble princesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could not forbeare to snatch at him: and as the ape, though he be neuer so richlie attired in purple, yet he will still be an ape. This knight, after he did once yeeld himselfe to hir maiesties obedience, and had professed his loialtie, he euer desired to ioine himselfe vnto the companie of the Englishmen, and became in time a faithfull and frendlie man vnto them, liued according to hir maiesties lawes, and did so good seruice at all times when it was requisit and required, as none of that nation did euer the like. And if at anie time he were had in suspicion, he would by some kind of seruice purge & acquite himselfe, euen as he did in this present seruice in taking of sir James of Desmond, to his great praise & commendation, and to his acquitall against the reprochfull reports of his aduersaries. And sir William Fitzwilliams in the time of his deputiship, hauing had a verie good triall of his fidelitie, truth, and good seruice, did giue vnto him the order of knighthood, and made him shiriffe of the countie of Corke: euen as the lord iustice now did commend this his seruice vnto hir maiestie by his letters of the twelfe of August, a thousand fiue hundred and eightie, and praieng that the same might be so acceptablie receiued, as that the enobling of him might be both an ornament to his house, an incouraging vnto others to do the like, and a testimonie against others of his sort, who haue neglected a number of occasions (at greater aduantages) to haue done the like seruices.

Jupiters cat.

The loialtie of sir Cormac Mac Teige.

Sir Cormac Mac Teige made knight.

The death of James of Desmond, and the quartering of his bodie did marueilouslie dismate the earle himselfe, sir John his other brother, and doctor Sanders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could haue no breath nor rest to releeue themselues, but were alwaies by one garrison or other hurt and pursued; and by reason the haruest was taken from them, their cattels in great numbers preied from them, and the whole countrie spoiled and preied; the poore people, who liued onelie vpon their labors, and fed by their milch cowes, were so distressed, that they would follow after the goods which were thus taken from them, and offer themselues, their wiues, and children, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer the

The miserie of the people.

the famine wherewith they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a diuision betweene the earle of Desmond and his brother sir John, either of them excusing that whereof they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fleeth from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and seeing no other remedie, sent his ladie and wife vnto the lord iustice, who in great abundance of teares bewraied the miserable estate of hir husband, hir selfe, and their followers, making (with most lamentable requests) suite, that hir husband might be taken to submission.

The sute of the countesse of Desmond.

Sir John of Desmond minded to ioine with the vicount Baltinglasse.

Sir John of Desmond, being in the like distresse, he together with doctor Sanders gaue the aduenture, to passe for their refuge to the vicount Baltinglasse, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which late at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to doo some seruice, by chance met the said John and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set vpon them, and of foure of them they tooke two, the one being a frier named James Yate and standardbearer to the late James Fitzmoris, who vpon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slaine; and the frier was reserued, but sir John and the doctor by the benefit of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their iourneie. The lord iustice being at Newcastell, and being aduertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he forthwith sent for the garrisons of Adare and Athketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to méet him at the place, daie, and time appointed; for a speciall peece of seruice then to be done. Whose commandement being done and obeied, they tooke their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother bewraied the matter, and yet for hast they left their breakfast behind them halfe dressed. Neuertheless, they tooke two preies, the one of fiftéene and the other of eightéene kine; and the next daie they tooke another preie of two hundred kine, slue diuerse traitors, and tooke two friers, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes nuntio, they being poore bare foted friers, and he a lustie horsman: and then his lordship returned to Athketten, where he left maister Parker constable of the place; and from thense he went to Limerike, where he receiued newes by maister Zouch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arriuall to Dublin. And then his lordship minding to make his spéedie repaire to Dublin, did set the countrie in some good order, and by the aduise of the councell at Limerike, he appointed sir George Bourcher coronell of all Mounster, and instructions were deliuered vnto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be done, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole prouince; & had left vnto him the charge (vnder his gouernement) of the whole forces in Mounster; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsemen three hundred fourescore and fiftéene: the whole, three thousand two hundred and fiftéene men. Likewise he had sent the like instructions to sir Marham Sentleger, and the erle of Clancar. And these & other like things done, he tooke his iournete through Conaugh for the like establishing of the countrie, & came to Dublin the first daie of September, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and one; and the next daie he deliuered vp the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Ireland, in saint Patrikes church in presence of the councell, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

The earle and his countesse in danger to haue béene taken.

Sir George Bourcher coronell of Mounster.

This force is both of the princes paie, and of the lord of the prouince.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arriuall, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the vicount of Baltinglas, and Pheon macke Hugh, the chiefe of his sept of the Obrins, were lieng in the Obrins countrie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the companie of capteine Fitzgirald, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed vnto him in the beginning of this rebellion, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Obrins. And he nothing regarding now, either the dutie of a subiect, or his owne credit, most traitorouslie reuolteth from his lawfull prince, and conioineth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and persuadeth to resist and make head against hir maiesties forces; because they could not (as he said) withstand or preuaile against them: who without ante reward promised, were easilie persuaded, because they would be persuaded, and were most willing to exercise ante maner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped themselues in the fastnes of the Glinnes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & cattell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possible might be: for in it is a vallie or a combe lieng in the midle of the wood, of a great length, betweene two hils, & no other waie is there to passe through. Under foot it is boggie and soft, and full of great stones and slipperie rocks, verie hard and euill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees vpon the sides of the hils, & full of bushments and vnderwoods.

The vicount of Baltinglasse lieth in the Glinnes with the rebels.

The strength of the fastnesse in the Glinnes

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countrie, nor with the Irish seruices, and thinking himselfe in honor to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a companie of traitors should lie so néere vnto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolued himselfe to haue a péece of seruice to be done vpon them. Wherfore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the said Glinnes, & giueth order to sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, sir Henrie Bagnoll, capteine Awdleie, and to John Parker, lieutenant to capteine Furse with all their footmen, and to Francis Cosbie capteine of the kerne, and George Powre an old veteran of Berwike, coronell of all the footmen, to take this seruice vpon them. But Cosbie, who had béene a long seruitor, and knew what to that kind of seruice did belong, did foresée the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his companie: notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said seruice, and vpon the next daie, being the fiue & twentith of August, they entered the Glinnes.

A seruice appointed to be done against the Obrins.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Iaques Wingefield, capteine George Carew, capteine Denie, and others on horsebacke staied vpon the mounteine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgirald, hauing some secret intelligence of the seruice towards, he bestoweth and placeth all his men with their peeces amongst the trées, and there couered themselues, vntill the Englishmen were entered and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduantage vpon euerie side of the hill, with great furie assaileth them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the vaward, both capteins and souldiors. The residue which followed, being in despaire to recouer what was lost, and distrusting themselues, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the nimblenesse of the traitors, and their skill of seruice in such places, that they were like to haue béene

The lord deputie staied vpon the mounteins.

killed; if the lord deputie, and the horssemen had not rescued them: vpon whose comming they retired into their fastnesse.

The English men slaine in the Glinnes.

In this conflict, George Rose, capteine Audlete, Francis Cosbie, and sir Peter Carew coronell, were then murthered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was haise smothered, and inforced to lie downe: whome when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, & the most part of them would haue saued him, and made request for him, they thinking that more profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death.

Sir Peter Carew slaine.

Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, assone as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughtered and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Jaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardinesse, and foreséeing the euill successe which was feared would insue, persuadeth with his two nephues, sir Peter and capteine George Carew, to stait and to forbeare to aduenture into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereunto, nor be persuaded; but would néeds go in. His brother would haue done the like, but his vncle perforce kept him, saieng; If I lose one, yet I will kæpe the other: and so by that meanes he was by Gods goodnesse saued and preserued.

Jaques Wingfield his wisdome towards his nephues.

This blacke daie was a dolefull and a gréeuous daie to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending toke the matter as patientlie as he could, and made his returne vnto Dublin, abiding the comming of the lord iustice; who as soone as he was returned, then the lord Greie was sworne, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Ormond in this meane time, being verie destrous to doo some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incampeth at Traleigh, where the scout the same night espied a light in the enimies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them séemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernor to be more watchfull and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a wise and a politike capteine, setteth all his companies in battell araie, & so marcheth forwards in his strength & verie good order ouer the strand of Traleigh towards the fort, euerie man being at a full resolution to doo his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approching of the lord gouernor, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrusted themselues, and forsoke the fort, and by the guiding of the Irishrie, they remoued themselues from thense to Glanningell, whome the gouernor pursued, & ouertoke some of them, vpon whome he gaue the onset, and skirmished with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he toke, whome he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Glanningell, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mounteines adioining. Whereupon the daie being spent, and no seruice for that time to be doone anie further, the lord gouernor incamped there that night, fast to their enimies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst doo.

The earle marcheth in order of battell to the fort.

The Spaniards leaue their fort.

The earle followeth the Spaniards and putteth them to the foile.

The companie of the Spaniards not aboue seuen score.

Assoone as he was incamped, he calleth the prisoners (who were taken) before him, and they confessed that they were in number, not aboue seuen hundred men: but had brought with them pikes, caliuers, munitions, and all kinds of artillerie, sufficient for fiue thousand men: because they knew that the Irishmen were of bodies sufficient, but that they lacked furniture and training; & in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safelie arriued, and how that they were interteined: requesting that the supplie appointed before their comming from home, might with all spéed be sent awaie, and for which they did dailie looke: because it was throughlie concluded betwéene the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentlie as time should serue, to doo the like with England. And moreouer, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir John his brother, & to doctor Sanders the popes nuntio; and more is promised to be sent.

The determinations of the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of Ireland.

After these things thus done, it was giuen to the said gouernor to vnderstand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiors of the enimies companie returned & gone backe to the fort. Whereupon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as néere to the fort as he could; and there chosing to himselfe capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, and certeine shot, he drew so nære to the fort as he had the whole discouerie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which séemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had anie shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artificer without his tooles, can doo anie thing in his profession: no more can the souldior fight without his meet weapons, nor serue without his necessaries: and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernor was driuen to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The earle of Ormond incampeth at the fort.

The earle for lacke of munition could not preuaile against the fort.

The Spaniards perceiuing this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a sallie of three score men; and the gouernor séeing their aduantage, thought to follow the aduise of his capteins, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Andrew Martin more hastie than aduised, and more rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slaine; and the lord gouernor compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he sounded the retract; and being not able to annoie the enimie, nor preuaile at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by iournetes he came to Rekell: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yéelded vp all his companie, and his commission, and then made prouision of his men, and for victuals, to follow the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horssemen and footmen, vnder the leadings of capteins Touch, capteine Walter Raleigh, capteine Denie, who had also capteine George Carews companie vnder his ensigne, capteine Macworth, capteine Achin, and others: and then he marched towards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were setled.

The Spaniards issue out and giue a skirmish.

The lord deputie commeth to Rekell, and is there met by the earle of Ormond.

Capteine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Rekell, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staied behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a maner among the Irish kerns, that whensoeuer anie English campe was dislodged and remoued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore lieng, and kéeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the comming of the said kerns; who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their maners and old vsages to the said place, and there take

toke their pleasure; who when they were in their securitie, the capteine and his men came vpon them, and toke them all. Among them there was one, who caried and was laden with withs, which they vsed in sted of halters: and being demanded what he would do with them, and whie he caried them; gaue answer, that they were to hang vp English churls: for so they call Englishmen. Is it so (quoth the capteine) well, they shall now serue for an Irish kerne: and so commanded him to be hanged vp with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their deserts.

The lord deputie marcheth to the fort, and besiegeth it.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as neere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also newlie returned from out of England: but he arriued at Kinsale, and his viceadmerall capteine Bingham came into the baie of saint Marie weeke or Smerewéeke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these means the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir William Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before anie assault giuen, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to do, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in hir maiesties land, & required therewith to yéeld vp the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had giuen that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receiue and recouer that land to the holie church of Rome, which by hir maiesties means was become schismaticall, and out of the church, with other reprochfull speeches: and that therfore they were in that respect to keepe what they had, and to recouer what they yet had not. Whereupon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what sort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossessing of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillerie and munitions might be best placed and laied for the batterie; and betweene whom it was then determined how all things should be done.

The fort is summoned.

The answer of the fort.

Whiles they were thus in speeches, and consulting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some aduantage, made a sallie vpon the Englishmen: which was forthwith answered by capteine Dente (who as then had but a dozzen shot) and by Michaell Butler lieutenant to capteine Raleigh: & these so valiantlie behaued themselues, and so worthilie followed the fight, that they made the Spaniards with more hast than with good speed to returne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion betweene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be vnloden certeine culuerings, and like peeces of ordinance out of hir maiesties ships, which then laie in the rode of Smerewæke, and then there being a great banke betweene the shores side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it, and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the daie, and before it was open daie the batterie was readie to be giuen. A peece of seruice (the place and time considered) thought worthie great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had done the like vpon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to follow the seruice, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a peece of ordinance, offering vnto them mercie if they would yéeld. But they knowing nothing what was done that night, answered as before, that they would keepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Whereupon they began to batter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water.

The Spaniards make a sallie vpon the Englishmen.

The diligent seruice of the mariners.

The fort is beset vpon the land side.

This first daie of batterie was capteine Raleighs ward daie. But the Spaniards made their brags, that they cared not for this; and to set a good face vpon it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skirmish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both vpon the first daie, the second daie, and the third daie, little was done, but onelie the continuance of the batterie. The fourth daie was capteine Zouches ward daie, vnder whom was a lustie yong gentleman named John Chéeke, who drew so neere the fort, that he looked ouer the purport into it, which being seene and perceiued, one of the Spaniards leuelled a péece at him, & with his shot strake him in the head, therewith he died. About the end of these foure daies, the trenches for the full batterie were drawne and brought so neere vnto the fort, that now they left to dallie anie longer with the fort, but verie hotlie and sharpelie they battered at it on both sides. The Spaniards, who had staied themselues vpon the hope of some further suplie, to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had receiued; and séeing also the batterie to be such as they could not be able to withstand and hold out, they desired a parlée with the lord deputie, who vtterlie denied it: saieng, that his seruice was against traitors and rebels, with whom no speeches nor parlées are allowed. And forsomuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like predicament with them. Then they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. Then they requested that certeine particular men among themselues might haue their free passage, and certeine other conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions, requiring an absolute yéelding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile anie waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Misericordia, misericordia*, and offered to yéeld both themselues and the fort, without anie condition at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent capteine Jaques Wingfield maister of the ordinance to the fort, and to make triall whether this their offer were true and vnfeigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receiued in, and forthwith the capteine of the fort came vnto him, and in all humble maner yéelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented vnto the lord deputie: and at the commandement of the said Jaques Wingfield he disarmed himselfe, and caused all his companie to do the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laied their pikes across vpon the same. Which being done, the said capteine Wingfield came out of the fort, and brought the capteine with him, promising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receiue him at his hands, and willed the said Jaques Wingfield to returne againe to the fort.

John Chéeke is slaine.

The fort is battered on euerie side.

The Spaniards desire a parlée.

Capteine Wingfield is sent to the fort.

In this fort sir James Fitzgirald knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the earle of Desmond, and one Plunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the capteine had yéelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, capteine Raleigh together with capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie of the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were cléere, the lord deputie came to the fort, and hauing done what pleased

The prisoners in the fort deliuered.

sed him, his lordship returned, and manie of the capteins he saued. The fort forthwith was raised, the armor and munitions were dispersed abroad, and all things done as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the coronell and campemaister ouer into England by captaine Dente, and dismissed the armie, and sent euerie captaine to his garrison. And his lordship went from thense to Dingham, which is a long scattering waste towne, and in it foure or fiue castels, which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defaced in the beginning of this rebellion.

Captaine Zouch made the gouernour of Desmond.

And heere the earle of Ormond met with the lord deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, being readie to haue followed the seruice if need had so required. In this towne the lord deputie made captaine Zouch gouernor of Kerrie and Desmond, and appointed vnto him three hundred men, and accompanied him with captaine Cash, who had one hundred men, and captaine Achin, who had fiftie horsemen, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that towne, or where they thought good. And these had to them giuen all the victuals which were found in the fort. And from hense his lordship went to Limerike, and came thither the seauen and twentith of November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred & eightie. At which time there arriued out of England sir new bands of soldiers, vnder the leading of captaine Berkleie, captaine Crule, captaine Herd, and captaine Tanner, all which his lordship bestowed in seuerall garrisons, and in such places as were most meet for seruice; captaine Berkelie onelie of the capteins remained in Mounster, and was placed in the house of Asketten, the cheefest castell of the earle of Desmond with two hundred men. The others went into Connagh, where the wicked sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now vpon their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Spaniards were ouerthrowne, and thereby a sufficient warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke themselues, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the like would also insue vpon them: yet see how that the venemous Hydra had no sooner lost one of hir heds, but in steed of one, sundrie and manie others are sprong vp. For at the verie instant, the bastardlie brood of the earle Clanricard, the vicount of Baltinglasse, associated with the Obrins, Omors, and Kenenaughs in Leinster, & with sundrie others of that wicked nation, conspire, and are vp in open rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Mounster, Connagh, and a great peece of Leinster are in arms and actuall rebellion: onelie Ulster (which was wont to be the worst) is now the best and most quietest.

Capteine Berkeleie came into Ireland, and laie at Asketten.

Connagh, Leinster and Mounster, are all vp in rebellion.

The earle of Ormond is the gouernour of Mounster.

The lord deputie being at this present in Limerike, & aduertised of these troubles, setteth all things in order for the seruice in Mounster, and committed the whole gouernement of that prouince vnto the earle of Ormond, and then he returned vnto Dublin, where he toke order for Connagh & Leinster. And about this time there arriued out of England 150 horsemen set out at the charges of the cleargie of England, vnder the leadings of William Russell sonne to the earle of Bedford, and of Brian Fitzwilliams, which were dispersed according to the seruice. The lord deputie being returned vnto Dublin, the earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin his sonne in law, were had in suspicion to be partakers and secret dealers in these rebellions, and thervpon were committed to ward vnder the custodie of Jaques Wingfield maister of the ordinance. Immediatlie vpon whose apprehensions, the lord Henrie Fitzgirald, sonne and heire to the said earle, and of the age about seauentéene yeares, being persuaded by his fosterfathers and followers, he fled into Ophalia whereof he was baron, and there (as it was said) he was taken by the Oconhours, and kept against his will for his safetie, vntill they did heare further what should be become of the earle.

The cleargies band do arriue into Ireland.

The earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin had in suspicion, and are committed to ward.

The earle is kept by the Oconhours.

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie, he coniectured that this was but a surmised and colorable kind of dealing, to bleare his lordships eies: wherefore by order and good aduise he first willed the earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his messenger returned with an answer, that the yong lord was willing to come, but the Oconhours, who were in doubt what should be become of the earle, would in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, vnlesse they might haue good assurance for his safe returne againe vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these kind of fond excuses and disordered dealings, sent the earle of Ormond then being in Dublin, to deale with the Oconhours, who being accompanied with sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas White maister of the rolles, captaine George Carew, captaine Macworth, and sundrie other capteins and gentlemen, made their repaire to the borders and marches of Ophalia; whense after much talke to no purpose, they all returned without the yong lord. Neuertheles afterwards the Oconhours when they had better considered of the matter, and had had some conference with Hussen and others the earles men, and mistrusting that some further troubles would insue, euen as the earle of Ormond had partlie threatened them; and doubting also least the staieng of the sonne might be preiudiciall to the father; then in all hast did send the yong lord to the erle of Ormond, who caried him to Dublin, and deliuered him to the lord deputie: and his lordship forthwith sent him to the ward, where he remained with his father, vntill they both and the baron of Deluin were sent into England, where the earle and the baron were sent to the Tower, and the yong lord committed to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The earle died after in London, and his bodie was caried into Ireland, and there buried amongest his ancestors.

The earle of Ormond is sent for the yong lord Fitzgirald.

The yong lord is sent to the earle of Ormond.

The earle of Kildare and his sonne and sonne in law are sent into England.

The earle died in London.

Captaine Walter Raleigh, lieng in garrison at Corke, and nothing liking the outrages, bodrages, and villanies dailie practised by Barrie, Condon, and others vpon the good subiects and hir maiesties garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had beene made, and small redresse had, he rode himselfe to Dublin vnto the lord deputie, and made his complaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the Barries and his consorts were such, that vnlesse they were proclamed traitors, and with all diligence followed and pursued, the euent therof would be verie euill, to the aggreeuance of good subiects, & to the incouragement of the wicked: whose insolencie and pride was growne to such a heigth, that the sword with extremitie was the onelie meane now to redresse the same.

Captaine Raleigh complaineth against the sufferance of the rebels.

The lord deputie and councell, when they had heard and well considered this, they sent him backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to seize and enter vpon the castell and house of Barrie court, and all other the lands of the said Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in the best maner as he thought good: and for his better seruice to be done herein, he had certeine horsemen in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto his ensigne of footmen: whervpon he returned. But before he was come backe to Corke, the case was altered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by such as there and then were in authoritie, and so manie delaies were vsed to hinder the good seruice purposed, that his commission auailed him verie little or nothing, for the castell of Barrie Roe was committed

Captaine Raleigh hath a commission, & the inlargement of a band of horsemen to pursue the enimie.

Dauid lord Barrie burneth and spoileth his owne house.

mitted and deliuered to the custodie of the mother of the said Dauid Barrie, and by hir set ouer vnto him hir sonne: and who forthwith burned and defaced the said castell being his principall house, as also wasted the whole countrie, and became more worse and outragious than he was before. This capteine making his returne from Dubline, & the same well knowne vnto the seneschall of Imokellie, through whose countrie he was to passe, laie in ambush for him to haue intrapped him betweene Youghall and Corke, lieng at a ford, which the said capteine must passe ouer with six horssemen, and certeine kerne. The capteine little mistrusting anie such matter, had in his companie onelie two horssemen and foure shot on horssebacke, which was too small a force in so doubtfull and dangerous times: neuertheless he had a verie good guide, which was the seruant of John Fitzedmunds of Cloue, a good subiect, and this guide knew euerie corner and starting hole in those places.

Capteine Raleigh is laid for by the seneschall.

The capteine being come towards the ford, the seneschall had espied him alone, his companie being scattered behind, and verie fiercelie pursued him, and crossed him as he was to ride ouer the water, but yet he recouered the ford and was passed ouer. The Irishman who was his guide, when he saw the capteine thus alone, and so narrowlie distressed, he shifted for himselfe and fled vnto a broken castell fast by, there to saue himselfe. The capteine being thus ouer the water, Henrie Moile, riding alone about a bowes shot before the rest of his companie, when he was in the midle of the ford, his horsse foundred and cast him downe; and being afraid that the seneschals men would haue followed him and haue killed him, cried out to the capteine to come and to saue his life; who not respecting the danger he himselfe was in, came vnto him, and recouered both him and his horsse. And then Moile coueting with all hast to leape vp, did it with such hast and vehemencie, that he quite ouer leapt the horsse, and fell into a mire fast by, and so his horsse ran awaie, and was taken by the enimie. The capteine neuertheless staid still, and did abide for the comming of the residue of his companie, of the foure shot which as yet were not come forth, and for his man Jenkin, who had about two hundred pounds in monete about him, and sat vpon his horsse in the meane while, hauing his staffe in one hand, and his pistoll charged in the other hand. The seneschall, who had so fiercelie followed him vpon spur, when he saw him to stand and tarrie as it were for his comming, notwithstanding he was counted a man (as he was indeed) of great seruice, and hauing also a new supplie of twelue horssemen and sundrie shot come vnto him; yet neither he nor anie one of them, being twentie to one, durst to giue the onset vpon him, but onelie railed and vsed hard speeches vnto him, vntill his men behind had recouered and were come vnto him, and then without anie further harme departed.

The seneschal followeth capteine Raleigh.

The distressed state of Henrie Moile.

The cowardnesse of the seneschall.

It happened that not long after, there was a parlee appointed betweene the lord gouernor and the rebels; at which the seneschall was present, and stood much vpon his reputation. Capteine Raleigh being present began to charge him of his cowardnesse before the earle of Dsmond, that he being twentie of his side, to him alone, durst not to incounter with him. Whereunto he gaue no answer. But one of his men standing by, said; that his maister was that date a coward; but he would neuer be so forgetfull againe, if the like seruice were to be done, and in manie great terms exalted his maister the seneschall for his valiantnesse and seruice. The earle of Dsmond hearing those great speeches, toke the matter in hand, and offred vnto the seneschall, that if he and sir John of Desmond there present, and three or foure others, the best they could chose, would appoint to meet him; capteine Raleigh, and such foure others as they would bring with them, they would come to the same place, and passe ouer the great riuer vnto them, and would there two for two, foure for foure, or six for six, fight and trie the matter betweene them; but no answer was then giuen: wherupon the white knight was afterwards sent vnto him with this chalenge, but the rebels refused it. Not long after this, there were speeches made, that the earle of Dsmond was to depart from this long and wearie seruice into England, & capteine Zouch should in his place be the generall. Betweene the removing of the one, and the placing of the other, sir William Morgan, capteine Raleigh, and capteine Piers had a commission to be gouernors of that part of Mounster, where they spent all that summer, and laie for the most part at Lismore, and in the countrie and woods thereabouts, in continuall seruices vpon the enimies from time to time, as occasion and opportunitie serued.

The chalenge made by the earle of Dsmond to the seneschall.

Capteine Raleigh a commissioner in Mounster.

And when the summer was spent, capteine Raleigh returned with all his band vnto Corke, being in number eight horssemen and foure score footmen. And as he passed through the countrie, it was aduertised to him, that Dauid Barrie an archtraitor was at Cloue with a great troope of sundrie hundreds of men. Wherupon he thought good to passe that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to trie the valor of Dauid Barrie, if by anie meanes he might meet with him. And euen at the verie towns end he found Barrie and all his companie, and with a lustie courage gaue the onset vpon him. But Barrie refused it, and fled. And then this capteine passing from thense, in his iorneie he espied in a plaine neere adioining to a woods side, a companie of footmen by themselues, vpon whome with six horssemen he gaue the charge: but these being cut off from the wood whereunto they were flieng, and hauing not succor now to helpe & relieue themselues, they turned backe, & conioining themselues togither to withstand this force and onset made vpon them, in which they behaued themselues verie valiantlie, and of the horsses they killed fiue, of which capteine Raleigh his horsse was one, and he himselfe in great danger, and like to haue beene slaine, if his trustie seruant Nicholas Wright a Yorkshire man borne had not bin. For he perceiuing that his maisters horsse was galled and stricken with a dart, and plunged so much, that to his seeming he was past seruice; the said Nicholas willed and called to an Irishman there, whose name was Patrike Fagaw, that he should loke to his capteine, and either to rescue him, or to giue charge vpon the enimie. Wherupon the said Fagaw rescued his capteine, & the said Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the onset vpon six of the enimies and slue one of them. And therewith came one James Fitzrichard an Irish gentleman with his kerne to the rescue of the capteine, but his kerne was slaine, and himselfe in danger. For Wright not loking on them followed the enimie verie egerlie, and recompensed the losse of one with the slaughter of others. Which capteine Raleigh perceiuing cried out to his man, saieng; Wright, if thou be a man, charge aboue hand & saue the gentlman. Who at his maisters commandment pressed into the middle of the enimies, and slue one of them, and so saued the gentleman: and in which skirmish his horsse leg was cut vnder him. Diuerse footmen were slaine of the enimies, and two were taken prisoners, whome they carried with them to Corke.

Capteine Raleigh followeth vpon Barrie.

Capteine Raleigh in danger to be killed.

The good seruice of Nicholas Wright.

At his lieng in Cozke there were sundzie péces of seruices donne by him, all which dw verie well deserue to be foz euer regiſtred. And amongſt all others this one point of his seruice deserueth both commendation and perpetuall remembzance. The lozd Roch was growen into a suspicion that he was not sound of his loialtie. Wherevpon capteine Raleigh by commandement was to fetch him and his ladie to Cozke vnto the generall. This thing was not so priuilie determined, but that the seneschall and Dauid Barrie had knowledge thereof, and minding verelie to take the capteine at some aduantage, they had assembled a great companie of themselues to the number of seuen oz eight hundzed men to haue met with him either comming oz going. The capteine perceiuing and forethinking how dangerous his enterpzise was against so noble a man in that countrie as the lozd Roch was, who was verie well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his men one and other, both hozsemen and sotmen, which in the whole were not aboue foure scoze and ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of death betweene ten and sleuen of the clocke of the same night. At which time euerie man being in a readinesse, he toke his iozneie and marched toward the lozd Roches house called Ballie in Yarsh, which is about twentie miles out of Cozke, and came thither somewhat earlis in the mozning. At his comming he went forthwith to the castell gate.

The lozd Roch is had in suspicion, and is sent foz.

Capteine Raleigh commeth to the lozd Roches house.

The townsmen when they saw their lozds house and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the wozst, did arme about fiue hundzed of themselues. Wherevpon capteine Raleigh placed and bestowed his men in battell raie in the towne it selfe, & marched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Michaell Butler, James Fulford, Nicholas Write, Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Pinking Yuish; and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a while there came three oz foure of the said lozd Roches gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their comming, vnto whome the capteine answered, that he was come to speake with my lozd: which was offered he should, so that he would bzing in with him but two oz three of his gentlemen, which the capteine was contented with, yet in the end (but with much adw) he came in with all these few persons before named. When the capteine was once come within the castell, and had entred into some spéeches with the lozd Roch, he so handled the matter by deuises and meanes, that by little and little, and by some and some, he had gotten in within the iron dwze oz gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing the aduantage, he commanded his men to stand and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in oz out: and likewise charged euerie man to come into the hall with his péece well prepared, with two bullets. The lozd Roch when he saw this, he was suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare: but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the matter, and calling foz meat, requested the capteine and his fozesaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to kéepe him companie at dinner.

Capteine Raleigh being receiued into the castell getteth in all his men.

After dinner, the capteine falling into spéeches with the said lozd Roch, declared plainlie vnto him the cause of his comming, and shewed that he and his wife were accused to be traitozs, and that he had a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take and carie them along with him to Cozke: which he was to perfozme, and so would. The lozd Roch alledged manie excuses foz himselfe and foz his wife, saieng in the end that he neither could noz would go: the capteine answered, that if they would not go with a good will, they should perfozce go against their will. The lozd Roch séeing that there was no remedie, he yéelded: and then the capteine minding to lose no time, willed him to command and cause all those of the towne, and all such as were about the house, to attend and be in redinesse to aid him, and to set him forth in his iozneie: which he did, and verie willinglie shewed himselfe to abide and obeie the capteines commandement, saieng that he would answer the matter well inough, and discharge whatsoeuer should be laid to his charge, foz he knew himselfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his wife redie to take the iozneie in hand, as the capteine did appoint and command: and towards night they did set fozward to Cozke. But the night fell out to be verie tempestuous and foule, and therewith so darke, that no man could sée hand oz fot, noz yet discerne one another; and the waies also were so fowle, so full of balks, hillocks, pits, and rocks, that the souldiozs thereby were maruellouslie troubled and incombzed, some stumbled among the stones, some plunged into holes, and some by their often fals were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and were maruellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they were among and in the middle of the enimies, who laie in sundzie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the darke night which was cumbersome to themselues, was a shadow to shzowd them from their enimies. And in the end, though with much trouble, they came to Cozke in safetie, sauing one soldier named John Phelium, who by his often falling and stumbling among the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his fæt, that he could neuer recouer the same, but did in the end consume and rot awaie.

The lozd Roch yéeldeth to go with capteine Raleigh.

The capteine being come to the towne somewhat earlie in the mozning, he was receiued in, and pzesented his pzisoners to the generall, with no little admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a iozneie, being verelie supposed of all men that he could neuer haue escaped. The lozd Roch being bzought to be examined, did so well answer foz himselfe, that in the end he was acquited, and taken foz a true and a good subiect, and which in time was well tried and knowne. Foz not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons and followers, did attend and perfozme all such seruices as were laid vpon them; and in which, thzée of his sonnes were killed by the enimie in hir maiesties seruice.

The L. Roch acquiteth himselfe.

The L. Roch and his sonnes good seruices.

Capteine Zouch (as is afoze said) laie at the Dingham, among whose companie there fell a dangerous and an extreme sicknesse: few oz none escaped it, howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond and Dauid Barrie was assembled at Aghado with thzée thousand men; and he being verie desirous to dw some seruice vpon them, dzew all his full foze of hozsemen and sotmen vnto Castelmange. And then by the aduise of his capteins Achim and Cash, he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enimies, before they wist of anie such thing, and slue a great companie of them, and dzaue the erle to such a push, that he in his shirt was dziuen to shift foz himselfe, in the middle of his gallowglasses, and by that means he escaped. The earle nothing liking this cozse successe, sought a better place of safetie, and remoued himselfe to Yarlow wood, and passed by the waie to Kilmallocke. Which when the garrison there did understand, they pursued and followed him, namelie capteine Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Pakwozth, and capteine Nozris, thzée miles togither vpon the plains betweene Kilmallocke and the wood, and slue manie of the rebels. And capteine Dowdall who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and in it had serued sundzie times, he would néeds, and did

Capteine Zouch putteth the earle of Desmond in danger to be taken.

did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gaue the onset vpon him, killed a great number of his men, toke from them their cariages, and droue awaie a great preie of kine, and brought them to Kilmallocke to the garison. Neere about this time the seneschall came to Lismore, and preied that countrie, and droue awaie their cattell. Which when the garison heard, and were aduertised thereof, they issued, and followed the preie to recouer it; but they were so incountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the preie, and fiue and twentie of their men were slaine. Diuerse skirmishes were dailie done vpon the enimie, and manie iorneies made vpon them to their great damages and hurts.

Capteine Dowdall preieth the erle of Desmond.

The seneschall preieth the garison of Lismore.

In the moneth of August next following, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a iorneie into Mounster, where when he had taken an account of all their doings and seruices, he established capteine Zouch to be gouernour of all Mounster, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh vnto Dublin. This now new gouernor, being accompanied with capteine Raleigh and capteine Dowdall, trauelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certeine place of their resting was at Corke, where for the most part they laie in garison: making in the meane time sundrie iorneies, as occasion of seruice did require. And they being in Corke, newes was brought vnto the gouernour that there was a great quarell fallen out betweene Dauid Barrie and the seneschall, and that they were mortall enimies, and at a deadlie feud; and they laie both in Dunstrinnen side, not far from the blacke water. The earle of Desmond and John his brother laie in Patrike Condons countrie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie sorie for this quarell, and would haue come vn to them, but the waters were so great, they could not; yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect.

The lord deputie establisheth capteine Zouch gouernour of all Mounster.

The L. Barrie and the seneschall fall out.

Capteine Dowdall maketh a spiall vpon the seneschall.

Capteine Dowdall vpon these newes sent out an Irish man which he had, and who was a notable spiall, named Richard mac Iames, and willed him to seeke out where the seneschall was, to the end that he might make a draught vpon him. This Richard drawing himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lieng among them in their cabins where they laie in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entred into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds vnto the seneschall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse vnto him the businesse which he had there to do: and told him that the next daie following, sir John of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agréement betweene Barrie and the seneschall. When as Richard mac Iames had heard at full all his spéeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Corke with him, which in the end the fellow was contented so to do. And in the nert morning they went together to Corke, and at their comming thither, did declare vnto capteine Dowdall the whole matter, and he forthwith aduertised the same to the gouernour: who albeit he did not altogither beléeue what was told, yet he agréed that it was best that some seruice should be done vpon them, and concluded that himselfe and capteine Dowdall should do the same, vnder the colour that they were to make a iournete vnto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowne of that which they had determined. And hauing prepared all things necessarie for this seruice, the same night they left the charge of the garison vnto capteine Raleigh lieutenant: and themselues taking their leaue, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by breake of the daie they came to castell Lions, the weather being verie mistie and thicke, and in the castell they found but one poore man, who told them that Dauid of Barrie was gone but a little before them vnto Yumacquilliam. The gouernour and the capteine being verie eger, and desirous to do some seruice, they followed the tract of the horsse a good prettie waie; but the capteine mistrusting that no good seruice would be done that waie, perswaded the gouernour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were fast by, where as he thought some good seruice would be done, whose aduise the gouernour followed: and they had ridden but a little waie, but they saw two horsemen come riding toward them, but as soone as they had séene the said gouernour and capteine, they returned backe againe.

The seneschall preieth the garison of Lismore.

The gouernor Zouch and captein Dowdall make a secret iournete.

Then the capteine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his aduise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betweene the bog and the wood; which being done, they followed those two men so short, that they were driuen to forsake their horsses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose shot being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe vpon the horsemen, who gaue the onset vpon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond they sore hurted with a horsemans staffe, that he spake verie few words after. And the other, whose name was James Fitzjohn of Strongecullie, they toke: and both they caried with them to Corke. Sir Johns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged vp by the héeles vpon a gibbet, and set vpon the north gate of Corke. And James Fitzjohn was drawne, hanged, & quartered. And thus haue you the third head of the venemous Hydra cut off, who had his iust reward and merit, if not too too good for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honor of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholie imbrued in bloud and villanie; and in bloud he died, and had his reward by Gods iust iudgement.

Sir John of Desmond killed, and his bodie hanged vpon a gibbet by the heels.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made vpon Dauid Barrie, for the preie which he and Goren mac Swene had made in Carbrie, and passed with the same by Wentrie, where laie a garrison vnder the leading of capteine Appelleie: but he being deceased, the same was committed to captein Fenton, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the preie, fell into the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drumslager left aliue, who by swiftnesse of his foote escaped. The foresaid Appelleie was a verie proper man, a gentleman borne, and of a good house, and brought vp in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliuer his spéeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who perswaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the moone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being some intised and perswaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the baddest; whereof great troubles insued, and he at length was driuen to leaue the seas, and to wander a long time on the seacoasts in the prouince of Mounster: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whome he found such fauor, that no Englishman could do more with him than he

he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henrie Dauels, whome he found rather a father than a friend vnto him: and then his behauiour was such, that he grew to be in good fauour with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to doo sundrie seruices in Mounster, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honestlie and faithfullie. The gouernor continuing still in one and the same mind, to doo some seruice vpon Barrie, who then laie in Dunfrennin, he togither with capteine Dowdall marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distressed case, and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some aduantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue thenceforth in some dutifull and restfull order; which he in the end did obteine.

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The gouernor and capteine Dowdall spoile and enter into Barries campe and kill his men.

Barrie sueth for a protection

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of John of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Mounster; he thought good to ease hir maiesties charge, and so cashed sundrie bands and discharged sundrie garisons, leauing for the seruice of Mounster in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernor, one hundred vnder capteine Dowdall, and one hundred vnder Sir George Bourcher; and the first horssemen were vnder capteine Achin, who laie in garrison at Adare in Kerrie. When all things (I saie) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, behold a new stirre (and vnlooked for) is now raised; for Fitzmoris baron of Lerna, who had hitherto dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue beene a dutifull subiect, when he saw the weakenesse of the Englishmen, & how that the garisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarse able well to saue and keepe themselues, much lesse to hurt others: he breaketh out into open rebellion, and ioineth with him his wicked, traitorous, and periured sonne. This baron of Lerna his first ancestors were seruants to the barons of Carew, and of Odzon, and lords of Lerna, and had the chiefe rule and gouernment vnder him of all his countrie in Mounster, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmoris, who by the authoritie vnder his maister was growen into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carew his maister, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lerna & his other possessions in Mounster, euen as the like was done by the Kauenaghs in Odzon in Leinster. And the heire of Carew in England, who had great and large possessions in Deuon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.

The L. deputie casheth sundrie bands in Mounster.

Fitzmoris baron of Lerna breaketh into open rebellion.

The cause of this his breaking out, some do impute it to the hard dealing of the gouernor, who so narowlie watched him, that he alwais took from him what he had, and so intercepted him from his prouision, that he had nothing left to eat.

Fitzmoris seruant to Carew lord of Lerna killeth his maister.

This new baron of Lerna, the first thing that he toke in hand, was to cleanse and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an aduantage, slue him, and recouered the ward of Adare. After that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of Lesconile, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he vsed this stratagem. He laid verie close & secretlie a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old woman, which was wont euerie morning to bring a great basket of coles or turffe into the ward, that as soone as she was betweene the two gates of the castell, she should let fall hir basket and crie out: which she did. For when she was come to the castell, and had after hir accustomable maner called to the ward, one of them came and losed the vtter iron doore, and then he did open the inner doore for hir to come in. When she was come betweene the two doores, she let fall hir great basket of coles and cried out. The companie forthwith lieng in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to draw vnto them the vtter iron doore, nor to shut fast the inner doore, the enimie entred, toke the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them ouer the wals. The good successe of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vre other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Adnagh. For he supposing that hungrie soldiors would be contented to accept anie courtesie, he procured a yoong harlot, who was somewhat snowtfaire, to go to the castell, pretending some iniurie to haue beene done to hir, and to humble hirselfe to the capteins deuotion, being supposed, that he by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasieng of hir, and so would reteine hir. And by these meanes, she by hir cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betweene Fitzmoris and hir, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betraie the castell. The capteine receiued hir into the castell, and not forgetting the late former practise at Lesconile, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to looke vnto himselfe. Wherevpon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried hir vp vnto the top of the castell and cast hir ouer the wals, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmoris being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thense, and ranged ouer all the countries of Tipperarie, Odmond, and Waterford, where were no garisons to resist him, and there plaied his parts.

The baron of Lerna destroieth all the English in his countrie, and taketh the queenes forts.

A stratagem vsed in taking the castell of Lesconile.

A stratagem at Adnagh.

The gouernor, who laie at Corke, being aduertised of these outrages, called his companie togither, which (as is before said, was not aboue foure hundred persons) and other reported (but vntrulie) to be about foure thousand: yet minding not to suffer an iniurie, marched with such companie as he had into Clanmoris, which is the said Fitzmoris countrie, and distant from Corke about three daies iournete. The baron by his espials being aduertised of their comming, forsooke his castell at Adare, and defaced his castell at Lerna, and drew his goods, and all his forces into the wood of Lesconile. When the gouernor was come to Adare, he found the towne burnt, and the few Englishmen (which were in the abbeie) greatlie distressed. From thense he went to Lesconile, which is ten miles further, where he discouered the baron and all his companie, which then laie in a plaine bottome in the said wood, hauing then in his companie of gallowglasses, kerne, shot, and horssemen, about seuen hundred men.

The gouernor taking aduise what was best to be done, because that place was full of fastnesse, and no passage for anie horssemen, but all rested vpon the seruice of the footmen; they diuided their companie. And capteine Dowdall being verie desirous to aduenture the seruice vpon him, he had six score footmen appointed and deliuered vnto him, and the residue

The gouernor marcheth from Corke to Clanmoris to incounter with Fitzmoris.

Capteine Dowdall entereth vpon Fitzmoris, and giueth him the foile,

The baron of Lexna fleeth into the hils of Slough-lougher.

due he reserued to himselfe. The capteine entred into the wood, and followed vntill he came into the plains where Fitzmoris was; who hauing a great companie, and the capteine but (as it were) a handfull to his, he diuided his whole companie into foure parts, thinking to haue inclosed the capteine, and to haue his will vpon them. The capteine perceiued it, and forthwith brake vpon one of the companies, and had such a hand vpon them, that he slue a number of them. Which when Fitzmoris saw, like a valiant man turned his backe and fled awaie into the mounteins of Sloughlougher, and left all his goods behind; which the capteine toke, and also all the cattell there, and brought the same to the gouernor. From thense they marched to the castell of Glan, of which Oliuer Stephanson had the ward and keeping: and there newes was brought vnto him, that the lord deputie had sent vnto him two bands of footmen, of

A supplie of two hundred men sent to the gouernor.

which one hundred were sir Henrie Wallops, and the other capteine Norris. Where vpon he trauelled vnto Limerike, and left the whole charge of Clanmoris, and of Kerrie vnto capteine Dowdall. And the said capteine being put to weet that the baron was incamped at Glanflish with two hundred and fortie gallowglasses, two hundred kerne, fourescore shot, and thirtie horsemen, and he himselfe hauing then but the lieutenant Wingfield in his companie, made a sallie vpon them, and killed with the sword, and draue into the riuer aboue seuen score of them, and recouered a preie of eight hundred kine, fiue hundred horsses and mares, besides a great number of sheepe and gotes: and in the taking of the baron, he found store of monie and plate, and massing garments. And from hense he marched with his cattell, and incamped besides Alough, neere vnto the earle of Clancar his house, and from thense to Castellmange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went euerie ward and garison with store of vittels, and with the goods he rewarded his souldiors. From this time, the baron Fitzmoris hauing lost all his prouision & store, was neuer able to recouer himselfe, neither to credit nor to wealth, nor yet to hold vp his head, but was forsaken of all his freends and followers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad and disloiall trecheries, walked and wandred abroad as a forlorne man, not knowing what to do, whither to go, or where to seeke for succor and helpe.

Capteine Dowdall setteth vpon Fitzmoris in Glanflish and giueth him the ouerthrow.

The baron Fitzmoris with a few is ouerthrowne to his vtter fall, and forsaken of all his freends.

The baron being distressed of all helps, seeketh to the earle of Ormond for a protection.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his distressed miseries, bethinketh vpon the earle of Ormond, whome notwithstanding that without cause he had verie much iniured, hauing most outragiouslie preied his countries, burned his villages, and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse vnto his lordship, acknowledgeth his fault, confesseth his follies; and being most sorie for the same, desireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most humblie requested him to haue vnder him a protecon. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great iniuries done vnto him, and he of a great courage and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put vp so great iniuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion, *Parcere prostratis*) when he had shewed the great greefes of the said Fitzmoris, he forgat all his owne wrongs, and granted him his request. Capteine Dowdall, leauing the gouernors souldiors and companie at Adare, vnder the leading of capteine Smith, he marcheth towards Corke, where he rested and laie in garrison. Now when all these broils were ended, and verelie supposed that all things had béene at rest, and the whole prouince of Mounster at peace; behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to be either dead or fled, beginneth to appeare, and to shew himselfe; and hauing assembled a great companie, came to Adare, where the garrison issued out

The courtesie of the earle of Ormond.

The earle of Desmond thought to be dead doth now shew himselfe.

vpon him: betweene whom the fight was hot, and manie slaine on both sides. Among whom, Smith sergeant of the band, and Morgan the lieutenant were both slaine: but yet the English souldiors recouered the abbeie. About this time one Thomas Birne lieutenant to the notable archtraitor Fitzgirald, being wearie of the wicked actions which hitherto he had followed among the rebels, sent his messenger to capteine George Carew, requesting him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon, and for so manie of his companie as would ioine with and accompanie him in a peece of seruice to be done: which he promised to recompense with the price of his capteins head, which he would in a bag present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie of his companie as would not consent with him thereunto.

The fight at Adare.

A draught made to kill Fitzgirald.

When this deuise was readie to be practised, the clearke of the band, who was one of the confederats, verie trecherouslie did discouer the same vnto Fitzgirald, who immediatlie toke and hanged his lieutenant, the sergeant of his band (who was an Englishman) and so manie of the souldiors as were of that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzgirald bethinking vpon the extreame miseries, which in this rebellion he had indured, and the small hope which he had to preuaile in these his bad and traitorous actions, but chieflie being afraid of his owne life, least at one time or other he should be slaine by his souldiors: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices, requiring his pardon, and which he would redéeme with the head of his best frend and fellow in armes Pheon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and rebellion in Leinster.

Fitzgirald executed to death so manie as conspired against him.

Fitzgirald practiseth the death of Pheō mac Hugh.

This was not so couertlie done, but that Pheon mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he forthwith intreated Fitzgirald in the like manner as he before had done with the lieutenant, and so hanged him vp. The lord deputie after long sute for his reuocation, receiued his maiesties letters for the same, and then he sent for capteine Zouch gouernor of Mounster to come to Dubline: and in the end of August 1582, after that he had serued full two yeres he deliuered vp the sword vnto the archbishop of Dubline then lord chancellor, and to sir Henrie Wallop then treasuror at armes, and toke shipping; hauing with him capteine Zouch, who was after slaine by one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and dutifull to his maiestie in all obedience. And albeit he had deserued well of that Irish nation, and had sowed the good séeds of notable seruices, as well for his martiall seruices, as for his ciuill gouernment; yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but darnell and cockle. For they had among them not onelie conspired his death, for which some paid déerelie; but made also sundrie complaints against him, to which he answered to his commendation and acquittall, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

Fitzgirald is hanged for his conspiracie.

The lord Greie yeeldeth vp the sword & returneth into England.

1582

The lord chancellor and sir Henrie wallop are lord iustices.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a broken time, the warres being not ended, the people not quieted, and the gouernement not staied nor setled; yet they both ioining their wisedoms, seruices, and good wils, were so blessed therein, that by them that land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse. For not long after they had taken the sword in hand doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all wickednesse, with James Fitzmoris in Julie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and nine, to beare arms in this land against hir maiestie, after that he had wandered vp and downe

thrée

three yeares togither with the earle and his brethren sir Iohn, in woods and bogs, and had liued with them a most miserable and wretched life, and had béene partaker of their most cruell bloudsheds, outrages, murthers, and robberies, a life good and too good for a traitor and a rebell. He fell sicke of an Irish ague and of the bloudie flix, and laie in the wood of Clenneliffe, which is a wood full of allers, withies, briers, & thornes, and through which is no passage; where partlie of his sicknesse, but cheefelie for famine and want he died. Euen in this filthie place, that most miserable wretch and traitor was lodged and died, bequeathing his treasons, treacheries, and disloialties against his souereigne mistresse and ladie hir maiestie vnto the pope, reseruing the punishment to the Lord himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge vpon all traitors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some saie) was deuoured vp of woolues, but (as some doo thinke) that so much as was left was buried at Clancarne, not farre off from the place where he died.

The death of doctor Sanders.

The two lords iustices being entred into this broken gouernement, did what they could to kéepe the same in peace; and vnderstanding the wilfull disposition of Desmond, they did vse all the meanes and waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he imbrued and poisoned with the venom of treason and rebellion, that no reason, no dutie, nor anie other respect could persuade him to be a loiall and dutifull subiect. Wherefore he continued still in his old accustomed spoiling and wasting the countries, and trusting to no house nor castell, did throwd himselfe in woods and bogs, and in the winter following he kept his Christmasse in the wood of Kilquieg néere to Kilmallocke. And about the fourth of Ianuarie then following, one Iohn Welsh a valiant and a good souldior, was resolued to make a draught vpon the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith capteine Dowdall, capteine Bangor, and George Thorington prouost marshall of Mounster, all which laie then in garrison in Kilmallocke, and according to the order betweene them then agréed vpon, they marched in the night time to the place and wood where the earle laie.

The earle of Desmond kéepeth his Christmas in the woods.

A draught made vpon the earle by Iohn Welsh.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer a great riuer, before they could come to enter into the wood of Kilquieg, & by reason of the great raines then falling, it was impossible for man or horsse to passe ouer the same, which thing Iohn Welsh did before mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went thither verie closelie, with such few persons as he had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a number of flakes and hurdels to be made of halson, allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be drawne ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose which could swim verie well. And this fellow when he had fastened some of the hurdels to a træ in the further side of the water, and then by a rope drew ouer the residue one after another, did so fasten and tie one vnto another, and so cunninglie handled the matter, that when the capteins came, they passed ouer the riuer verie well without danger or perill. And so from thense the said Welsh did guide and bring them by the breake of the daie vnto the earles cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so mirie, that they were faine to go a speares length wide from the cabin to come vnto it. The earle hearing a great noise, and suspecting some extraordinarie and a greater companie to be in place more than his owne, and doubting the worst, ran out of his bed in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin, and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard vp to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his wife with him. The souldiors made diligent search for him both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but could not find him; whereupon they did put to the sword so manie as they found there, and carried awaie the goods with them, and so returned to Kilmallocke.

A deuise how to passe ouer a great riuer.

The earle escapeth verie hardlie.

At this time the seneschall secretlie with all the force which he could make, came vnto the towne of Youghall, & entred into the end of the same towne. Whereupon the alarum was raised, and forthwith Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capteine Morgan, hauing all his souldiors togither, of which he had forte shot, went vnto that end of the towne where the seneschall scaled the wals, & there he made a sconse, or a little bulworke, and by that meanes saued the towne, and draue the seneschall from his purpose, and killed aboue fiftie of his men: and so being disappointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the end of this moneth of Ianuarie the earle of Dermond arriued from out of England to Waterford with a new supplie of foure hundred men, whome he diuided and committed vnto the seuerall leadings of sir George Bourcher, sir William Stanleie, capteine Edward Berkleie, and capteine Roberts. And being now lord generall by hir maiesties appointment ouer all Mounster, and hauing obteined an augmentation of two pence by the daie for euerie souldiors wages, he assembleth all the souldiors and euerie capteine which had anie charge, and tooke order with euerie of them for such seruices as were to be doone, furnisheth them with vittels, munitions, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for them, requesting euerie one of them to shew themselues like good and valiant souldiors, in the pursuing of the rebels, and vanquishing of the enimies: and such grace and loue he found among the souldiors, that he was no more desirous than they most glad and willing to performe the same. Such a good affection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

The seneschall assaulteth & entreth into Youghall and hath the repulse.

The earle of Dermond arriueth to Waterford and is generall of Mounster.

The loue of the capteins and souldiors to the earle of Dermond.

At this time aduertisement was giuen vnto his lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped in the fastnesse of Harlo wood with a great number of rakehels & rebels. His lordship mustered all his companies, and minding to doo some seruice vpon the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse of Harlo wood. And being come thither, he diuideth his companies into foure parts, and they entered into foure seuerall places of the wood at one instant: and by that meanes they scowred the wood throughout, in killing as manie as they tooke, but the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels being thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they neuer after met togither in the like companies, nor assembled themselues in such great numbers: but the most part of them, which were the chiefest followers and greatest frends vnto Desmond, as Fitzmoris of Lerna before named, the seneschall, the lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Knought, & sundrie others, some and some came awaie, and sought for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit outrages, murthers, bloudsheds and spoiles, had deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship considering their repentance, sorrows, and humble submissions, and respecting more hir maiesties godlie disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the most part) grant vnto euerie of them their requests. The souldiors after this péece of seruice were dispersed abroad into their seuerall garrisons. And albeit the greater parts of the rebels were some by sword, and some by protection abated, and much decreased, yet none of them laie altogither idle, but did follow the seruice as time and occasion offered. For the earle himselfe, though he were thus vnfeathered of his greatest helps, yet he was one & the same man, a most ranke traitor and rebell: and therefore vpon

The lord generall scowreth Harlo wood.

Desmond is forsaken of all his followers and friends.

him

him dailie were draughts and pursuites made, and neuer left, vntill in the end he came vnto confusion.

In the moneth of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three, it was aduertised to the garrisons in Kilmallocke and Cashell, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood, and had aboue three score gallowglasses besides kerne a great number, vpon whom captein Dowdall hauing good espials, made a iorneie thither, and being entred into the wood verie earlie, late close all the forenoone. For these gallowglasses had bin so dared from time to time, that now like a sort of deere they late vpon their keepings; and so fearfull they were, that they would not tarrie in ante one place ante long time, but where they did dresse their meat, thense they would remoue, and eat it in another place, and from thense go vnto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch, in the forenoones they would be vpon the hilles and mounteins, to descrie the countrie, and in the afternoone they would slepe. The capteine breaking time with them, made staie in the wood accordinglie, and in the afternoone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of them were asleepe, and some of them occupied in dressing of a horsse for to eat, for other vittels were scant. The capteine suddenlie entred vpon them, and toke them at such aduantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which, fiue and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these gallowglasses, which are counted the best men of warre among the Irishrie: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismaid, that a man might without anie great danger passe throughout Mounster.

A draught made vpon the gallowglasses in Harlo wood.

The gallowglasses in Harlo wood put to sword.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred foure score & three, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall neere to Trusham, were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the earle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or three horsemen and a preest. The kerns which attended the said lord Roches men, inuironed & compassed them about; but the earle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the preest they toke, by reason of his bad horsse, and him the lord Roch sent the next date vnto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in corners, & would not be seene. And further, that he had his onelie releese and was fostered by Gozon mac Swene, a capteine of the gallowglasses, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not beene heard of since he was garred out of Harlo wood) is now discouered. Whereupon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cush: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaire thither, and there to lie in garison; which he did forthwith performe. The earle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discouered, and how that vittels and a garison were sent to Dingle a Cush to the working of his woe; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bourchier did from time to time gall and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Gozon mac Swene, & Poile Porough mac Swene his brother, he gathereth a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his gard. Gozon mac Swene in the meane time entreth into Carberie, and taketh a great preie of kine, which he drone forthwith into Desmond toward the earle, but the iorneie was so long, that he late short of the earle that night about three or foure miles.

The L. Roch his men discouer Desmond.

Desmond feareth Dowdall.

Gozon preith all Carberie by Desmond.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their goods, three of them with their swords and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stollen awaie their owne kine if by ante means they could, and if opportunitie would so serue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recouer ante thing at all. The foresaid Gozon, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abrode in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alone, hauing onelie one kerne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelue score off from his lodging. About which place it happened the foresaid three men had hidden and couched themselues in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betweene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed them both: and as soone as they had cut off their heads, they shifted for themselues. Gozons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abrode to seeke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lieng dead vpon the ground; which cast them into such a maze, as they wist not what to thinke or to doo: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for garison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whome they could suspect. But this is the iust iudgement of God, who in his iustice loketh vpon the periured and wicked, and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the earle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the garisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his friend, his cheefe and onelie staie, was in a great agonie, and maruellouslie dismaid; and seeing no other remedie, he prepareth the best for himselfe, and taking the aduantage of the time, before the garison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie neere Traleigh, minding to take a preie from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherfore in the euening he sent two horssemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Traleigh vnto a castell there, & commanded them to take their preis from thense, which they did, and brought the same awaie with them.

Gozon mac Swene is killed.

The erle commandeth preie to be taken in Kerrie.

Among those kine thus driuen awaie, a poore woman of that countrie lost all those few that she had, and being distressed of that which was the cheefe, and in a maner the onelie releefe of hir and hir children and household; and not knowing how she could by anie meanes recouer them: she bethought hir selfe vpon a brother which she had, dwelling on the other side of the mounteine, in a castell named Drome, which was one of the Moretts; and to him she runneth in all the hast she could, and declareth hir estate and case, praieng him to helpe hir, and that he would follow the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two horssemen & a few kerne which had drouen the preie awaie, he to pleasure his sister toke three other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castelmange, which castell was in the waie. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Cheston, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Berkelei) that he would spare him some shot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the preie which was driuen that waie. The constable and the soldiors were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had seuen shot and a dozen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fast vnder

A garison appointed to be at the Dingle.

der the castell, & so they went altogither to Traleigh, they being in number three and twentie persons; one of these was an Irish man borne, named Kollie, but serued alwaies vnder Englishmen, and could speake verie good English. This man, when they came to Traleigh, they appointed & made him their leader or capteine; and Mozetto because he was borne in those parties, and best knew the countrie, they appointed to be their guide: and from thense they followed the tract vntill they came to the side of a mounteine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come vpon them, there they staid and rested themselues for that night. And in the darke night one of them had espied through the trées a fire not farre off, whereupon they drew themselues close together, and caused one of themselues closelie and secretlie to draw towards the fire and to discouer what companie was there, and how manie was of them; which man did so. And when he returned backe vnto them, he told them that there was an old bad house, and about fiue or six persons therein: whereupon they all determined and agreed to repaire to that place to know the whole matter. Mozetto was the guide to bring them to the house, and Kollie did set his companie in order and good araie, as was most for their seruice, if need should so require. And when they were come to the house, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the residue were gone. Then Kollie drew his sword and strake the old man, with which blow he had almost cut off one of his arms; and then he strake him againe, and gaue him a great blow on the side of his head: wherwith the said old man cried out, desiring them to saue his life, for he was earle of Desmond, and then Kollie staied his hands: but the erle bled so fast, that he wared verie faint, and could not trauell anie further: whereupon the said Kollie bid and willed him to prepare himselfe to die; and then he strake off the earls head.

The earle of Desmond taken in an old house alone and slaine.

The residue of the companie in this meane time spoiled and rifled the house, and toke what them listed: and then they all departed and went to Castelmange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the same were deuoured by the woolues or buried by his kerne, it is not certeinlie knowne. As soone as they came to Castelmange, they sent the said earles head vnto the lord generall, who forthwith sent the same into England for a present to hir maiestie; which forthwith was put vpon a pole, and set on London bridge. When this his death was noised and knowne, there was no more seruice to be done: for euerie rebell cast awaie his weapon, and sought all the waies they could to humble themselues and to become good subiects: sauing one John Bourke, who stood vpon his protection, and yet neuertheless he and his companie went to Adare, there to haue taken a preie. But as he passed by the castell, a boie therein discharged his peece vpon the said Bourke, & strake him in the head, whereof he died. The common people, who had felt the great smart of this troublesome time, reioised and were glad of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles should haue an end, and they to be the more at rest. During these continuall troubles in Mounster, the two lord iustices which laie at Dublin were much eased from all martiall affaires elsewhere, and were troubled but with the clamorings, exclamations, and brabling of the Irish people, not worth the remembring: sauing that a certeine combat was fought and tried before them in the castell of Dublin, betweene two Oconhours, verie neere cosens & kinsmen: the one was named Teig mac Gaill Patrike Oconhour appellant; the other was named Con mac Cormake Oconhour defendant. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundrie treasons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other triall but by combat, which was granted vnto them. Whereupon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and according to the same, the lord iustices, the iudges, and the councellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintife was brought in before the face of the court, being stripped into his shirt, hauing onlie his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and when he had done his reuerence and dutie to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to a stole set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendant brought in, in the like maner and order, and with the like weapons: and when he had done his dutie and reuerence to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to his chaire placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openlie read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not: who when he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendant was likewise asked whether he would confesse the action, or stand to the triall of the same: who did answer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the sword.

The manner of the combat.

Upon this their seuerall answers, they were seuerallie called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a corporall oth that their quarell was true, and that they would iustifie the same both with sword & blood. Thus they being sworne are brought backe againe euerie of them to their seuerall places as before. And then when by the sound of a trumpet a signe was giuen vnto them when they should enter into the fight; they arose out of their seats, and met euerie one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned vnto them, they fought: in which fight the appellant did preuaile, and he not onlie did disarme the defendant, but also with the sword of the said defendant did cut off his head, and vpon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord iustices, and so with the victorie of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to saie somwhat of much, of the maner of a combat, which together with manie circumstances thereunto belonging is now for want of vse almost cleane forgotten, and yet verie necessarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was so valiantlie done, that a great manie did wish that it had rather fallen vpon the whole ser of the Oconhours, than vpon these two gentlemen.

A combat betweene two Oconhours.

The earle of Desmonds head sent into England and put vpon London bridge.

John Bourke hauing a protection, made a stealth, and was killed.

The vicount of Baltinglas, being aduertised of the death of the earle of Desmond, which was no small griefe vnto him, and he also verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places (being altogither distressed, and in great miserie, and now destitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head anie longer against hir maiesties force) did imbarke himselfe for Spaine, in hope to haue some releése and succor, and to procure some aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of some abilitie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie small comfort. And therefore of a verie melancholie griefe & sorrow of mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreame pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iustices, who had ruled and gouerned the land in these troublesome and broken times in great wisdome, care, & circumspection, when they had brought the

The vicount of Baltinglas verie weake of his life.

The vicount Baltinglasse imbarketh himselfe for Spaine.

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the whole land to a peaceable & quiet gouernment, and deliuered the same from all open or knowne rebellion; they cashed and discharged all the garrisons in Mounster, onelie two hundred souldiors excepted: they kept it in good quietnesse, vntill the arriuall of sir John Perot knight, who was sent ouer to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of June, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and foure, the six and twentith yeare of his maiesties reigne vnto whome they deliuered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his good beginnings a great hope was conceiued of the like to insue. For he was a right worthie seruitor in that land, when he was lord president in Mounster: and by whome James Fitzmoris was subdued, and the whole prouince maruellouslie well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they do well deserue, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registred to his perpetuall fame and immortall honor. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensiue to remember some speciall points of his late seruice, which do deserue to be remembred: as also for the incouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which do halson and giue a hope that he will *Addere colophonem*, and bring that land to a full and perfect gouernment & regiment; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be done much before domesdaie.

Sir John Perot arriueth into Ireland to be lord deputie.

Not long after the arriuall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed maner, for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are vp in armes readie for the warre. His lordship hauing notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to méete with them, and to stop them of their purpose: and therein he so ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were driuen to séeke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselues, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to his maiestie. Which when they had obteined, then they toke the lands wherein they dwelled, of his highnesse, yéelding a yearelie rent, which before they had not bene accustomed nor wont to doe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

The Scots rebell and are subdued.

When when he was from this seruice returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and indeuor was to deuise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the gouernment, according to the laws of England. Whereupon he would and did verie often assemble the whole councell, or so manie of them as were there, for their aduise herein; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin lord chancellor, the earle of Ormond lord treasuror, the primat of Armagh, the bishop of Meth, the bishop of Kilmore, sir John Norris lord president of Mounster, sir Henrie Wallop treasuror at armes, sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, Robert Gardner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Dillon knight chiefe iustice of the common pléas, sir Lucas Dillon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the rols, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Cowleie knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Brabesbie, Geffeie Fenton secretarie, sir Warham Sentleger & sir Valentine Browne knights; but discontinued. By the good aduise, helpe, and councell of these wise and prudent councellors, he first thought it best to bring the whole land into shire grounds, whereby the laws of England might haue a through course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Sidneie before had done in a few counties, that he perfor-

The councell in Ireland.

The whole realme brought into shire grounds.

med in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie seuerall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To euerie of which new counties he appointed and assigned seuerall shiriffes, and all such inferior officers as were most requisit, and to the same incident and apperteining. All and euerie which shires hitherto not registred, nor published in chronicle, togither with such as tofore were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their seuerall names, and in their prouinces as followeth.

The shires in Ireland.

- Counties in Mounster.
  - Old counties.
    - Limerike
    - Corke
    - Kerrie
    - Tipporaria
    - Crosse
    - Waterford
  - New countie.
    - Desmond
- Counties in Vlster.
  - Old counties.
    - Louth
    - Downe
    - Antrim
  - New counties.
    - Monahon
    - Tiron
    - Armagh
    - Colrane
    - Donergall
    - Farmanagh
    - Cauon
- Counties in Leinster.
  - Old counties.
    - Dublin
    - Wexford
    - Catherlogh
    - Kilkennie
    - Kildare
    - Kings countie
    - Queenes countie
    - Meth & West-Meth
    - Longefford
  - New counties.
    - Wickelow
    - Fernes
- Counties in Connagh.
  - Old counties.
    - Clare
    - Letrimme
  - New counties.
    - Gallowaie
    - Roscomin
    - Maio
    - Sligo

When he had performed this, and established the same by act of parlement, then his maiesties writs and processe had a free passage, and were currant through out the whole land, and his maiestie knowne to be souereigne ladie and quéene of the same. Then the Irishrie by little and little gaue ouer their Brehon laws, and their Irish vsage, and became obedient vnto the English laws; vnto which they referred themselues to be tried, and to haue all their quarels to be decided and determined: whereof at these presents is extant a verie notable president & example betweene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the prouince of Vlster. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Vnele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Vnele. These two and their ancestors, and all other noble men in that prouince, when so euer anie discord or enimitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloudshed was the same decided. Neuertheles, these two noble men leaning to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile maner, do refer themselues to the triall of the laws; and each one of them sueth the other at the common laws, and in the chanceries in his maiesties court

English laws currant through Ireland.

Vnele and the earle of Tiron sue each one the other at law.

at Dublin, and there as dutifull subiects do abide the triall of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse; and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so happie a progresse and successe, as it hath a good enterance and beginning; no doubt, but that partlie by the lawes, and partlie by the sword, an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be established, the common societie shall be preserued, the whole realme shall florish and prosper, hir maiestie shall be obeied, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Israell. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the happie victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasion, were met and incountered withall, by the right worthie sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were vanquished & ouerthrowne, to the number of fiftæne hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the newes of their successe: but were either killed or drowned.

Sir Richard Bingham his victorie vpon the Scots.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the gouernment of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, vntill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue bene done, worthie to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the atteining to the knowledge whereof, though Iohn Hooker the writer hereof haue béene a diligent traueller and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that good successe, as both the historie it selfe requireth, and he himselfe wisheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their most sacred kings and quænes, or amongst themselues. But whatsoeuer tofore hath bæne done, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnnaturall, as were the last warres of the Giraldines of Desmond in Mounster. For of the Giraldines of Kildare, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and sée most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as do rebell against the Lords annointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honored and obeied in all humblenesse and dutie: because they are his vicars, substitutes, and vicegerents vpon the earth, to defend the good, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, do resist his ordinances, and shall receiue hard iudgement, as most manifestlie it doth apeare in this the earle of Desmonds rebellion. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as in course it fell out, it would be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And therefore leauing the large discourse, it shall suffice to shut and conclude this historie, with the briefe recitall of the most speciall points, to moue euerie man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his louing mercie and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore James Fitzmoris, the first ringleader in this pageant, and who most vnnaturallie had flocked in strangers and forreiners to inuade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriuing of hir maiestie from hir imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yelded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his idolatrous pilgrimage to the holie crosse, and his traitorous iourneie to practise with all the rebels and inhabitants in Connagh and Vlster to ioine with him, he did commit a robberie; and being pursued for the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kinsmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Kilmallocke.

Then James of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robberie vpon sir Cormac mac Teige, was likewise taken and caried to Corke, where he was drawne, hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and wals of the citie of Corke. After him, sir John of Desmond, one other brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, buls, and Agnos dei, which should keepe and preserue him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dowdall, and by them he receiued his iust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a frendkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Corke, where his bodie was hanged by the heeles, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe was also taken, and with the sword the head was diuided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge; and his bodie vncerteine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beasts. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of princes, is now for treasons and rebellions vtterlie extinguished and ouerthrowne; onelie one sonne of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two doctors, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their foolish fantasies dreamed that they had the Holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords annointed: the one of them lifting vp his sword against hir sacred maiestie, vnder the popes banner at Mounster, one thousand fiue hundred threescore and ninetæne, was slaine and killed: the other, after that he had followed the heeles of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserablie in the wood of Cleneles, in such diseases as famine and penurie vse to bring. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their consorts and companies, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie newes of their successe; but were all put to the sword. And as for the great companies of souldiors, gallowglasses, kerne, & the common people, who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinit, whose blouds the earth dranke vp, and whose carcases the foules of the aire and the rauening beasts of the field did consume and deuoure. After this followed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not destroie, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining aliue, sauing such as dwelled in cities and townes, and such as were fled ouer into England: and yet the store in the townes was verie far spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who liued at large. For they were not onelie driuen to eat horsses, dogs and dead carions; but also did deuoure the carcases of dead men, whereof there be sundrie examples: namelie one in the countie of Corke, where when a malefactor was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallowes, certeine poore people secretlie came, tooke him downe, and did eat him. Likewise in the baie of Smérewéeke, or saint Marie wéeke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened a ship to be there lost through foule weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

James Desmond taken in a roberie, hanged, drawne, & quartered.

Sir Iohn of Desmond slaine, and his bodie hanged by the heeles.

The earle of Desmond slaine, and his head sent to London, and set vpon London bridge.

Allen and Sanders died, the one with the sword, the other of famine.

All strangers slaine.

After the swars followed a famine.

A man hanged was eaten.

When drowned and eaten.

The

The common people, who had a long time liued on limpets, ozewads, and such shelfish as they could find, and which were now spent; as sone as they saw these dead bodies, they toke them vp, and most greedilie did eat and deuoure them: and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land it selfe, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentious of corne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yéelding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no corne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yéelding nothing. Finallie, euerie waie the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoeuer did trauell from the one end vnto the other of all Mounster, euen from Waterford to the head of Smérewéeke, which is about six score miles, he should not meet anie man, woman, or child, sauing in townes and cities; nor yet sée anie beast, but the verie wolues, the foxes, and other like rauening beasts: manie of them late dead being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere. A heauie, but a iust iudgement of God vpon such a Pharoicall and stifnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclamed and reduced to serue God in true religion, and to obeie their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made choise of a wicked idoll, the god Mazim to honor, and of that wicked antichrist of Rome to obeie, vnto the vtter ouerthrow of themselues and of their posteritie. This is the goodnesse that commeth from that great citie vpon the seuen hils, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abhominations vpon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, maister pope, the sonne of Sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enimie vnto the crosse of Christ, whose bloodthirstinesse will neuer be quenched, but in the blood of the saints, and the seruants of God; and whose rauening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of such as do serue the Lord in all godlines, & who will not be drunke in the cup of his fornications: as it doth appere by the infinit & most horrible massacres, and bloodie persecutions, which he dailie exerciseth throughout all christian lands. Which bicause he can not performe also within the realmes of England & Ireland, what practises hath he made by inchantments, sorceries, witchcrafts, & treasons to bereaue hir maiestie of hir life? What deuises hath he vsed to raise vp hir owne subiects to rebellions and commotions, to supplant hir of hir roiall estate and gouernment? What practises hath he vsed with forren princes and potentats, to séeke occasions of breaches of peace and raisings of warres? And how craftilie hath he suborned his vnhalie & traitorous Iesuits, vnder colour of holines, to range from place to place through hir maiesties realmes, and to moue and persuade hir people from dutifull obedience vnto hir highnesse, and to denie hir supreme authoritie and gouernment? Finallie, how doth he from time to time like a rauening wolfe séeke the deuouring of hir, and of all hir good subiects, which liue in the feare of God, and in the religion established vpon his holie word and gospell? Whereof hath insued the losse of infinit thousands of people, as thereof manie apparant examples are set downe and recorded in the histories of England; but of them all, none more lamentable than is this historie of Ireland, and especiallie this tragedie of Mounster. In which it doth appeare, how that for the maintenance of the popes quarels, the earth hath drunke vp the bloud, the fouls of the aire haue preied, and the beasts of the field haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes & numbers of people. Which if euerie man would well looke into and consider, the vngodlie shall sée the great iudgements of God, and his seuere iustice against all such as shall dishonor his holie name; and against such as shall rebell and resist against his annointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their liues, and be conuerted vnto the Lord, both in true religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience to his annointed. And the good and godlie shall sée, and thereby consider the great good mercies shewed vpon them, in that he hath and continuallie doth preserue and kéepe them from out of the iawes of the lion in all safetie, that they should dailie more and more grow from grace to grace, and liue in all holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all dutifull obedience vnto hir maiestie our souereigne ladie and queene; whose daies the Lord God continue and prolong to reigne ouer vs to his good will and pleasure: and so shall we hir people sée good daies, liue in securitie, and the peace of Israell shall be vpon vs.

The fruits which come from the pope.

The wicked practises of the pope.

*Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker alias Vowell, Gent.*

1585.

# THE DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND,

Written at the first by Hector Boetius *in Latine, and afterward tranſlated* into the Scotiſh ſpeech by *Iohn Bellenden Archdeacon of* Murrey, and now finallie *into Engliſh by* R.H.

Wherevpon is inferred the *hiſtorie of Scotland, conteining* the beginning, increaſe, proceeding, *continuance, acts, and gouernement of* the Scotiſh nation, from the originall *thereof vnto the yeare 1571*, gathered and written in Engliſh by *Raphaell Hollindſhead*: and continued from 1571, to 1585, by others.

*Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.*

# To the Right worshipfull Maister Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this present, and in the world to come life euerlasting.

HAuing by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges alredie finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Leland* our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankefulnesse for these your manifold kindnesses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoeuer it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnsitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, onlie

lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expense of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiouslie *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpretor hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knoledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in his feare, and blesse you and my good ladie your wife with such increase of his benefits, as may most redound to his glorie, & your own aduantage.

# The contents of the chapters conteined *in this booke.*


1 OF the bounds of Albion, with the ſundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finallie of the religion vſed there in old time.

2 The deſcription of the eaſt, weſt, and middle borders of Scotland, with the moſt notable townes and flouds thereof.

3 The deſcription of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the ſame.

4 The ſituation of Renfrew, Cliddeſdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things conteined in the ſame.

5 Of Roſſe, Stranauerne, and Murrey land, with ſuch lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.

6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be ſeene and found.

7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, caſtels and flouds thereof.

8 Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beaſts in Scotland, alſo of the ſtrange nature of ſundrie Scotiſh dogs, and of the nature of ſalmon.

9 Of ſundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the ſame. Of vncouth and ſtrange fiſh there to be ſeene, and of the nature of the herbe Citiſus, commonlie called Hadder.

10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and ſuch notable things as are to be found in them.

11 Of the nature of their Claike geeſe, and diuerſe maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.

12 The deſcription of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other ſundrie ſmall Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the ſame.

13 Of the maners of the Scots in theſe daies, and their compariſon with the behauiour of the old and ſuch as liued long ſince within this Iland.

14 The deſcription of an ancient Pict, and ſuch as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.

15 Of biſhoprikes, vniuerſities, and counties in Scotland.

## The authors out of whome this hiſtorie of *Scotland hath beene gathered.*

Hector Boetius.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.
Iohannes Maior.
Iohannes Fourdon.
Rogerus Houeden.
Richardus Southwell.
Wilhelmus Paruus, ſiue Neoburgenſis.
Albertus Crantz.
Aeneas Syluius.
Edward Hall.
Richard Grafton.
John Stow: and others.

# The deſcription of Scotland, written at the firſt by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and afterward tranſlated into the Scotiſh ſpeech by *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey, *and now finallie into* Engliſh by W. H.

## The bounds of Albion with *the ſundrie commodities thereof*, and of the great infirmities that *fall vnto the people there for* their intemperancie, and finallie *of the religion vſed* there in old time.

## *The firſt Chapter.*

THe Ile of Albion conteineth in the whole circumference, 2 M. miles, hauing in length 700, & in breadth 300, as appéereth well by the coaſt therof that doth lie ouer againſt France where it is broadeſt, and from whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it come to the vtter marches & laſt bounds of England and Scotland. For betwixt the Mule of Gallowaie that is on the weſt ſide ouer againſt the Iriſh ſeas, and ſaint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane ocean toward the eaſt, are ſcarſelie 130 miles, and thenceforth it groweth ſmaller and ſmaller till it touch vpon the north ſeas, where it is not aboue thirtie miles, as I noted before in the deſcription of Britaine.

This Ile is repleniſhed with people, horſes, and all other kind of cattell and corne in moſt abundant maner, except it be in ſuch places where as God of his ſingular goodneſſe hath otherwiſe indued the ſoile with rich mines of gold, ſiluer, tin, braſſe, copper, and quickſiluer, which for the moſt part are ſo plentifull, that they ſuffice not onlie for the neceſſaries of the whole Iland, but alſo of ſundrie regions that are ſituated round about it, if the inhabitants were skilfull and painefull to deale withall accordinglie. But the abundance of all other things requiſite for the vſe of man, that is found generallie in our Iland, maketh the people leſſe carefull of theſe commodities, and more giuen to idleneſſe. For beſide the great plentie of thoſe things which heauen and earth do miniſter, as graſſe, corne and cattell, foules of ſundrie kinds, there is ſuch froze of fiſh in all parties of our ſeas, eſpeciallie towards the north, that the ſame would ſuffice to feed and ſuſteine all the people of the Iland, if there were none other commodities to be found within the ſame.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland, and a great part of Germanie (eſpeciallie thoſe which lie neere vnto the coaſt) do ſaile hither with great numbers of veſſels dailie to fiſh vpon our coaſts, and buy ſuch as we haue alreadie caught, not onlie for their owne vſe, but alſo for the Lenton proviſion of ſuch nations as lie vpon the Leuant ſeas, where they ſell the ſame at their owne wils, with very ſpéedie vtterance. Manie other rich and pretious commodities are to be gotten in the ſaid Ile, whereof the aforenamed nations do make no ſmall account, beſide theſe common things. What ſhall I ſaie of our woolles, which are in ſo high eſtimation in all lands, bicauſe of their neceſſarie vſes, and whereof a great part is ſo fine and ſoft, that of it are made the coſtlie ſkarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make this mention, bicauſe the report thereof is not yet made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Dionyſius Alexandrinus ſaith that the wool of Britaine is often ſpun ſo fine that it is in manner comparable to the ſpiders draught.

Certes this I dare boldlie affirme, that if the kingdoms of Britaine had ſuch grace giuen them from aboue, as that they might once liue in vnitie, or by any meanes be brought vnder the ſubiection of one prince, they ſhould yer long féele ſuch a ſauour in this amitie, that they would not onelie liue frankelie of their own, without any foren purchaſe of things, but alſo reſiſt all outward inuaſion, with ſmall trauell and leſſe dammage. For as touching their perſons, and likewiſe their notable wits, apt both for the atteining of learning and knowledge of handicrafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. Herevnto we find them to be couragious and hardie, offering themſelues often vnto the vttermoſt perils with great aſſurance, ſo that a man may pronounce nothing to be ouerhard or paſt their power to performe, if they would giue themſelues to liue temperatelie, and follow their predeceſſors in moderation of diet.

Therefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in his prouident diſpoſition of all things, hath ordeined their grounds (otherwiſe plentifullie indued with all kinds of commodities) to be deſtitute and void of wine; as foreſeeing that the ſaid liquor, which bringeth greateſt benefit vnto other countries, would grow in the end to be moſt pernicious & noiſome to them.

them. For they are giuen to ſuch vnnaturall rauening and græedie deſire of forreine things (whileſt they contemne or not regard their owne) that they cannot refraine the immoderate vſe of wine, and exceſſe vſed in drinking of the ſame: inſomuch that we may ſæ diuerſe to be ouertaken and haunted, not onelie with ſundrie kinds of grieuous maladies common to vs and them of the maine, but alſo manie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing at all acquainted with, as experience dailie teacheth.

Some by long ſickneſſe and languiſhing græfes dow grow into ſuch deformitie onelie through exceſſiue feeding, and græedie abuſe of wine, that if you knew them when they were children & yong men, you ſhall hardlie remember them when they be old and aged; and that which more is, in compariſon of other that liue more ſoberlie, you will hardlie thinke them to be borne in the Ile, but rather ſuppoſe them to be changelings and monſters, brought out of other countries to gaze and looke vpon: diuerſe of them through the continuall vſe of wine are moleſted in their age, with phreneticall pangs and paſſions. Seldome alſo ſhall you ſee thoſe that are giuen much vnto wine and ſuch welfare, to become parents of manie children, ſith their naturall moiſture and generatiue force is much abated, if not altogither extinguiſhed by ſuch immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpoſe, the Albanes or Britains, as Cæſar in his commentaries, and Tacitus in his annales dow report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vſed in old time. For in thoſe daies the prieſts of Britaine named Druides, were expert both in naturall and morall philoſophie, and from thence came the firſt profeſſors of that ſect and opinion into France. The principall ſeat of their prieſts was in the Ile of Man, which was reputed at that ſeaſon for the welſpring and fountaine of all learning and knowledge, and after that their prieſts were once conuerted to the catholike faith, they perſeuered in the ſame with great conſtancie, without anie note of hereſie.

## The deſcription of the eaſt, weſt, and *middle borders of Scotland, with the* moſt notable townes and flouds *thereof.*

## *The ſecond Chapter.*

THe Picts had ſometimes the principall and moſt fertile part of that countrie, which now is vnder the regiment of the Scots, and after they had continued in the ſame by the ſpace of 1171 yeares, ioined in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining mutuallie the warres ſometimes with the Britains and Romans, and ſomtimes alſo iarring with their Scotiſh neighbours, at the laſt they fell into extreme hatred one of another, till it was brought to paſſe by the diuine prouidence, that the ſaid Picts were ouerthrowne, their name extinguiſhed, and the kingdome vnited vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scots haue béene verie oftentimes aſſailed with moſt dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes inuaded by enimies from diuers regions, yet ſuch hath beene the fauour of almightie God towards them, that ſtill they flouriſh and reteine their eſtate inuiolate.

Whatſoeuer we haue generallie ſpoken of Albion, that is chieflie to be vnderſtood of the Scots, and farre greater, eſpeciallie among the Scots, as they call them in the high land, as people that haue leſſe to dow with forreine merchants, and therefore are leſſe delicate, and not ſo much corrupted with ſtrange blood and aliance. Hereby in like ſort it commeth to paſſe, that they are more hard of conſtitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blaſts, to watch better, and abſteine long, whervnto alſo it appeareth that they are bold, nimble, and thereto more skilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promiſe, they hold it with greateſt conſtancie, as Hector hath ſet downe. Towards the Almaine ſea, I find, that Scotland hath the Mers, ſometime the moſt plentious region of the Picts for their march, which ſo long as the ſaid people did inhabit it, was called Deera, or Dere; but after their expulſion, it was named Mers, that is to ſay, the marches or limits of their countrie. In proceſſe of time alſo the Scots extended their bounds euen vnto the Tweed, which now diuideth Northumberland from the Mers.

On the other ſide of the countrie towards the weſt, ſundrie ſmall bournes deſcend from the Cheriot hilles, and other mounteines lieng thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Annandale, and ſo being brought into one chanell, they fall togither into the Iriſh ocean, & ſtand for the bounds of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The Cheriot hilles are in like ſort taken for the middle marches of the region, which with certeine ſmall brookes that fall from the ſame, dow ſeparate both the countries, whereby their limits are knowne. The Mers hath vnder marches at ſeuerall places (whither it is extended) as ſometime the Germane ſea, ſometime eaſt Louthian, ſometime the Tweed, and ſometime the Forth, and among manie ſtrong holds and caſtels, that ſtand vpon the borders, is the towne and caſtell of Barwike in time paſt called Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci (if Hector be not deceiued.)

The Tweed ſpringeth out from a meane head, and after his augmentation with other ſmall waters that fall into the ſame, it deſcendeth with a large courſe into the Almaine ſea. Beyond the Tweed, to the middle march vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Teuidale, that is to ſay, the vale of Tiffe: beyond it is Eſkedale, or the vale of Eſke, of a riuer ſo called that runneth through the ſame: ouer againſt Eſkedale on the other ſide lieth Euſdale, ſo named of the riuer Eus that paſſeth thereby, and falleth into the water of Annand: but Tif and Eſke dow run into the Tweed: furthermore, on the weſt ſide ouer againſt the Iriſh ſea, lieth Annandale, wherevnto the Annand water giueth denomination, which marcheth ſometimes without the bounds of Middeſdale, where all the three riuers aforeſaid, that is to ſay, Eus, Annand and Sulway deſcend togither in one bottome into the Iriſh ſeas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochmaben, fiue miles in length and foure in bredth, not onlie verie full of fiſh, but of ſuch kind as few men are acquainted with. Beſide this lake alſo there is a caſtell of the ſame name, builded of purpoſe to reſtreine the furious dealing of theeues which dow great hurt in thoſe quarters. For not onlie in Annandale, but in all the dales or vales afore rehearſed, are manie ſtrong theeues, which often ſpoile the countrie, and exerciſe much cruell ſlaughter vpon ſuch as inhabit there, in anie troublous time. Theſe robbers (becauſe the Engliſh dow border vpon their drie marches, and are their perpetuall enimies) dow often make forceable rodes into the Engliſh bounds, for their better maintenance and ſuſtentation, or elſe

they

they pilfer priuilie from them, as men leading in the meane season a poore beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so inured to theft and rapine, that they cannot leaue off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled therefore, yet they thinke it praiseworthie to molest their aduersarie, as they call the truer sort, whereby it commeth to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie waste and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plentie of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perilous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Annand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices; whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yéelded themselues vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at anie time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euerie such aduenture. On the west borders and also toward the north lieth Niddesdale, so called of the water of Nidde. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finallie restreineth it selfe againe, till it commeth at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scotish writers do report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunfrise, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought vp and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

## The description of Gallowaie, Kile, *Carricke, and Cuningham, with the* notable townes, lakes and riuers *in the same.*

## *The third Chapter.*

Aboue Niddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth neerest to Niddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcowbrie, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbeie dedicated to saint Ninian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honored of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Pirton, the one halfe whereof doth freeze by naturall congelation as other poles and plashes do; but the other is neuer séene to beare anie yce at all, which vnto me doth séeme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreouer are two other lakes, the Salset and the Neutramen, of equall length and breath with the Lochmirton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Kean and Lois, except I be deceiued, one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oisters, herrings, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, sith the Romans write that Man the Iland lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betweene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the brates or baies are now worne wider & further distant ech from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & elcuation of the pole that Ptolomie ascribed to the Brigants, agreeth well to the heigth of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Man lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spanish (we affirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a new companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilest they were in Spaine, they called themselues Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth séeme to leane, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the vttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Niddesdale, and Gallowaie, besides fine wools and store of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carrike, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinelie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carrike, whose ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into three parts, to wit, Carrike, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carrike the noble citie; and in this countrie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicat and verie tender to be eaten, the tallow moreouer of their wombs is so moist and sappie that it neuer waxeth hard, but relenteth of the owne accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carrike is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime slaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Air, full 30 foot high, and three elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth séeme vnpossible, neuertheless the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatsoeuer the noise be. Next to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Downe, from whence the riuer Downe doth runne through the middest of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Garnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Downe, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is dailie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latine Hector. 12 foot in bith 30 foot in length, and three elns thicke.

The

of cattell, they yeeld moreouer excellent corne, and by meanes of their large woods and forrests not without great store of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. Neere also vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuer maruellouslie stored with fish, standeth a towne named Bamfe, and vnder these two regions aforesaid lieth Buchquhane, a verie batable soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose woll exceedeth that of the like beast of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and fineneſſe. The riuers that are in this countrie do in like maner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Rattra onelie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath beene seene: herein also standeth the castell of Slanis, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and neere vnto the same is a maruellous caue: for the water that droppeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had beene oft remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had beene filled vp with the same manie yeeres agone.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: finallie it is most maruellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselues without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked fiends do captiuate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogither impossible. Next vnto this lieth the great region of Mar, which is verie plentifull of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Badzenoch. In this is the citie of Aberden, wherin is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the Dee, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Next vnto Mar, we haue Mernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dunnother the marshall of Scotlands house, and likewise the towne of Fordon, in which the bones of Palladius do rest, who is taken generallie for the apostle of our nation. The water of Eske is bound vnto this region, which is otherwise called Northeske, a verie dangerous chanell, and wherein manie haue perished for default of a bridge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Mernis, it was sometime part of Horrestia, and now watered with three notable riuers, as the Northeske alreadie mentioned, and maruellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southeske; and finallie the Taie, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tau.

In Angus also is an high mounteine or promontorie, called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Taie also riseth farre beyond the mounteins of Granzben out of loch Taie, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Ilands, with castels in them, but the water of the lake it selfe (being most fine and subtile) is notablie replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea beside Dundee, a towne called in old time Alectum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weauing and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Mountros, Brechin, and Forfaire, beside so manie castels as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed ouer with silence, that whereas Forfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castels, as the ruines do yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Eske, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent woll, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Iland.

After we be ouer the Taie, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Ottoline. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifullie as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resolue and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I do know of) but betweene the Taie and the Tine within the whole Iland. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they bolle according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie cities in the same, of which S. Andrewes is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are moreouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerse Iles, and in one of them also the church of S. Phillane, a Scottish saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large & broad chanell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifullie indued with cockles, oisters, muskels, seales, pellocks, mereswine, whales, and great foison of white fish: and among manie other Iles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Maie is of greatest fame, because Adrian and his fellows were killed in the same. In the middest of this Ile springeth vp a founteine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be maruelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull crag, rising within the sea, wherevnto is so strict and narrow a passage, that a man shall hardlie come vnto it by a fisher bote, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Basse castell) is inuincible, and therein are manie caues verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therein also is great store of soland geese (not vnlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or (as we saie) sea herons) and no where else but in Ailsaie and this rocke. At their first comming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plentie of sticks and boughs together for the building of their nests, that the same do satisfie the keeper of the castell, for the yeerelie maintenance of his fewell, without anie other prouision. These foules do feed their yong with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue alreadie preied vpon anie one, and haue it fast

it fall in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to eſpie a better, they let the firſt fall againe into the ſea, and purſue the later with great and eager ſwiftneſſe, vntill they take hold ther eof.

Sometimes their preie is taken from them by the keepers of the caſtell, as alſo their ſticks from time to time for the aforeſaid vſe; but they making ſmall or rather no reſiſtance, do turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fiſh (as their loſſe requireth) not ceaſing till they haue builded their neſts with the one, and nouriſhed vp their yong with the other, ſo that what by the timber of their neſts, the beguiling them of their preie, and ſtealing awaie of their yong, they bring yéerelie no ſmall commoditie vnto the owner of the caſtell. Within the bowels of theſe geeſe there is a kind of greaſe to be had of ſingular force in medicine, and ſteaing likewiſe the ſkin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diſeaſes in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleaſant and delicious for ſalads, but if it be taken vp and planted elſwhere, it either groweth not at all, or vtterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earſt indued.

There was ſometime a ſtone found here in this rocke much like to a water ſponge or pumice, hollow on the one ſide, and of ſuch a nature, that if anie ſalt water had béene powred thereinto, and ſuffered to run through, it would forthwith loſe the naturall ſaltneſſe, and become freſh and verie pleaſant vnto the mouth and taſt. We heare in theſe daies that this ſtone is to be ſéene in Faſt caſtell, whither it was brought after it had paſſed manie hands for the triall of this matter. In this firth alſo is the Ile Aimon, wherein is an abbeie. There are likewiſe diuers other Ilands, and thoſe are verie full of conies; and in the ſaid firth are ſundrie fiſhes oftentimes ſeene of monſtrous ſhape, with cowles hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the reſt reſembling the bodie of man. They ſhew themſelues likewiſe aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but againſt ſome great peſtilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie ſight doth bréed great terror vnto the Scotiſh nation, who are verie great obſeruers of vncouth ſignes & tokens.

## The deſcription of Louthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bougewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, caſtels, and floods thereof.

## The ſeuenth Chapter.

On the ſouth of the Forth lieth Louthian, ſo called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Picts, it was ſometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scotiſh kingdome, & therefore for bountie of ſoile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, caſtels and townes, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Northberwike and Leith: but Edenburgh palleth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wiſedome, and riches of the inhabitants: therein alſo is the caſtell of Maidens, remembred by the moſt renowned authors, & alſo the kings chiefe palace, the which triumpleth the renowme of the foreſaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oilie ſpring, which riſeth out of the ground in ſuch abundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is reſtored: and the people are perſuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable againſt all cankers and ſcalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the caſtell of Dunbar, which by naturall ſituation and induſtrie of man, is now become one of the cheefe holds in Albion. It was ſometimes the principall houſe apperteining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the ſame name, wherin is a rich abbeie or colledge of canons founded by thoſe earles. Next vnto Louthian lieth Mers, whereof I haue ſpoken alreadie, but we will now go vp higher into the land. Neereſt vnto Mers therefore lieth Teuidale, and aboue it is Tiuedale: next vnto Tiuedale is Annandale, Walcopdale, Douglaſſedale, and Cliddiſdale, and all theſe are ſuch names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddiſdale is Glaſco the archbiſhops ſée, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of ſaint Mongow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glaſco alſo is a noble vniuerſitie, where the liberall arts and ſciences are verie zelouſlie taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with ſmall trauell. There are ſometimes found diuers pretious ſtones alſo, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was diſcloſed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the common wealth, bicauſe it is either vtterlie neglected, or not verie much regarded. North of Glaſco lieth Menteith, and Striueling ſhire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennox. In Striueling ſhire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the caſtell of Striueling, which was ſometime called the doloreus mounteine. At this towne alſo began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Menteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his firſt table.

In this wood were ſomtime white buls with ſhackt heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwiſe they were like vnto the tame, neuertheleſſe ſo wild and ſauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor taſt of any hearbe or graſſe that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken alſo by the induſtrie of man (which was very hard to do) they would refuſe all ſuſtenance, & ſtarue themſelues to death. Aſſone as any did inuade them, they would ruſh vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any maner of engine.

It is ſaid that Robert Bruze after his coronation did hunt one of theſe buls in the foreſaid wood, being accompanied but with a ſmall traine, in which voiage he eſcaped narrowlie with his life. For after the beaſt felt himſelfe ſore wounded by the hunters, he ruſhed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand wherewith to defend himſelfe, he had ſuerlie periſhed if reſcue had not come: howbeit in this diſtreſſe one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act alſo the king indued the aforeſaid partie with great poſſeſſions, and his linage is to this date called of the Turnebuls, bicauſe he ouerturned the beaſt, and ſaued the kings life, by ſuch great proweſſe and manhood. Certes the fleſh of theſe beaſts were reputed in old time as a moſt delicate

licate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinewes and gristles, whereat some delicat feders do often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Menteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also vpon Fife. Through the vallies likewise of this region runneth the water of Ern, that falleth into Tay. This is moreouer worthie to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Ern and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place soeuer it be laid, it will not be remoued from thence by manuall practise, art, or engine, & yet one man may so soone moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Gowray lieth Stermond, a region plentifullie indued both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Stermond is Athole, wherein are manie noble vallies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose feelds are so plentious, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yeeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Howbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat soone into good and perfect rie, the like whereof I heare to be not far from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Boene lieth Boggewell and Gareoth, very plentifull soiles both for grasse and corne. In Gareoth also is an hill called Downore, that is to saie, the golden mounteine: for the sheepe that feed thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreouer is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their woll much after the same maner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng togither in maner of a crown which yeeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scotish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Manie other regions are in Scotland, as Braadalbane, Strabraun, and Badzenoth, with diuers small territories and floods, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue alreadie touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

## Of the great plentie of hares, red deer, *and other wilde beasts in Scotland*, of the strange properties of sundrie *Scotish dogs, and of* the nature of *salmon.*

### *The eight Chapter.*

HAuing made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concearne the same in generall. First of all therfore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red deere, fallow deere, roes, wild horses, wolues and fores. These horses are not gotten but by great slight and policie: for in the winter season the inhabitants turne certeine tame horses & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finallie home into their maisters yards, where they be taken and soone broken to their hands. The wolues are most fierce and noisome to the heards and flocks in all parts of Scotland, sauing in one parcell of Angus, called Glenmors dale, where these beasts do no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but preie onlie vpon the wild.

Fores do much mischeefe generallie in all steads, but cheeflie in the mounteines, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath deuised a meane to preuent their malice, and to preserue their pultrie. Certes there is almost no house that doth not for certeine daies cherish vp a yong for, which the Scots do call a Todde, and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they giue vnto their foules and other little beastials, and by this meanes so many foules and cattell as eate heerof are preserued from danger of the for, almost by two moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the fores as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellowes yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but eschew, and know such a one, although it were among an hundreth of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous condition; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are three sorts with vs, which are not seene else-where in anie quarter of the world. The first is an hound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruell vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against theeues that offer their maisters any violence. The second is a rach or hound verie exquisite in following the fot, (which we call drawing) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any maner of foule, and find out whatsoeuer fish is cast vp, or lurketh among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a theefe, or theefe stolen goods in most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raise vpon him. Or if it be so that he haue taken the water for his safegard, he shrinketh not to follow him, and entring and issuing at the same places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceasseth to range till he haue nosed his suting, & be come to the place wherein the theefe is shrowded. The dogs of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this report would seeme meere incredible, except it were dailie had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is good purchase indifferentlie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth entrance or sute of a sleuthhound in pursuit made after fellons and stolen goods, shall be holden as accessarie vnto the theft, or taken for the selfe theefe.

Of foules, such (I meane) as liue by preie, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, gosshaukes, sparrowhaukes, marlions, and such like: but of water foules there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is no where else to be seene, as the capercailze or wild horsse greater in bodie than the rauen, and liuing onelie by the rinds and barks of the pine trees. We haue in like maner manie more cocks and hens, the which abstaining from corne, do feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of Cytisus, which the Scots do commonlie call Yadder.

These

Theſe two are verie delicate in eating. The third ſort is reddiſh blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the phesant, and no leſſe delicious in taſte and ſauor at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe ſuſtenance is by wheat.

Beſide theſe, we haue alſo another foule in Mers more ſtrange and vncouth than all theſe afore mentioned, called a guſtard, fullie ſo great as a ſwan, but in colour of feathers and taſt of fleſh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit theſe birds are not verie common, neither to be ſéene in all places, ſuch alſo is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their egs to haue béene touched in their abſence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forſake thoſe neſts, and laie in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentifull in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and bicauſe the nature of this fiſh is ſtrange, I will ſet downe ſo much as I do know hereof at this preſent time as followeth.

The ſamon in harueſt time commeth vp into the ſmall riuers, where the water is moſt ſhallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one againſt another, they ſhed their ſpawne, which forthwith they couer with ſand and grauell and ſo depart away. From henceforth they are gant and ſlender, and in appearance ſo leane that they appeare nought elſe but ſkin and bone, and therefore worthilie ſaid to be growne out of vſe and ſeaſon. It is ſaid alſo that if they touch anie of their full fellowes, during the time of this their leanneſſe, the ſame ſide which they touched will likewiſe become leane, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that a ſamon is oft ſeene to be fat on the one ſide of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the aforeſaid ſpawne and milt being hidden in the ſand (as you haue heard) in the nert ſpring doth yéeld great number of little frie, but ſo neſh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be ſo great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you ſhall perceiue them to melt, and their ſubſtance to diſſolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yſe laid forth againſt the ſun. From henceforth they go to the ſea, where within the ſpace of 20 daies they growe to a maruellous greatneſſe, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they ſhew a notable ſpectacle not vnworthie to be conſidered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie linnes or poles, which being in ſome places among the rocks verie ſhallow aboue, are yet déepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the ſamon not able to pearſe through the chanell, either for ſwiftneſſe of the courſe, or depth of the deſcent of ſuch water as commeth againſt him, he goeth ſo neere vnto the ſide of the rocke or dam, if I may ſo call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the firſt he obteineth his deſire, if not, he aſſaieth the ſecond or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fiſh able to ſwim againſt the ſtreame, that before was a little hod, and maugre his reſiſtance, caried with the violent courſe of the water into the maine ocean. Such as aſſay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do bruſe themſelues and become meaſelled: others that happen to fall vpon drie land, a thing often ſeene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they ſet vpon the ſhallow & drie plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fatteſt, & ſuch as by reaſon of their weight do oftneſt leape ſhort. Certes the taſt of theſe is reputed to be moſt delicate, and therfore their price is commonlie greater than of the reſt. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any ſamon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of Nouember. Finallie there is no man that knoweth readilie whereon this fiſh liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke ſlimie humor.

## Of the ſundrie kinds of muskles and *cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten* in the ſame: of the vncouth and ſtrange *fiſh there to be ſeene, and of the na*ture of the herbe Cititus, com*monlie called Hadder.*

## *The ninth Chapter.*

HEre it reſteth that I ſhew the nature of muſkles and cockles, wherof we haue manie and ſundrie kinds among vs: of theſe alſo ſome are ſmall, and yet if they be eaten freſh, are not without a naturall delicacie in taſt. Others are greater and not vnlike in forme and quantitie to thoſe that haue the purple: and albeit that they are vtterlie void therof, yet is their meat and ſubſtance right pleaſant in the eating. There are of another ſort which are longer and greater than either of theſe, called Horſſe muſkles, to be had in Dee and Done, and in theſe are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be reſident in the déepeſt and cleareſt waters that are void of mud and filth, and ſuch is their eſtimation among the deintieſt kinds of food, that they were not vnworthilie called of old time, widowes luſtes. Their ſhelles alſo is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of ſpots, wherein (as in yéeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. Theſe earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their vpper ſhelles and mouthes a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleaſant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the meaſure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they firſt conceiue, then ſwell, and finallie product the pearle.

Cardane denieth this, lib 7. de Subtilitate.

They are ſo ſenſible and quicke of hearing, that although you ſtanding on the braie or banke aboue them, do ſpeake neuer ſo ſoftlie, or throw neuer ſo ſmall a ſtone into the water, yet they will deſcrie you, and ſettle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtleſſe they haue as it were a naturall carefulneſſe of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great eſtimation we mortall men make of the ſame amongſt vs, and therefore ſo ſone as the fiſhermen do catch them, they bind their ſhelles togither, for otherwiſe they would open and ſhed their pearles of purpoſe, for which they know themſelues to be purſued. Their maner of apprehenſion is this, firſt foure or fiue perſons go into the riuer togither, vp vnto the ſhoulders, and there ſtand in a compaſſe one by another with poles in their hands whereby they reſt more ſuerlie, ſith they fix them in the ground, and ſtaie with one hand vpon them: then caſting their eies downe to the bottome of the water, they eſpie where they lie by their ſhining and cléereneſſe, and with their toes take them vp (for the deapth of the water will not ſuffer them to ſtoope for them) & giue them to ſuch as ſtand next them.

The perls that are ſo gotten in Scotland, are not of ſmall value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and ſometimes of the quantitie of the naile of ones little finger, as I haue had and ſéene by mine owne experience. Almoſt ſuch another muſkle found on the coaſt of Spaine, the ſhels whereof are gathered by ſuch as go in pilgrimage to ſaint Iames, and brought into Scotland, but they are

without pearls, because they liue in salt water, which is an enimie to the margarite: but Cardane also denieth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many uncouth and strange shapes of fish likewise are seene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard skales, and diuers round as a ball skinned like an vrcheon or hedghog, hauing but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To shew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, sith the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish vpon our seuerall coasts, that although millians and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yestersang: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and corne is seene in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an hearbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bées especiallie. This herbe in June yéeldeth a purple floure, swéet as honie, whereof the Picts in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholsome for the bodie: but forsomuch as the maner of making hereof is perished in the hauocke made of the Picts, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finallie there is no part of Scotland so barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be proued easilie throughout all the Iles that are annexed to the same.

Galen. lib. 1. de Antidotis saieth that Cytisus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth Plinie lib. 12. cap. 3. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 16. chap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompteth it amõg trées.

## Of the Iles of Scotland, and such *notable things as are to be* found in them.

## *The tenth Chapter.*

BEing fallen at the last into mention of our Iles, I will addresse my selfe to describe the same, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are fortie and three Iles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eubonix, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was somtime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Cæsar in his commentaries, and other Romane writers do testifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwise named Botha after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Rothesay, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Ile is Ailsay, where there is such store of Iseland géese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their seuerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Ila, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Nouant cliffe (in Scotish the tong of Lorne) within sight of Lochquhabrie. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Pula, fullie so large as Ila, both for length and breadth. In Pula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little broke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Neere vnto this is Iona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbie, wherin the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolme Cammor, who erected the monasterie of Dunfermelin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue béene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the northnorthwest seas, ouer against Rosse is an Ile named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Ile is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade through the same at the spring of the yeere, there shall no samon be séene there for a twelue month after, whereas otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Sky and the Rona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of seale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be séene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and vttermost Ile is named Hirtha, where the elevation of the pole is 63 degrées, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the first Ile of Albion, to Hirtha the last Ile hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degrée, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirtha, which in Irish soundeth so much as a sheepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue side tailes that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euerie part with rochie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, do watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest commeth vnto them out of Lewisa, and ministreth the sacrament of baptisme to all the children that haue béene borne there since that moneth in the yeare precedent: which being done, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiueth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two churches or chappels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The fame is, that so soone as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there laieth a wisp of straw, which being done they fall all to prater, in the middest whereof fire commeth downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Ile, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certeine kind of beasts like vnto sheepe, whose nature and forme I haue alreadie touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for haste and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Iles also is a right dangerous passage, sith the sea by working of opposite streames hath ingendred a gulfe, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes casteth it forth againe, by meanes whereof many ships

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that by rage of wind and weather are inforced to come that waie, are either swallowed vp by the waues, or throwne against the rocks to their vtter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Corebrecke, where it will either sinke, or at the least wise draw any ship vnto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

## Of the nature of the Claike geese, *and sundrie maners of their pro-* creation, and of the Ile *of Thule.*

## *The eleuenth Chapter.*

NOw it is come to hand that I intreat of those géese which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto béen thought to haue beene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet sith their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little trauelled, and with no small diligence indeuoured to search out the truth hereof, wherby I learne that their ingendrure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elsewhere, as shall appéere hereafter. All trées cast into that element in processe of time become wormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be afterward) to be perceiued at the first. In the beginning, these worms dow shew their heads and féet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finallie when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of géese, they flie in the aire as other foules dow.

This was notablie proued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Pellego, whither the bodie of a great trée was brought by working of the sea. This trée being taken, it was carried to the lord of the soile, who sone after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to sée, what a multitude at wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeered as if they had béene but new shapen, diuers had head, foot and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect foules. At last when the people had gazed theron by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrewes church beside Tire, where the said blocke remains still to be séene. Within two yeres after there hapned such another trée to come into the firth of Tay beside Dundée, wormeaten and full of yong géese after the same maner: the third was séene in the hauen of Leith beside Edenburgh: and also within a few yéeres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien three yéeres at anchor in one of these Iles, was brought to Leith, where bicause hir timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in hir kéele were found infinite holes as if they had beene eaten with wormes, or bored with a wimble, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Héere if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onelie as grew in these Iles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption dow turne into these foules, I will disproue his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eies. Maister Alexander Galloway parson of Kinkell, was with vs in these Iles, & giuing his mind with attentiue diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he tooke vp a branch of Alga, called in Scotish, Seatangle, which hanged full of muskle shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to sée what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacitie of the shell.

Finallie, knowing that I was verie inquisitiue of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hastilie with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beléeue that these Claiks (or Barnacls as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trées or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productrix of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, bicause the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trées, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into géese, they beléeued that these géese grew vpon trées, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit dow by their stalks, but their opinion is vtterlie to be reiected. For so sone as these apples or fruit fall from the trée into the sea, they grow first to be wormeaten, and in processe of time to be conuerted into géese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Iles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not vnknowne vnto the Romans, as may appeare by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Iland of Britaine, and at their returne reported how they had séene the Thule, with other Ilands lieng about the same. Ptolome writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Iles, which lie néere vnto Norwey, and beyond the Orchades; but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other write that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Artike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, liue onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

## Of the description of Orkeney, and *Shetland, with sundrie other small Iles,* and of the maners and conditions of the *people dwelling in the same.*

## *The twelfe Chapter.*

BEyond the Iles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the north-west, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Pomonia, wherein is a bishops sée, and two strong castels. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venemous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue anie

while, more than in Ireland, which sustaineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind. Ouer and beside this, there are no frogs: as for eeles they are seldome found and to be seene in the Orchades. Hauing thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities apperteine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in bookes.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or pole there, neere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof doth within one yeeres space alter and change exceedinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element reteining hir former woddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, three distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre exceedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Orchades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be rehersed, for sith there is great abundance of barley whereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke seene there, neither anie fole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madnes. There is hereunto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreame age in sound and perfect health, whose bodies also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Ilands haue for the most part two or three lambs a peece at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their horsses are little greter than the French asses, but in their labour they exceed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one sort greater than anie horsse, of a maruellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fish when shee prouideth to sleepe, fastneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espieng, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conuicie themselues to the fish, and bore a great hole through hir taile, whereunto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprise attempted yer long to be atchiued. For after this wound, it is not long yer the fish awaketh, who feeling hirselfe to be hurt, leapeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shrowd hir in the deepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and indeuouring in vaine to breake the cable, she laboureth so vehementlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and soone after also turneth vp hir bellie, yeelding hirselfe vnto the waues, and hir bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent oile of hir grease, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they exceed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orchades are the Shetland Iles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dried in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Ilands great store of sheepes felles, ore hides, gotes skinnes, and cases of martirnes dried in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zeland and Germanie, fetch them yeerelie by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orchanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Orchanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of strong ale, content themselues with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Ilands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of flesh to feed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through stiffe, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaues, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselues in such maner with this their poore kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or keepe his house in winter. They are void of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or forren warres, as men that deeme firme peace and quietnesse, with mutuall loue and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power doth shew his whole indeuour. This finallie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischeefe, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yeere there commeth a priest vnto them from Orkeney, (of which diocesse they are) who ministreth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certeine time (hauing taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fish, which is their sole increase, and verie truelie paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbred as parcels of worldlie riches and renowme, they are not without these also: for the people of these Iles are lustie, faire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and greeuous infirmities? For here among these men, you shall very seldome heare of sickenesse to attach anie, vntill extreame age come that killeth them altogither, and this is that exceeding benefit naturallie appropried vnto their carcases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, & vnchangeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldlie treasure.

Hereunto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for ech one not to couet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and fortunate than the Shetland men and these Ilanders? Finallie, if those be the true honors, and reuerend duties which the obedient sonne with great sinceritie and void of all flatterie, doth shew vnto his good parents, and therewithall the best sort do maruellous-

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lie reſoſſe and delite themſelues: and that theſe are alſo not wanting in theſe regions, can we iuſtlie ſay that theſe men do lacke anie thing, or ſhall we not rather affirme with great aſſurance, that they rather ſtand in need of nothing that anie mortall man can iuſtlie wiſh or deſire?

But if there be anie man that will accuſe me of vntruth in the recitall of theſe things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for ſo much as I my ſelfe was neuer in thoſe Ilands, he ſhall vnderſtand that I learned all theſe things of the reuerend father Edward biſhop of the Orchades, with whome one of theſe Ilanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearſall of theſe things with his owne mouth, but alſo verified the ſame in his owne perſon, for his height far paſſed the common ſtature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his limbs, ſo white of ſkin ouer all, that he might contend in beautie with anie ladie of the land, and finallie ſo white and ſtrong of bodie, that no man in all thoſe quarters durſt run or wreſtle with him. Hereby alſo we may ſee, how far they are deceiued which iudge them to be barbarous, and miſerable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happie than thoſe that dwell in theſe quarters, as I haue proued alreadie.

See Matthiolus vpon the firſt booke of Dioſcorides capite de populo alba & nigra.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of theſe Iles groweth the delectable amber, called *Electrum, Chryſolectrum*, or (as Diſcorides ſaith) *Pterygophoron*, indued with ſo behement an attractiue force, that being chafed it draweth ſtraw, flor, and other like light matter vnto it. This gum is ingendred of the ſea froth, which is throwen vp by continuall repercuſſion of crags and rocks againſt the ſea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the laſt from the rocke againe into the ſea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whileſt it hangeth on the rocke, affirme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all maſſie ſadneſſe, becauſe that as yet it is not ſufficientlie hardened by the working of the element.

Iſga. Sometimes the Seatangle is found inuironed alſo withall, becauſe it is driuen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and ſo long as it fleets to and fro in this maner, ſo long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie ſo big as anie horſſe, which the heardmen that kept their cattell neere hand caught vp, & not knowing in deed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finallie, perceiuing a ſweet and delectable ſauour to proceed from the ſame, they ran by & by to the prieſt of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of ſtuffe which would ſerue verie well in ſtead of frankincenſe, wherewith to perfume his ſaints or rather Idols in the church. Theſe men ſuppoſed that ſir Iohn had beene more cunning than themſelues, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no leſſe vnſkilfull & void of knowlege than they; and therefore refuſing the whole lumpe, he toke but a ſmall portion thereof, and returned the reſt vnto them, whereby it came to little profe and leſſe gaine among the common ſort, who ſuffered it to periſh by reaſon of their vnſkilfulneſſe. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it reſembled in color vnto the pureſt gold, & ſhined as if it had beene the laie or flame of a candle. Herein alſo the prouerbe was proued true, that the ſow recks not of balme. But ſo ſoone as I vnderſtood of the matter, I vſed ſuch diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to me at Aberden. And thus much of the *Hebrides, Orchades*, and Shetland Iles ſubiect vnto the Scotiſh regiment.

I might (no doubt) haue made reherſall of diuers other ſtrange things worthie the noting in this behalfe: but I haue made choiſe onelie of the moſt rare and excellent, and ſo would finiſh this deſcription, were it not that one thing hath ſtaied me right pleaſant to be remembred, as an vncouth & ſtrange incident, whereof maiſter Iames Dgilbie ambaſſadour from Iames our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and whereof he had experience of late, at ſuch time as he was conſtreined by tempeſt of wether to get to land in Norweie. Thus ſtandeth the caſe, being driuen (as I ſaid) vpon the ſhore of Norweie, he and his companie ſaw a kind of people ranging vp & downe in the mounteins there, much like vnto thoſe which diuers pictures giue forth for wild men, hearie and vglie to behold. In the end being aduertiſed that they were ſauage and wild beaſts; yet neuertheleſſe deadlie enimies to mankind: they vnderſtood therevnto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the light of man, yet in the night they would by great companies inuade the ſmall villages & countrie townes, killing and fleaing ſo manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes ſuch is their nature, that they ſtand in great feare of dogs, at whoſe barking and ſight they flie and run away with no ſmall haſt and terror, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced to cheriſh great numbers of the ſaid beaſts, thereby to keepe off thoſe wild men that otherwiſe would annoy them. They are moreouer of ſuch ſtrength, that ſometimes they pull vp yong trees by the roots to fight withall among themſelues. The ambaſſadours ſeeing theſe vncouth creatures, were not a little aſtoniſhed, and therefore to be ſure from all inuaſion, procured a ſtrong gard to watch all night about them, with great fiers to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they toke the ſea, and ſo departed thence. Finallie, the Norwegians ſhewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the ſummer time in the ſea like fiſh, & fed of ſuch as they did catch, but in the winter half (becauſe the water is cold) they preied vpon ſuch wild beaſts as fed on the mounteins, which comming downe from the ſnowie hils to graſe in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their caues. In this exerciſe alſo they tie little boords to their feet, which beare them vp from ſinking into the ſnow, and ſo with a ſtaffe in their hands they make the better ſhift to clime vp and come downe from the crags & mounteins, whereof in that region there is verie great plentie and abundance.

## Of the maners of the Scots in theſe *daies, and their compariſon with the* behauiour of the old, and ſuch as liued *long ſince within this* Iland.

### *The xiij. Chapter.*

FOrſomuch as diuers noble men haue deſired me to ſhew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my hiſtorie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in theſe preſent daies are different in their maners and behaui-

behauiour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe alreadie that the reuealing of these things will procure vnto me the hatred of sundrie worthie or renowmed personages (of which few will yéeld to heare their doings touched or their errours reproued) yet because I owe such duetie and seruice vnto those that haue made this request vnto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken vnto them in this behalfe; I haue condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable vnto all the readers, but especiallie such as are not immoderatlie giuen ouer vnto their owne affections, nor so wholie drowned in their owne sensualitie and pleasures, but vpon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoeuer offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vsages haue béene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisedome and industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such and so manie mightie aduersaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which haue entered into this Iland with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much breuitie as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugalitie and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaie. And finallie how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicat negligence rather than by our owne prowesse, we liue in securitie, and thereby as it were ouerwhelmed and wrapped vp in all auarice and excesse, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prowesse doth maruellouslie impell vs.

Certes I beléeue that by this meanes such as are of the more couragious sort (& yet reteining a sauour of the temperancie of their elders) will reioise to heare their manhood & great prowesse commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sect (in servile maner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excesse and riot) séeing their errors iustlie reprehended, and the dishonor gotten thereby openlie reuealed, will the rather addresse themselues to reformation of their estate, thereby to recouer the ancient renowme of their forefathers, in answering to their prowesse, than proue a reproch vnto their successours, through their lewd behauiours neuer to be forgiuen. This I protest before all men, that whatsoeuer I shall speake of the euill maners of our times, I do not meane it vnto all, but those onlie whome blind selfe-loue, couetousnes, intemperancie, excesse and abuse of all Gods good gifts haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatise. Therefore if anie man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmitie, by séeking reuenge on other men, but rather indeuour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdemeanors, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheless in conuersation & behauiour verie temperat, which is the founteine & originall of all vertues. In sléepe they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was readie at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readilie on the ground, without all maner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked vp as it came from the mill without anie such curiositie, which is a great abasing of the force thereof vnto our dailie nourishment. The flesh whereon they chiefelie fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they take great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame cattell as they bred vp at home, whereof béefe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other maner and far discrepant from the vse and custome of other countries. The stirkes or yong béefets vngelded, we either kill yong for veale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterward for tillage in earing vp of the ground, but the cowcalfes and heifers are neuer killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie or somuch for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands late often waste and vntilled, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet vntill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer ouercharged, nor their bones desirous of rest through the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they vsed a kind of Aquauite void of all spice, and onelie consisting of such herbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were inforced to lie in campe, they contented themselues with water as rediest for their turnes. Ech souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a daie which he made vp in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes vsed to do, and the emperour Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie flesh in their tents, except they got it from their aduersaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the iuice thereof so vsed to nourish verie abundantlie. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especiallie when they wanted their vsuall preies, or could not atteine vnto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, cheese, meale, milke, and vineger tempered togither as a shot-anchor against extreme hunger, on which they would féed and sucke out the moisture, when other prouision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoeuer they had entred into league and amitie with their enimies, they would not liue in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselues in their former actiuitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatlie estéemed amongest our ancestors) or with running from the hilles vnto the vallies, or from the vallies vnto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of passims whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwaies shauen after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of heare onelie left on their forparts, and neuer couered, except when they were troubled with sickenesse, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was séene to be bald and heareles. They went also barefoted, or if they had anie shoes, they diped them first in the water yer they did put them on, especiallie in winter when sharpest weather shewed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their feet (which were well hardned in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to sustéine great labor and dailie trauell.

Their apparrell was not made for brauerie and pompe, but as should séeme best to couer their bodies,

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and serue their appointed vses, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or woollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of hempe, clokes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare floore or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancie to eschew ease, and practise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intollerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindlie fostered, except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the blood of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselues, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but trauelled barefoted, and in time of warres the men had their cariages and victuals trussed behind them on their horsses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusall of anie labour inioined vnto them by their capteins.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horsse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was doone to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadlie fude conceiued in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most couragious gentleman would soonest desire to be placed in the fore ward, where his vassalage or seruice & manhood should readiest be seene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselues, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendlie to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it happened that their capteine was beset with extreme perill, or peraduenture some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenlie rush in through the thickest of their enimies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogither lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerliue their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceassed had killed enimies before time in the field. If anie souldier had beene found in the field without his flint and tinder box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then vsed they light armour for the most part, he was terriblie scourged: but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an exile; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his capteine, was slaine whersoeuer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bowe, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a buckler, but afterward heauier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & wiues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so soone as the armie did set forward, they slue the first liuing creature that they found, in whose blood they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted therof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had alreadie beene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne blood run from them in the fight, they waxed neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egernesse they assailed their enimies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by meere manhood, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldior) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectuous generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some od place far off from the companie of men, where if she afterward happened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, drunkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie giuen to perke, so in daies of peace our countriemen that offended, were oft seuerelie punished and with inconuenient rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excesse should hardlie be restreined but by extreame seueritie: such also was their nature, that so soone as they knew themselues guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the pères and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentlie intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in priuate bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his owne, that they will yéeld the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surplusage aboue the bare couenant, they will breake off and not go forwards with the bargaine.

They vsed at the first the rites and maners of the Aegyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they vsed not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with ciphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their tombes and sepulchers remaining amongst vs do hitherto declare. Neuerthelesse in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what meanes) is perished and lost, and yet they haue certeine letters proper vnto themselues, which were somtime in common vse: but among such as reteine the ancient speach, they haue their aspirations, dipthongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in vse withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets; they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out therein by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods

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are turned into the said language, are giuen by tradition from their elders, they chéeflie excell in phy-
sicke, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such hearbs as grow in those quarters, do heale all maner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & vnfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all maner of necessaries for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Neuerthelesse our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saxon tong through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne maners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is vtterlie left among vs, that inhabit neere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins reteine still their ancient spéech and letters, and almost all their old rites, wherevnto in time past their forefathers haue béene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be séene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of oziers and couered with hull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it pleaseth them.

But we will now leaue the maners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countriemen. In processe of time therefore, and chéeflie about the daies of Malcolme Cammor, our maners began greatlie to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to wax idle and slouthfull, and thereupon driuen out of their countrie into Wales by their enimies the Saxons, we began to haue alliance (by proximitie of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Picts, and through our dailie trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their maners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said alreadie. Hereby shortlie after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthie of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certeine idle desire of our former renowme did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English maner, it fell out per long, that whereas he in times past was accompted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went loaden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fired all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Thanes, so much in Latine as *Quæstores regij*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swarued from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beléeue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vtterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to dooughtinesse, we applie our selues to drunkennes: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excesse with superfluitie: they were temperate, we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and thereto hath no péere if he can once find the veine, though with his great trauell to puruey himself of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to sée, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & powre in, till our bellies be so full that we must néeds depart. Certes it is not supposed méet that we should now content our selues with breakefast and supper onelie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforsaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and reare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, sith almost the whole daie and night do scarselie suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie perteine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forrests for venison, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines do now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Créece: nay Affrike is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for swéet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poison and destruction vnto their countriemen, as if the mind were not alreadie sufficientlie bereft of hir image of the diuinitie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which alreadie dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor kéepe him selfe vpright, but must néeds yeeld as ouercome, and to be torne in péeces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Hereof also it commeth to passe, that our countrimen trauelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vsage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts do burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause whereof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenlie, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recouer for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried alreadie.

Our youth also following these vnhappie steps of their parents, giue themselues wholie to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherevnto they applie themselues as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in heauie armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatnesse,

neſſe which choketh vp their vitall forces, neither be able to performe anie thing at all in comparison of the ſouereigne manhood and prowesse of their elders. So ſone also as they returne home, bicause their poſſeſſions are not otherwise able to nourish them vp in pleasure and pampering of their maws, they muſt fall to couetous and greedie practiſes, therby to inrich themſelues, or elſe proue ſtrong theeues, or finally ſowers of diſſention and diſcord among the noble men, thereby to preie ſome commoditie.

Certes theſe and other vices following them neceſſarilie, proceed generallie from none other fountaine than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would refraine, there is no region vnder the ſunne that would proue more wholſome, leſſe ſubiect to peſtilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the ſuſtentation of hir people. Certes I deſpaire not of the redreſſe of theſe things, but ſtill hope that in ſhort time theſe corrupt maners of my countriemen will be turned into better frame. We are not yet become impudent, neither altogither haue caſt off vnſhamefaſtneſſe, ſith that in a great manie ſome remainder of our ancient ſobernesſe and manhood doth yet appeare, and thereto newonesſe of life with feruent deuotion increaſe euerie day, through the working of the zeale of our chriſtian religion in vs.

This alſo will I adde, without offenſe vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more ſtedfaſt to my knowledge in the chriſtian faith, nor more conſtant in their faithfull promiſes, than the Scots haue béene ſince their firſt beginning: and for a concluſion I will ſay more, not onelie for their praiſe, but alſo in exhorting them vnto perſeuerance, that as our people now liuing do paſſe their anceſtors in ſumptuous and curious attire, ſo they are more neat and fine in their houſes, better giuen to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them alſo to returne to their former frugalitie, and that with ſpéed, Amen.

¶ Hitherto haue I tranſlated Hectors deſcription of Scotland out of the Scotiſh into the Engliſh tong, being not a little aided therein by the Latine, from whence ſometime the tranſlator ſwarueth not a little, as I haue done alſo from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering ſuch ſenſe out of both, as moſt did ſtand with my purpoſed breuitie. Now will I ſet downe the deſcription of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to write more at this preſent, but for euer hereafter of anie hiſtoricall matters, ſith I ſée that this honeſt kind of recreation is denied me, and all time ſpent about the ſame in theſe daies vtterly condemned, as vaine and ſauouring of negligence, and heathenish impietie.

## The deſcription of an ancient Pict.

### *The 14. Chapter.*

THe Pict (ſaith Herodian) hath generallie no vſe in apparell, howbeit the nobler ſort of them do wrap their heads and wombs in hoops of iron, which they take for great brauerie, eſteeming this kind of attire, in ſuch as weare the ſame, to be a token of wealth and riches, and ſo great an ornament, as if they had worne gold or any coſtlie iewels. Beſide this, and the ſhauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beaſts, ſo that he was the gaieſt man that had his ſkin moſt diſguiſed in this maner. Certes none of them regarded to weare anie apparell, bicauſe they eſteemed it a great glorie to haue theſe paintings ſeene. In warres they were bold, and deſirous to ſhed blood, contenting themſelues (inſtéed of other armor) with a ſhort lance, and narrow target or buckler, their ſwords were tied to their naked ſides with a thong, and as for iacke, ſhirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, bicauſe they would trouble them in ſwimming, or otherwiſe at a pinch, when they ſhould be compelled to wade.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countrie, diuideth it with Herodian into the Caledons & Peats, ſaieng that the ſaid countrie is verie ſauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreouer (ſaith he) by hunting and preie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trées: and albeit that they haue exceéding plentie of fiſh, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without ſhoes on their féet, their wiues are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to ſteale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and ſwift horſſes, which run alſo verie ſwiftlie, & ſtand at their féet with like ſtedfaſtneſſe. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of braſſe, in each is a little péece or two of iron, which ratleth when they ſhake it, and maketh a ſtrange noiſe where manie of them are togither. They haue alſo narrow daggers, but cheéflie they can ſuſteine hunger and cold beſt of all men, and likewiſe ſore labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will ſit in the mariſhes vp to the chins by manie daies togither. In the woods they féed on roots or barkes of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but ſo much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirſt in a long time after. And thus much of the Peats (which were the néereſt vs) and the Caledons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Cęſarienſis, whereof let this ſuffice.

## The number of biſhops in *Scotland.*

### *The xv Chapter.*

THe archbiſhoprik of S. Andrewes
Glaſco
Dunfalden
Dunblanen
Aberden
Brechen
Moraule
Ros
Whitherne
Cathnes
Argadie
Orkenie
Ymor one of the Iles which are exempt and perteine vnto the pope.

Vniuerſities.
S. Andrews
Aberden
Glaſco.

Dukedomes.
Rothſay
Albanie.

Earledomes.
Cathnes
Sotherland
Roſſe
Moraule
Buchquhan
Garuiach
Garmoran
Mar
Mernis
Angus
Gowri
Fiffe
Marche
Athole
Stratherne
Menteth
Leucnor
Wigton
Douglaſſe
Carrike
Crawford
Annandale
Murmonth
Huntley.

Viſcounties.
Berwike alias north Berwike
Rorborow
Selkirke
Tiwedale
Dunfriſe
Middiſdale
Wigton
Are
Lanarke
Dumbritten
Sterueling
Louthian
Clakmanan
Kinros
Fiffe
Perth
Angus
Mernis
Aberden
Bamph
Fores
Innernes.

FINIS.

1585

# THE

## Hiſtorie of Scotland,

conteining the beginning, in-
*creaſe, proceedings, continuance,*
acts and gouernement of the Scotiſh
*nation, from the originall thereof*
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and
*written in Engliſh by Raphaell*
Hollinſhead: and continued
from 1571, to 1585, by
others:

With a table of the principall
*particularities herein*
conteined.

*M. Pal. in Ari.*

Hiſtoriæ placeant noſtrates ac
peregrinæ.

*Cum priuilegio Regiæ*
*Maieſtatis.*

# To the Right Honorable the Lord Robert Dudley, Earle of Leiceſter, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the moſt noble order *of the Garter, Maiſter of the Queenes* Maieſties horſſe, and one of *hir Highneſſe priuie* Councell.

*I may ſeeme (Right Honorable) a great preſumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scotiſh hiſtorie, and other of diuers regions, conſidering ſo many ſufficient men as liue in theſe daies, farre more able to performe the ſame. But where at the motion of a ſpeciall friend, I vndertooke to deale therein, more vpon truſt of his promiſed aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleaſed GOD to call him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to anſwer the expectation of his friends, and truſt which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accompliſh part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wiſhed deſire, by reaſon of ſuch wants as had beene ſupplied if he had liued to haue ſeene it publiſhed himſelfe.*

*It reſteth (right noble Earle) that it may pleaſe your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this hiſtorie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as elſe-where in ſeruice of two kings of moſt famous memorie,* Henrie the eight & Edward the ſixt, *ſounding ſo greatlie to his renowme, as the ſame cannot paſſe in ſilence, whileſt any remembrance of thoſe two moſt peereleſſe princes ſhall remaine in written hiſtories. I therefore moſt humblie beſeech your Honor, to beare with my boldneſſe in preſenting*

*ting you with so meane a gift, proceeding from one, although vnknowen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, mouing you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.*

*But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, aswell this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scotish histories, I most humblie beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and fauorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preserue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisedome, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.*

**Your Honors most humble to be commanded** *Raphaell Hollinshed.*

# THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.

THe Scotish men, according to the maner of other nations, esteeming it a glorie to fetch their begining of great ancientie, say that their originall descent cam frō the Gréeks and Aegyptians: for there was (as the old Scotish historiographers haue left in writing) a certeine noble man among the Gréeks, named Gathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Nealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Gathelus plaieng in his youth manie wild and vnrulie parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achaia, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdaining their correction and wholsome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got togither a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had vsed the like trade of liuing, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and comming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharao Ozus as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most gladsome wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great stead in those warres, which the Aegyptians held at that time with the Aethiopians that had inuaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Gathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopians, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosen thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obteined the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefest and principall citie which stood in the Ile Meroe.

Gathelus.

Gathelus giuen to will and pleasure.

Gathelus went into Aegypt, Anno mundi 2416.

Gathelus was interteined of Pharao.

Gathelus went against the enimies.

Moses capteine generall vnder Pharao. Ios. lib. 2. cap. 7.

For such tokens of valiancie and worthie prowesse as Gathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharao, that he gaue him his daughter in mariage. But Moses was rather enuied than honored for his doing, because the Aegyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might vsurpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne hands: wherefore diuers informations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat

Gathelus doings aduanced.

Moses doings not allowed.

Moses fled.

him into the land of Madian. Vnto Gathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] béeing taken from the Israelites. ¶ Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter, which Gathelus thus maried, was called Scota, of whome such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called *Scoti*, that is to say Scotishmen, and the land where they inhabit *Scotia*, that is to say, Scotland.

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Gathelus.

Scota daughter to Pharao.

Gathelus thus being aduanced by such honorable mariage, liued all the daies of his father in law Pharao Ozus, in great honor. But after his decease, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharao Chencres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israell then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Madianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharao, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

The credit of this historie of Gathelus we leaue to the authors.

Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Madian into Aegypt.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible maner; and moreouer it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that sorer and more grieuous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Gathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and séeke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueiance to be prouided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he toke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Gréekes and Aegyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoising vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voiage, they arriued first on the coasts of Numidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they toke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

Moses not regarded. Exodus 5.

Gathelus leaning Aegypt, séeketh other countries.

Gathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W.H. 3643. H.B.

He was repelled from Barbarie.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped port Gathele of this Gathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and eftsones againe in a maner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptlie called Portingale. But who is able in a matter of such anciencie to auouch anie thing for truth?

He landed in Portingale.

Gathelus with his companie being thus come to land, ſought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and ſuch other neceſſarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the ſeas had waſted all their purueiance:) whoſe arriuall being once knowne in the countrie, the people aſſembled togither, and fiercely incountring with the ſtrangers, after ſharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worſt and chaſed out of the field. This victorie put Gathelus and his folks in hope of good ſucceſſe to haue there a place for them to inhabit in, and ſo to end their long wandering in ſtrange and vncerteine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpoſe the more eaſilie to paſſe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friendſhip with the Spaniards, and obteining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; ſhortlie after they began the foundation of a citie néere to the banks of the riuer called of ancient time Vndus, and afterwards Bracchara.

The inhabitants reſiſt Gathelus.

A communication.

Gathelus buildeth the citie Brachara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiuing theſe ſtrangers to increaſe further in puiſſance than, as they thought, ſtood well with their ſecuritie) ſought diuerſe occaſions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: but when they vnderſtood that Gathelus was as readie to defend, as they were to inuade, they eftſoones fell to a communication, & perſuaded with Gathelus, that it ſhould be beſt for him and his people, for the auoiding of variance, to remoue vnto the northſide of Spaine, lieng vpon the coaſts of the Cantabrian ſeas, now called Galitia (where he ſhould find much void ground, by reaſon of the ſmall number of inhabitants) adding that if they would ſo doo, they would aid them to the vttermoſt againſt all ſuch as ſhould attempt to diſquiet their indeuours in anie maner of wiſe. This offer Gathelus gladlie accepted, and cauſing publike ſacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a citie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Nouium, and now Compoſtella.

A communication.

Gathelus left Portingale, and went into Galitia.

He builded a citie called Brigantia, and now Compoſtella.

*Gathelus.*

HEre Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuiſed and ordeined lawes for his people to liue by, that the citie might not onelie be fenſed with ſtrong walles, but alſo with good and holſome ſtatutes and ordinances, the chiefeſt fortifications that may be for all cities and countries. And becauſe he would not onelie haue his ſaid people to liue vnder one law, but alſo to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue commandement that they ſhould be all called Scotiſhmen (as before is ſaid) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a wonderfull multitude, ſo that the Spaniards doubting the worſt, determined to foreſée remedie in time, and herevpon purpoſing vtterlie to deſtroie them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puiſſance comming vpon the Scotiſhmen, gaue them a ſore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scotiſhmen, albeit not without great bloudſhed on either part, as the Scotiſh hiſtorie ſaieth. At length a neceſſarie peace was agréed vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were theſe: that aſwell Scotiſhmen as Spaniards ſhould liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

He maketh lawes and ordinances.

The Spaniards fight with the Scots infortunatlie.

A peace concluded.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, ſat vpon his marble ſtone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and miniſtred iuſtice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietneſſe. This ſtone was in faſhion like a ſeat or chaire, hauing ſuch a fatall deſtinie, as the Scots ſay, following it, that whereſoeuer it ſhould be found, there ſhould the Scotiſhmen reigne and haue the ſupreme gouernance. Hereof it came to paſſe, that firſt in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scotiſhmen, receiued the crowne ſitting vpon that ſtone, vntill the time of Robert the firſt king of Scotland. The inſcription alſo of the ſtone, though ingrauen long time after, as ſhould appeare, was this:

Gathelus miniſtred iuſtice.

A deſcription of the ſeat.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocúnq; locatum*
*Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Which may be thus tranſlated:

Except old ſawes doo faile,
and wiſards wits be blind,
The Scots in place muſt reigne,
where they this ſtone ſhall find.

But to returne where I left touching Gathelus. When he perceiued that his people multiplied in ſuch wiſe, as the countrie which was appointed him by the laſt agréement, was not able to ſuſteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had eſtabliſhed with the Spaniards, by ſéeking to inlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of couenant: and therefore vnderſtanding that there was an Iland lieng north ouer againſt Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitors, he cauſed all ſuch ſhips as he was able to make, to be brought togither into an hauen néere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and ſubiects to be aſſembled, he appointed his two ſonnes whome hée had by his wife Scota, the one named Hiberus, and the other Himecus, to conuete them ouer into that Iland, which afterwards they named Hibernia, after Hiberus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

Galitia not ſufficient to find the Scots.

The Scots ſéeke new ſeats.

At their firſt arriuall there, they came into the hauen of Dundalke, where getting on land, they firſt incamped themſelues néere the ſhore, and then ſent forth certeine of their folks to ſearch if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by ſuch as they had happened vpon and brought with them, they vnderſtood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie ſimple, ſuch I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vſe of anie tillage. Herevpon Hiber with his brother Himecus, went not about with force, but by gentleneſſe to win thoſe people, minding to ioine them in friendſhip ſo with their Scotiſhmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be doone, ſithens the inhabitants (perceiuing the Scotiſhmen not to go about to harme them) came flocking in wholie about them, ſubmitting themſelues into their hands with gladneſſe.

The Scots arriue in Ireland.

Iriſhmen liue by milke and herbes.

Iriſhmen are gentlie intreated.

*Hiber.*

WHen things were once ſet here in a ſtay, and that orders were giuen how the land ſhould be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing forth of ſuch things as ſerue for mans ſuſtenance, Hiber (leauing his brother in charge with the gouernance of all thoſe which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the moſt part of the ſhips and reſidue of the companie, ſailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus dead, he ſucceéded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioiſing of all the people there.

Hiber returned into Spaine.

Hiber ſucceéded his father Gathelus.

This Hiber was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, ſo that where his father contenting himſelfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie aſſigned him by compoſition, ſought no further (as is ſaid) to inlarge the

Hiber a conquerour.

the ſame: Hiber ceaſſed not to conquer cities and townes nere adioining to the borders of his ſubiects, by reaſon whereof his fame ſpred ouer all thoſe parties: and in the end conſtreined his enimies to ſeke for peace, which he willinglie granted: ſo that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the ſame toke ſuch good ſucceſſe, that within certeine yeres after, both the nations, what by mariage and other contracts, which they exerciſed togither, became one. The ſucceſſion alſo of kings continued after Hibers deceaſſe in his poſteritie a long ſeaſon; amongſt the which, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hibertus, and Simon Brechus were of moſt worthie fame, as is recorded by ſuch as haue written the hiſtories of that nation more at large.

A peace.

Spaniards & Scots becom one people.

*Hemecus.*

Hemecus K. of Ireland.

IN the meane while that theſe things were thus a doing in Spaine, Himecus being left, as is before remembred, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scotiſhmen, and the former inhabitans, with as much indifferencie as was poſſible: yet could he not ſoine them ſo in one, but that after his deceaſſe either of them would haue ſeuerall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne them: by reaſon whereof, falling eftſoones at diſcord amongſt themſelues, there inſued ſharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended ſometime by truce (when both parties happilie were throughlie wearied) they renewed notwithſtanding their malicious ſtrife againe, ſo ſone as they had once recouered their decaied ſtrengths, ſo that the one ſeeking the others deſtruction, they continued in great diſquietnes for a long time. Theſe Scotiſhmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finallie adreſſed an ambaſſage vnto Metellus, who as then reigned amongſt the Scotiſh men in Spaine, requiring him of aid and ſuccor againſt their enimies, who went about with toth and naile to expell all the Scotiſh nation out of Ireland, which they were like inough to bring to paſſe, if in time there were not ſpedie remedie throughe his aid prouided for the contrarie.

Diſſention.

The Scots ſend an ambaſſador vnto Metellus in Spaine.

Aid ſent to aſſiſt the Scots in Ireland.

Metellus hearing theſe newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scotiſh linage, gaue eare to their requeſt, ſuppoſing it ſhould be his part to defend his kinſfolke from all wrong and iniuries: immediatlie therefore he ſent his three ſons, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, and Hibertus, with a choſen power of warriors ouer into Ireland, where vanquiſhing the enimies with fierce and cruell battels, they ſet the Scotiſhmen in ſure and quiet poſſeſſion of all their lands and liuings. This done Ptolomeus and Hibertus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldeſt brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to ſucceed his father when time ſhould ſerue thereto.

Hermoneus returned into Spain againe

After this the Scotiſh eſtate continued many yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people ſtill increaſing in wealth and puiſſance, till proſperitie the mother of contention, ſtirred vp grudge and parcialities amongſt them, which ſhortlie would haue decaied the force of the Scotiſh nation, if the ancient lords had not prouided redreſſe in time, which was to perſuade the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the abſolute gouernance of the whole, ſo that by common conſent they ſent into Spaine for one Simon Brech, whoſe name was right famous amongſt them in that ſeaſon, both as well for that he was lineallie deſcended of the blood rotall, as alſo for that he had ſhewed many proofes of his noble valiancie in ſundrie affaires and buſineſſe. This Simon being glad of theſe tidings, ſailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with him amongſt other princelie iewels and regall monuments, the fatall ſtone of marble, wherein he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned, in token of his full poſſeſſion and eſtabliſhment ouer that kingdome.

Simon Brech.

Brechus came into Ireland.

*Brechus.*

BRechus being thus crowned, was the firſt king that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maiſter Hariſons, account is after the floud 1616, from the firſt building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our ſauiour 697. And hauing ruled his ſubiects with great iuſtice by the ſpace of fortie yeres or thereabout, he died, after whoſe deceaſſe ſucceeded Fandufus, who had iſſue Ethion, and he begat Glaucus, which Glaucus begat Noitafilus, the father of Rothſay: all of them reigned ſucceſſiuelie ouer the Scotiſhmen in Ireland, as in the deſcription of that land more plainelie may appeere.

4504 H.B.
60 H.B.
696 H.B.

*Fandufus.*

Rothſay. The Scots ferrie ouer into the weſterne Iles.

This Rothſay (perceiuing the Scotiſh nation increaſed to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to ſuſteine) tranſported ouer certeine numbers of them into the Iles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the weſterne Iles, becauſe they lie on the weſt halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named alſo that Ile which he firſt began to poſſeſſe Rothſay, after his owne name. Which tranſlation of theſe Scotiſhmen into thoſe Iles was 133 yeres after the coronation of Brechus.

They inhabit the Ile of Rothſay.

This Rothſay had not beene long in thoſe Iles, but that hearing of his fathers deceaſſe, he returned into Ireland to ſucceed in his place. Where the Scotiſhmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Iles, and how the ſame ſerued well for the breeding of cattell, became ſo deſirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither dailie in great numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, ſo that within a ſhort time they multiplied in ſuch wiſe, that the Iles were not large inough to find them ſuſtenance, by reaſon whereof diuers companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they firſt inhabited a waſte and deſert portion thereof, lieng toward the weſt, ouer againſt the forenembred Iles, by them alreadie inhabited, Anno 3383. That part where they firſt began to ſettle themſelues, they named Argathelia, after the name of their firſt captein and guide Gathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

The Scots inhabit the maine land of Scotland.

4617 H.B.

They inhabit the countrie called Arguile

At their firſt comming, becauſe they perceiued they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they ſeuered themſelues into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the ſame hauing a ſpeciall gouernor to ſee their lawes miniſtred, and iuſtice mainteined: which gouernors were had in ſuch reuerence, that they were as much afraid to ſweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this ſtate they continued many a yere, increaſing in proceſſe of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good reſt without trouble of warres or inuaſion made vpon them by any forren enimie. In this meane time alſo, the Picts, which were a certeine people of Germanie, as moſt writers do agree, came and ſet fot alſo in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewiſe within Scotland.

They make lawes and ordinances.

Gouernors had in reuerence.

They liue in peace.

The Picts came into Scotland out of Germanie,

Some ſaie that they came forth of the hether part of Scithia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they deſcended of the people named in old time Agathyrſi, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, becauſe they vſed to paint and colour their faces, or (as ſome ſuppoſe) for that they

vſed

vſed gaie apparell of diuers and ſundrie colours; but the ſame writers generallie conſeſſe, that they firſt came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yéeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they firſt came out of Germanie, into the Iles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a ſeaſon, feried ouer into Cathneſſe, whereof it came to paſſe, that the ſtreict there at this preſent is called Pictland firth: and ſo in continuance of time increaſing in number, they paſſed further into the land, and got poſſeſſion of Roſſe, Murrey land, Perne, and Anguſe, and after that, entring into Fiffe and Louthian, they droue ſuch Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a ſimple kind of people, as thoſe that applied nothing but onelie nouriſhing and bréeding of cattell.

The Picts came firſt into Orkeney, and changing their ſeats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appéere, entred firſt into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arriued, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themſelues, if any force of enimies ſhould chance to put them to ſuch ſhifts; but perceiuing they could not continue any time without wiues to mainteine their ſtocke and progenie by bringing forth iſſue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scotiſhmen ſome number of women to marrie with, that thereby a ſure aliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if néed required, they might the better defend them from their common enimies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to ſée the increaſe of either Scots or Picts, as thoſe that were ſtangers to them, and vſurpers vpon their confines.

4867 H.B.

The Picts make ſtrong holds.

The Picts require wiues of the Scots.

This requeſt was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scotiſhmen and Picts, with couenants, that neither of them ſhould ſeeke to vſurpe any péece of that which the other held, but content themſelues with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, ſhould be accounted an enimie to both: and againſt whom they ſhould be readie to ioine their powers in either others defenſe. Alſo it was accorded, that if at anie time it were doubtfull who ought to ſucceéd in the gouernement of the Pictiſh kingdome, ſome one deſcended of thoſe Scotiſh women ſhould be admitted to the throne.

A league made.

The ſucceſſion of the gouernement.

This aliance was euen at the firſt miſliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if theſe two nations ſhould once be ioined inſeparablie togither, they might in time to come increaſe to greater puiſſance than ſhould ſtand well with the ſuertie of their eſtate. Therefore ſtudieng how to preuent that danger, they thought the readieſt meane to deſtroie both thoſe nations was (if they might bring it to paſſe) to ſet them firſt togither by the eares amongſt themſelues, that afterwards when their powers were by ſuch meanes ſore abated, they might the more eaſilie ſubdue them at their pleaſures. This deuiſe the Britains kept ſecret for a time, till occaſion ſerued to worke their intent. In which meane while the affinitie betwixt the Scots and Picts increaſed to the wealth of both nations, and for the iſſue ſake great loue and friendſhip was mainteined among them.

Their aliance miſliked.

Diſſention a preſent deſtroier.

The Picts good husbandmen.

The Scots giuen to hunting and fouling.

The Picts applied themſelues to tilling the ground, and building of fortreſſes: the Scots ſet all their delight in hunting and fouling, vſing about the ſame to go armed in iacks and light ieſſernes with bow and arrowes, no otherwiſe than if it had beene in open warre: for in this exercíſe they placed all the hope of the defenſe of their poſſeſſions, lands and liberties.

The Britains ſend

At length, the Britains perceiuing happilie ſome grudge or enuie to be entred amongſt them, they ſent ſolemne ambaſſadors vnto the Picts, declaring that it were more honorable for them to ioine in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie moſt fruitfull and repleniſhed with all commodities neceſſarie hauing therein rich mines of diuers kinds of mettall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and ſauage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitleſſe mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the ſlaughter of men and beaſts. And herevnto they added that (which moſt moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by propheſies, that the Scots through treaſon ſhould vtterlie in time to come extinguiſh and deſtroie all the Pictiſh bloud. Which perſuaſions induced the Picts at the laſt, to make a league with the Britains, who promiſed their aid at all times, in whatſoeuer enterpriſe the Picts ſhould take in hand againſt the Scots, and as often as occaſion ſhould require.

ambaſſadors vnto the Picts.

A craftie ſuggeſtion.

Propheſies.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, incouraged the Picts ſo, that they ſought dailie how to picke quarels, and fall out with the Scotiſhmen: whereupon making proclamation that no Scotiſhman ſhould enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: ſome ſuch as they tooke within the ſame, they cruellie ſlue; other they ranſomed at exceſſiue ſummes: whereupon the Scots being kindled with iuſt diſpleaſure, on the other ſide requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the ſaid Picts by hap or otherwiſe amongſt them, or in their walks.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

The Scots reuenge the iniurie done vnto them.

The one nation ſéeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there inſued open war betwixt them: whereupon the Scotiſhmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarell, ſent ouer their ambaſſadors vnto their kinſmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that preſent danger, as hauing now not onelie warres with the Picts, but alſo with the Britains, who minded nothing but the vtter deſtruction of them and their linage, except ſpeedie remedie were found. And for that they ſaw it néedfull to haue one onelie head and gouernor, they made ſute alſo to haue ſome capteine of honor with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would ſubmit themſelues. In that ſeaſon amongſt the Iriſh Scotiſhmen, there reigned a king named Ferguhardus, who inclining to the petition of the Britiſh Scots, cauſed an huge armie forthwith to be leuied, and thereto he appointed his owne ſonne Fergus to be generall of the ſame, a worthie young gentleman, and an expert warrior: whome hee ſent ouer with his puiſſant companie, in ſuch ſpeed as was poſſible. He had alſo with him the marble ſtone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, becauſe he went forth vnto ſuch a dangerous warre.

Scots ſend for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Ferguhardus king in Ireland.

Fergus ſent into Scotland.

The marble ſtone.

Such alſo as went with him in this iournie, had their wiues, their children, and all their ſubſtance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any forren countrie. Now it came to paſſe that this Fergus was no ſooner come into Albion among the Scotiſhmen there, but that in a parlement called and aſſembled in Argile for the purpoſe, they firſt conſulted after what ſort they might mainteine themſelues againſt their enimies, and what order for gouernment ſhould be obſerued amongſt them. Where finallie for auoiding of ſuch inconueniences, as might riſe through manie gouernors, they decréed to chooſe onlie one, whome in all things, as their king & head, they would from thenceforth follow and obeie.

Fergus landed in Albion.

Parlement.

A king is for to be obeied.

But becauſe there was none thought ſo méet to beare that office, as Fergus, and that the chaire

*Fergus*

chaire of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge vnto him, and so to the great reioising of the people, he was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scotish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernor, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640, which is (as Harison saith in his chronologie) before the incarnation of our saiuour 327, after the building of Rome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scotishmen being thus begun in Albion, Fergus toke vpon him to rule as king, making prouision on all sides to resist his enimies: who whilest these things were a doing in Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had ioined themselues, and were now entred into the Scotish borders. Fergus hauing hereof knowledge, spéedilie got togither his people, and came with banners displaied to encounter his enimies. In king Fergus banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folden towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the maner of them when they be moued to displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cognisance in Albion, which euer since hath béene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there.

The Britains aid against the Scots.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to sée the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroie them both, the vanquishers togither with the vanquished, as they found them out of araie in following the chase. The like report was brought vnto Fergus by one that fled to his side from the enimies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the extermination of both the people.

The Britains are about to deceiue the Picts.

Treason reuealed vnto Fergus.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might insue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certeine daies togither, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertained no lesse to the safegard and preseruation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willinglie gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell araie, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met togither, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weied, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had vnderstood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

Fergus sendeth to the Picts.

A peace to be concluded.

Here vpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his councell afore him, declaring the substance of the communication which had béene betwixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present deuises of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agréed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yæld with all to auoid the imminent perill of their vtter ruine and common destruction intended by the Britains.

The king of the Picts called his councell and commons.

Herevpon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be done; declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter frendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murthered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a beastlie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophesie went, that the Scots should in the end destroie all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdome to kéepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

A prophesie.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scotish mens friendship ought to be refused, vnlesse they would determine to séeke new dwellings in some other forraine parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophesie, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follie then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Diuer and besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scotish nation, and thereby ingrafted their séed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the néerest meane and forceablest occasion to nourish friendship amongest people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

Whilest the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongest them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murther, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their litle little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine togither in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scotish men, and to renew againe the old league that was heretofore betweene them: and for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had beene the chiefe procurers of all that mischiefe and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enimies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should do therein as vnto him might seeme good.

The Picts are moued to pittie.

Britains reputed as enimies.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, declared what his subiects were agréed vpon: and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of méeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith

The méeting of the two kings.

Fergus

Fergusе being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwirt them and kept accordinglie, so that comming togither, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, auailable (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first méeting betwirt the Scots and Picts, I meane so soone as the Britains had vnderstanding of this agréement, they had no lust to tarie longer in the field, but raising their power, they departed their waies homewards, doubting least the said agréement might turne smallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scotishmen also after they had thus fullie ratified the peace and league betwirt them, brake vp their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

In other day taken for the ratification of the peace.

The Britains go homeward disappointed of their purpose.

The Scots and Picts returne home in peace.

This Coilus by the circumstance of the time, and other considerations, should séeme to be the same whome the Britains name Gutteline.

Coilus his subtiltie.

The Britains rob the Scots and the Picts for to stirre discord.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.

Coilus entred into Scotland with an armie.

Fergusе assembled a great power of Scotishmen.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (sojourning in that season néere about Yorke) being informed of this sudden renouation of the league betwirt the Scotishmen and Picts, was nothing ioyfull of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and meanes he might best prouide remedie for such inconueniences as might insue, he attempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelie watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion seruiceable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered néere to the marches of both the people) to fetch preies and booties out of the Pictish confins. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains do in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such iniurious dissimulation, aswell Scots as Picts being not a little offended, they entred soone after into the British confins, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all maner of crueltie. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he take grieuous indignation thereat, and thereupon determined to prouue whether he might with open warres atchiue his purpose, which he could not bring to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scotish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, wasting & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoeuer he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to destroie the countrie, and to bring in all such prisoners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so soone as Fergusе heard of the approch of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their goods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about fiue thousand nimble men, and such as had beene vsed to clime craggie hilles, to go before and win the passages, purposing the nert day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scotishmen and Picts being now assembled togither, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they were best to do; and in the end agréed that the same night they should set vpon the British campe: Fergusе with his Scotishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other; so that in the dead of the night the Scotishmen killing the watch, were entered into the British campe, yer Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilest the Britains (awaked with the noise) drew vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certeine blind ford, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (séeing none other remedie but to saue themselues by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmoile they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselues, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongest the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemnlie buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leauing the kingdome vnto his sonne Siselius, who with his mother Gertia gouerned the same togither by the space of manie yeares.

Coill was slaine and his whole armie discomfited, of whome as Hector Boet. saith, their countrie of Coill toke name.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enimies hands, got them togither in the next morning, & perceiuing what losse they had susteined not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herault vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet persuaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yéeld thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and spéedilie published betwirt them.

Peace concluded.

Immediatlie herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iournie, departed to their homes, and Fergusе returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scotish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemblie how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enimies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendlie concord amongest themselues, and to abstéine from violating the leagues now concluded, aswell with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

A parlement

An exhortation vnto quietnesse and peace.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scotish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this péece or that did belong. Which politike aduise of Fergusе, the Scotishmen praised most highlie, promising not onelie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

The land is parted.

Obedient subiects.

Whereupon shortlie after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of good conscience and great experience, which were appointed to be surueiors of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as néere as they could into a set number of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulnesse or barrennesse of the soile required, so they should inlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had viewed the countrie, and according to their commission seuered forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergusе then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne, as

When diuide the land into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

as ſhould fall to him by good lucke and preſent hap.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with ſuch people as they had the leading of, ſo that afterwards the countries tooke their names of thoſe the firſt gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongſt them euen vnto this day. Ferguſe hauing thus without occaſion of enuie diuided his countrie amongſt his nobles and ſubiects, ſtudied further more to deuiſe lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongſt them. And therefore amongſt other ordinances he made ſtatutes againſt murther, robberie, burning of houſes, and eſpeciallie againſt theft.

Statutes and lawes are made.

He builded alſo the caſtell of Beregonium in Loughquhabre on the weſt ſide of Albion, ouer againſt the weſterne Iles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the adminiſtration of iuſtice: that both the Albion Scots, and alſo thoſe of the ſame Iles might haue their acceſſe & reſort thither for redreſſe of wrongs, and ending of all controuerſies. The reſidue of his life he paſt in reſt and peace with his neighbors the Picts and Britains, indeuouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his ſubiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finallie, ſailing afterward into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempeſt, the ſhip wherein he was imbarked, was driuen vpon a rocke, where he periſhed, after he had reigned as king amongſt the Scotiſhmen in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus caſt away, hath béene euer ſince called rocke Ferguſe, after his name.

Beregonium.

A place appointed for iuſtice.

Ferguſe went into Ireland and in his returne was drowned.

Rocke Ferguſe, otherwiſe Knocke Fergule.

In the ſame ſeaſon there reigned amongſt the Britains one Enanius, named by Hector Boetius Eſdadus, and amongſt the Picts one Cruthneus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the banke of the riuer called Caron, as the Scotiſh writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Piciſh kingdome, where in times paſt there was a faire commodious hauen apt to harbour ſhips in at all ſeaſons, but now it is dammed vp in ſuch ſort, that vneath there appeareth anie token where that hauen was: and the citie it ſelfe was finallie ſubuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after ſhall appeare. The foreſaid Cruthneus builded alſo the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Edenbrough, of Ethus king of the Picts, the caſtell was named the caſtell of Maidens, for that the daughters of the Piciſh kings were there kept vnder ſtrait cuſtodie, appointed to learne to ſow & worke, till they came to yeeres of mariage.

Eſdadus. Cruthneus Camelonus. This citie the Scotiſh writers take to be Camelodunum, of the which there is ſo often mention made in the Roman writers: but verelie herein they doo greatlie erre.

Agneda now called Edenbrough.

The caſtell of Maidens.

But now to returne to the Scotiſhmen. After the death of Ferguſe, the nobles of the realme aſſembled togither, to take counſell whome they might chooſe to ſucceed in his place. Manie of them, in reſpect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Ferguſe, would not in anie wiſe that his ſonnes, though yong of yeeres, ſhould be forgotten; but that according to reaſon and equitie, the eldeſt of them ſhould be elected, ſith they might not otherwiſe deliuer themſelues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with tong can be well expreſſed.

The Scots conſult about an other election of a king.

Other hauing a ſpeciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted leaſt if they crowned a child to their king, during his minoritie, it could not be but that there ſhould follow ſtrife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his perſon and realme amongſt the nobles; and that in ſuch wiſe, as the people being diuided into ſundrie factions, the due adminiſtration of iuſtice ſhould be neglected, the nobles bearing and bolſtering vp all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might ſo happen that they agréed vpon one ſpeciall gouernor, as reaſon was they ſhould; yet ſhould he ſéeke to aduance his kinſfolks more than reaſon haplie required, and peraduenture doo things otherwiſe much diſpleaſant to no ſmall number of them by that his priuate authoritie. And againe, the king ſhould no ſooner come to yéeres of anie diſcretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole himſelfe, before he vnderſtood what charge he had in hand: and by reaſon of his fraile youth be lightlie would not follow the counſell of anie, but ſuch as conſented vnto him in his ſenſuall luſts and inordinate fanſies, which commonlie reigne in ſuch princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of ſufficient yéeres) how to gouerne themſelues.

For theſe and the like conſiderations, alledged by ſome of no ſmall authoritie amongſt them, it was agréed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceaſſed Ferguſe ſhould be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to ſée his nephues king Ferguſe his ſons brought vp in princelie nurture and diſcipline, as apperteined to the ſons of a king: that after his deceaſſe, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yéeres, they might ſucceed him in the eſtate and kingdome.

Feritharis choſen king.

This ordinance alſo they decréed to be obſerued as a law from thenceforth euer after, that if the king died leauing no iſſue, but ſuch as were vnder age to ſucceed him, then ſhould one of his néereſt cozins, ſuch as was thought méeteſt to occupie the roome, be choſen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceaſſe the crowne to reuert vnto his predeceſſors iſſue without controuerſie, if the ſame were once growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obteining the crowne, leaſt the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuiſe for choſing of kings, miniſtred occaſion ſometimes to the vncle to ſéeke the deſtruction of the nephue, and likewiſe to the nephue to procure the diſpatch of the vncle and vncles ſonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthie princes, to the no ſmall danger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of the commonwealth, ſo that finallie that ordinance was clearelie abrogated, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

The choſing of kings was not allowed.

*Feritharis*

But now to my purpoſe. After Feritharis with the full conſent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all ſolemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged ſword, his ſcepter roiall, and his crowne of gold faſhioned in forme of a rampire made for defenſe of a towne or fortreſſe, ſignifieng that he tooke vpon him to preſerue the libertie of his countrie, to ſée offendors dulie puniſhed, and the execution of lawes with equall puniſhment trulie miniſtred.

A two edged ſword.

These ornaments of inueſture remained vnto the Scotiſh kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achaius king of Scotland, who eſtabliſhing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperour and king of France, to indure for euer betweene the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne foure flower de lices, together with foure croſſets, diuided in ſunder with equall ſpaces, riſing ſomewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obſeruing of the chriſtian religion and ſincere faith, mainteined by the Scotiſh nation, might

The crowne changed.

might be the more euident to all men that beheld it.

The league with the Picts confirmed.

But now as touching Feritharis, ſhortlie after he was thus inueſted king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in ſolemne wiſe confirmed, and ſuch puniſhed as had done anie thing ſounding to the breach of the ſame.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himſelfe in the adminiſtration of his charge verie vprightlie, without giuing iuſt occaſion vnto anie to find himſelfe greeued: and thus continued he certeine yeeres in ſuch loue of all the eſtates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephue Ferlegus the eldeſt ſonne of king Ferguſe, being now come to full age, through inſtigation of ſome inſolent perſons, and ſuch as by alteration hoped for aduancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before eſtabliſhed) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in ſuch ill part, that where before the ſame Ferlegus was highlie beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle perſuaſions ſtaied them) to haue torne him all in peeces: but although their rage was ſomewhat appeaſed by Feritharis, as is ſaid, yet would they not be pacified throughlie, till that all ſuch as had beene of counſell with him in that practiſe, had ſuffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouerſight of him.

Feritharis liued not paſſing three moneths after this buſineſſe, but died ſuddenlie in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treaſon of Ferlegus and certeine of his complices (whereof there was no ſmall ſuſpicion) for that he togither with them found meanes to flee firſt to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he paſſed the reſidue of his life in great ſhame and ignominie. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15 yeere of his reigne, the nobles aſſembled togither for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Mainus the yonger ſonne of king Ferguſe, as then being about 24 yeeres of age.

Feritharis ſuddenly died.

Ferlegus exiled.

An election of a new king.

*Mainus.*

This Mainus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole conſent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in freſh memorie the noble gouernement of his father Ferguſe. He therefore ſtudieng to anſwere the peoples expectation in following his ſaid fathers worthie acts, mainteined iuſtice in all points, without ſuffering anie bearing or bolſtering of wrong. If there were anie controuerſie riſen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the ſame might be taken vp and ended amongeſt them at home by order of ſome authorized court there. But if the matter were of ſuch importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of ſome higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at ſuch time as he vſed euerie yeere once to haue a publikie out of all parts of his realme, to conferre togither for ſuch purpoſes; at what time alſo ſuch as were notorious offendors were arreigned and puniſhed by death or otherwiſe, according to the fault which they earſt had committed.

Iuſtice maintained.

Small matters redreſt among neighbours.

Great matters determined by the king.

Mainus confirmed the league with the Picts.

Alſo for the more quiet of his ſubiects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Chzinus requiring the ſame by his ambaſſadors ſent vnto him. Moreouer this Mainus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an aſſured beliefe, that without their fauours all worldlie policies were but vaine, deuiſed ſundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and alſo cauſed certeine places in ſundrie parts of his dominion to bee appointed out, and compaſſed about with great huge ſtones round like a ring; but towards the ſouth was one mightie ſtone farre greater than all the reſt, pitched vp in maner of an altar, whereon their prieſts might make their ſacrifices in honor of their gods.

Mainus a deuout man in his religion.

In witnes of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certeine of thoſe great ſtones ſtanding round ringwiſe, which places are called by the common people, The old chappels of the gods. A man would maruell by what ſhift, policie, or ſtrength ſuch mightie ſtones were raiſed in that maner. Amongſt other the gods alſo, which the Scotiſhmen had in moſt reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronelle, for that ſhe was taken to be the goddeſſe of hunting, wherein conſiſted their chiefeſt exerciſe, paſtime and delite. Vnto hir therefore he inſtituted monethlie ſacrifice, by reaſon whereof this vſe was taken vp, that ſo ſoone as anie of them got ſight of the new moone next after hir change, he ſaluted hir with certeine praiers or ſalutations moſt reuerentlie. Which cuſtome indured amongſt them manie hundred yeeres after. Mainus did alſo appoint forth liuings for the prieſts to be taken of ſuch ſacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finallie, when he had thus inſtructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aſwell touching the religious ſeruice of the gods, as alſo for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yeeres, leauing the eſtate to his ſonne Dornadille, Elidurus reigning at the ſame time in Britaine, and Thaara amongſt the Picts.

Diana honored of the Scots.

Diana goddeſſe of hunting.

The new moone is worſhipped.

A liuing prouided for the prieſts.

*Dornadille.*

Dornadille being crowned king of the Scots, eſtabliſhed a new league with the Britains, by ſending his ambaſſadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient aliance. He ſet all his pleaſure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greihounds, ordeining that euerie houſholder ſhould find him two hounds and one greihound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to loſe an eie or a lim, ſo that he were not able to helpe himſelfe after that time, he made a ſtatute that he ſhould be found of the common treaſurie. He that killed a woolfe ſhould haue an ore for his paines. This beaſt in deed the Scotiſhmen, euen from the begining, vſed to purſue in all they might deuiſe, becauſe the ſame is ſuch an enimie to cattell, wherein conſiſted the chiefeſt portion of all their wealth and ſubſtance.

Dornadille a louer of peace: Dornadille had pleaſure in hunting.

The reward for killing of a woolfe.

Thus the Scotiſhmen in this ſeaſon, ſetting all their delite on hunting, began alſo to vſe lawes and ſtatutes in proces of time concerning the ſame. And firſt it was ordeined, that he whoſe dog did teiſe and go through to the end of the courſe with the deare, ſo that he were ſeene to be at the fall, ſhould haue the ſkin; the head & hornes to remaine to him whoſe dog did beſt next. The body being dreſt & broken vp, ſhould be diſtributed at the pleaſure & diſcretion of the maiſter of the game. The bowels and panch were caſt to the dogs as the caſe required. And if there roſe anie doubt in anie of theſe points, they ſhould chooſe by common conſent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether theſe deuiſes were lawes made by the king as then for the further aduancement of his pleaſure, or rather cuſtomes growne and ratified by long continuall vſe, I cannot tell, but certeine it is, they were obſerued through all the Scotiſh regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and ſo are vſed euen vnto theſe daies.

Lawes made for hunting.

The dogs rewarded.

Beſide theſe ordinances for hunting, Dornadille commanded alſo, that all ſuch ſtatutes as Ferguſe had made, ſhould be kept and obſerued: whereunto he added certeine new, namelie diuerſe ſorts of puniſhments for ſundrie kinds of tranſgreſſions, according to the qualities of the ſame: which he cauſed to be ingroſſed in books of record, and committed to the

Old lawes allowed, and new eſtabliſhed.

the cuſtodie of a graue councellor, who by a common conſent ſhould haue the interpretation of thoſe lawes if anie doubt aroſe, and that when anie offendor ſhould come before the iudge, and heare the ſentence read by him, the ſame offendor might vnderſtand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reaſon whereof it came to paſſe, that ſuch offendors without repining willinglie were contented to ſuffer anie puniſhment whatſoeuer it was that the law did ſo appoint them. This cuſtome grew into ſuch force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongſt them of the weſterne Iles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongſt them, without whoſe denuntiation or decrés taken out of the regiſter, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and doings of king Dorsadille, who in the 28 yéere of his reigne departed this world at Beregonium, now called Dunſtafage, leauing behind him a ſonne called Reuther as yet not of ſufficient age to ſucceéd in the eſtate. By reaſon whereof Nothatus the brother of Dorsadille, a man of comelie perſonage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboue remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the ſucceſſion of the crowne.

Nothatus. *Nothatus*

THis Nothatus had vneath reigned two yéeres, when all the people began to crie out vpon him, for ſuch tyrannicall parts as he practiſed as well againſt the meane eſtates as the high. And forſomuch as he being admoniſhed of his duetie, and required to reforme certeine diſhonorable vſages by him exerciſed, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Dovalus gouernor of Bzigantia, conſpiring with other nobles of the realme to depoſe him, intiſed Reuther king Dorsadilles ſonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by deſcent from his father. And ſo aſſembling a companie of their faction ſufficient for their enterpriſe, they entered the palace where Nothatus lay, and after reaſoning with him of certeine points touching his miſgouernment in the eſtate, diuers of their companie not tarieng till they were commanded, raſhlie fell vpon him, and murthered him togither with diuers of ſuch nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enimies to Dovalus and his friends.

Bzigantia, now called as the Scots ſay Galloway.

Nothatus murdered.

*Reuther.*

AFter this they proclaimed Reuther king, and crowned him with all due ſolemnitie, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie diſpleaſed therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offenſe to haue the king thus traitorouſlie murthered, but alſo ſaw hereby the ancient ordinance of chooſing their king through conſent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat perſon, & an vnſkilfull yong man aduanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the ſonne in law of Nothatus gouernor of Lorne and Cantir, called an aſſemblie of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to inſue through this tyrannicall attempt of Dovalus. Dovalus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, haſtilie came to the place where this aſſemblie was made, and there ſleaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard alſo in great hazard of his life, who by flieng yet eſcaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Ila, whither reſorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Dovale) with a great number of the commons.

Reuther crowned king. Diuers lords offended.

Nouantia.

A conſpiracie of Ferquhard againſt Dovalus.

Ferquhard fled into Ila.

In the end, Ferquhard perſuaded his companions to ſet all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Dovale and his complices, being traitors and enimies to the realme and common-wealth, ſo that firſt ioining hands, which they did wet in mans bloud (according to the cuſtome then vſed) they promiſed one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarking themſelues in certeine veſſels, they entred the ſea, and paſſed ouer into Scotland, where gathering togither no ſmall number of ſuch as willinglie reſorted vnto them to their aid, they encountred with Dovale in battell, whoſe hoſt twiſe in one daie was put to flight néere to the citie Beregonium with the loſſe of eight thouſand men.

Ferquhard re turneth into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Dovale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were ſo beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his hoſt not paſt 10000 perſons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afreſh, and finding their enimies readie to receiue them, there was fought ſo cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being ſore trauelled with ſlaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not paſſing an eight hundred of all thoſe that were preſent that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Vpon Dovales part there was ſlaine Gethus king of Picts, whoſe daughter king Reuther had married, with a great number of his people: alſo Dovale himſelfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beſide gentlemen & cõmons that tooke part with him. On the contrarie ſide there died alſo Ferquhard himſelfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beſide the reſidue of the nobles, gentlemen & cõmons of Roſſe, Cathneſſe, Marne, Argile, Cantire, and Lorne, with them of the weſterne Iles which were there with him.

Dovale is ſlaine.

Ferquhard is ſlaine.

Reuther the king fled.

Reuther purſued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

Reuther eſcaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with ſuch of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enimies being aduertiſed in the next morning, purſued after him with ſuch diligence, that in the end they tooke him within a caſtell in Cathneſſe whither he was fled for ſuccor: he was pardoned of his life, partlie in reſpect of his fathers merits, and partlie againe for that it was knowne how his tender youth was ſuch as had not deſerued death by any fact, otherwiſe than in that he had followed the counſell of malicious perſons. By this cruell murther and huge ſlaughter thus committed betwixt theſe two nations of Scotiſhmen and Picts, both their forces were ſo greatlie infeebled, that they became an eaſie prey to their ancient and common enimies the Britains, who in ſuch opportunitie of occaſion thought not to ſit ſtill till the ſame might happilie be paſt and gone.

Gethus king.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains inuaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceiuing themſelues not able to make reſiſtance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the moſt part of their goods, ouer into the Iles of Orkenie, and there aſſembling togither, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was alſo named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Heere alſo they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scotiſh hiſtorie be true.) Hereof moreouer as ſome ſuppoſe it came to paſſe, that theſe Ilands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Picts.

Why Orkenie was called Pictland as ſome ſuppoſe, but the truth ſhould ſéeme to be that they were ſo called becauſe the Picts inhabited there before they ſet foot in Britaine.

In the meane while the Britains ſeizing vpon ſuch countries as theſe Picts had forſaken, that is to ſaie, the Mers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, gariſons of men of war, to keepe the ſame in due ſubiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scotiſh kingdome, burning & waſting all afore them, wherewith ſuch Scots as yet remained aliue, being high-

The Scots ouerthrowne.

lie moued to indignation, came ſtoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and incountring with their enimies neere to Kalender wood, they loſt two thouſand of their companie: the reſidue alſo being ſore chaſed, fled into ſundrie parties for ſafegard of their liues.

This diſcomfiture put the Scotiſh nation into ſuch feare and terror, that they vtterlie deſpaired of all recouerie, where contrariwiſe the Britains were ſo aduanced (in hope vtterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that purſuing the victorie in moſt earneſt wiſe, they forced Reuther and all the nobilitie of the Scotiſh nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for ſafegard of their liues into the caſtell of Beregonium, where they held themſelues as in the ſureſt hold. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enimies to Beregonium, enuironed the caſtell with a ſtrong and vehement ſiege, vntill that the Scots within were conſtreined through want of vittels to eate each other, according as the lots fell by a common agreement made amongſt them.

Scots beſieged deuoure one another.

But when it came to paſſe, that euen thoſe that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom conſiſted the hope of their whole defenſe, did now and then come to the ſhambles as well as other of leſſe reputation, they thought it beſt to trie by iſſuing forth, if any of their haps might be ſo good as to eſcape the danger preſent, whereas by tarieng ſtill within the fortreſſe, they ſhould but deuoure one another without any reuenge for loſſe of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enimies. Whereupon by common conſent there iſſueth forth, firſt one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne ſouldiors, and fiercelie ſkirmiſhing with the Britains, defended himſelfe a good ſpace right manfullie, though in the end both he and his whole band were borne downe and ſlaine with preaſe and multitude of his enimies that aſſailed him on each ſide. In the meane ſeaſon, whileſt he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one ſide, Reuther with the reſidue of his people brake forth by another waie, and eſcaping to the ſea ſide, got ſhips and fled ouer into the weſterne Iles, where he found a great number of other Scotiſhmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denus king of the Britains to auoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

The Scots come forth and fight.

Reuther eſcapeth.

Reuther paſſeth into Ireland.

Reuther remained not long in the Iles, but paſſed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his eſcape with the other of the Scotiſh lords, reuenged their diſpleaſure on ſuch commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, ſo that ſuch as might eſcape, got them into the mounteins, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in ſummer, and in winter by ſuch veneſon and fleſh of wild beaſts as they killed in the wildernеſſe: and ſometimes they came downe and made raiſes vpon the Britains that occupied their houſes and lands, fetching great booties verie often from amongeſt them.

They inhabit the mounteins.

This cruell warre laſted twelue yeeres, vntill in maner all ſuch Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder ſeruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Gethus king of the Picts kept his ſiege roiall in Pomonia the cheefeſt Ile of the Orkenies. Reuther alſo begot of his wife a ſonne named Thereus, and ſhortlie after being procured by letters and meſſengers ſent vnto him from the foreſaid Gethus and ſuch Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he aſſembled a number of ſhips togither, and firſt with a choſen power of warriors ſailed to the weſterne Iles, where increaſing his numbers, he paſſed ouer into Albion, landing on the weſt halfe of Roſſe at Lough Brunn, and there

Reuther is ſent for out of Ireland.

comming on land, the firſt perſon that they met with (according to a cuſtome vſed amongſt them in thoſe daies) they ſlue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his blood, they firſt taſted thereof after their maner, then holding vp their weapons into the aire, they deſired of the gods that they might reuenge the blood of their elders with happie battell againſt the Britains their enimies. After this, hearing that Gethus king of the Picts was alſo entred the land with a mightie power of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not paſt thirtie miles off, he ſtaied there abiding for his comming, to the intent that ioining their powers togither, they might be the better able to furniſh their enterpriſe.

A cuſtome.

The Germans in aid of the Picts.

The third daie after they met togither with great ioy and congratulations, vnto whom with all ſpeed a great number alſo of thoſe Scotiſhmen and Picts that had ſtill continued in the countrie (during the time of the perſecution by the Britains) dailie reſorted and came flocking in from each ſide vnto them. Siſillius king of the Britains, who ſucceeded after Denus, as then latelie deceaſſed, hauing knowlege hereof, aſſembled a great armie of his ſubiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his realme, he haſted forth to incounter with their powers, and ſo ioining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scotiſhmen and Picts, by the great valiancie and manfull prowеſſe of Reuther: whereupon the place where that battell was fought hath beene euer ſince called Reuthirdale, as ye would ſay Reuthers vallie.

Reuther and Gethus meet and ioine their powers togither.

The Britains are diſcomfited by the Scots and Picts.

Wherof Reuthirdale tooke the name.

This victorie was not verie pleaſant to any of the parties, by reaſon of the great numbers of men ſlaine on both ſides, inſomuch that they were glad to fall to agreement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scotiſhmen and Picts ſhould be reſtored againe vnto their ancient poſſeſſions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuiolate betwixt theſe nations. The yeare that Reuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Chriſt 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Reuther by Beda in his eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of England is named Reuda, who alſo ſuppoſeth him to be the firſt of all the Scotiſh princes, that ſet any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as ſeemeth to ſome) long after the ſuppoſed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cauſe to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he ſaith) other authors, touching the firſt comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that ſo long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to ſuch puiſſance; it is ſtrange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yeare 360 after Chriſt; as in place conuenient it ſhall more plainelie appeere. Reuther paſſed the reſidue of his daies without any further warres, forren and ciuill, and ſo departed this world at Beregonium, in the 26 yeare of his reigne.

A peace concluded.

240 H.B.

4995 H.B.

Reuther by Beda is named Reuda.

4997 H.B.

After Reuther his deceaſſe, his vncles ſon called Reutha ſucceeded in the kingdome, choſen thereto by the common agreement of all the ſtates, becauſe that Thereus ſonne to Reuther vnneath come to the age of ten yeeres, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him. Reutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scotiſhmen, ordeined that ſuch noblemen as had atchiued anie notable exploit in defenſe of their countrie, ſhould be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in ſolemne wiſe in ſepulchres aloft vpon hils or mounteins, vpon

*Reutha.*

An ordinance for buriall of their princes. Obeliſks or pointed ſtones

vpon the which were ſet ſo manie obeliſks or long pointed ſtones, as they had ſlaine enimies in the wars: whereof ſome remaine there to be ſeene euen to this daie.

Craftſmen brought into Scotland to inſtruct the people.

This Reutha alſo vnderſtanding of the lacke of all maner of craftſmen in his realme, and of ſuch as were expert in the liberall ſciences, cauſed a great number of moſt perfect artificers to be ſent for, to inhabit amongeſt his people, the better to inſtruct them in their occupations. Vnto theſe alſo as vnto other profeſſing anie liberall art, were appointed honeſt liuings, by way of fées, aſſigned to be receiued of ſuch oxen and beeſes as were killed, to euerie man of ſcience and artificer his part. And further, ech of them had certeine meaſures of otes and barlie in ſtead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the vſe of coine was not knowen amongeſt the Scotiſhmen. The which cuſtome of diſtributing their beaſts, which they killed in this wiſe, is ſtill vſed in the weſterne Iles euen to theſe our daies.

Liuings appointed forth vnto thoſe craftſmen.

Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnſkilfull ſurgians and phyſicians manie wounded and diſeaſed perſons were oftentimes caſt awaie, ordeined by the aduiſe and conſent of his councell, that none ſhould take vpon them as a ſurgion or phyſician, vnleſſe they were by long experience well practiſed aforehand in thoſe ſciences. For before that time they vſed to carie forth ſuch perſons as were ſicke or otherwiſe hurt, and to lay them in ſome open place in the ſtreets or market ſted, that all ſuch as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduiſe, and ſhew (if they had béene vered with the like diſeaſe) by what means they had eſcaped the danger, and recouered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch paſſe by, kéeping ſilence in this behalfe. And this was according to the cuſtome of the old Aegyptians.

Leiſ for phiſicians and ſurgians.

Reutha thus ſtudieng for the aduancement of the commonwealth of his ſubiects, continued in the eſtate with great proſperitie, till finallie perceiuing himſelfe farre growen in age, and not ſo able to trauell in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he cauſed a parlement to be aſſembled, and there in preſence of all the eſtates, required to be diſcharged of the gouernement: and that the ſame might be committed vnto his cozin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of ſufficient age to take it vpon him, but alſo of ſuch towardneſſe, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to atteine vnto the proweſſe of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Reutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, reſigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforeſaid Thereus, being through his perſuaſion receiued as king of all eſtates by common conſent there in that preſent aſſemblie.

Reuthi reſigned the eſtate vnto his cozin Thereus.

*Thereus.*

This Thereus for the firſt ſix yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predeceſſors, but afterward he changed his copie in ſuch maner, that iuſtice and all other kinds of vertue being ſet apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himſelfe to all ſorts of filthineſſe and moſt deteſtable vices, ſo farre forth, that his ſubiects (as their cuſtome is in following the maners and vſages of their princes) became ſo outragious in their licentious liuings, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof inſued theft, murther, rape, ſpoiling, and all kinds of oppreſſion of thoſe ſillie ſoules that had no meanes to reſiſt, ſo as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus ſhould reigne, conſpired togither, deuiſing meanes how to depoſe him of all kinglie authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purpoſed intentions, and doubting the ſequele thereof, conueied himſelfe out of the way in moſt ſecret wiſe, fleeing for ſuccour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earneſt ſute for aid to be reſtored home againe, yet could he purchaſe no ſuch fauour amongſt them: ſo that leding a miſerable life a long time after within the citie of Yorke, he finallie there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Iuſtice neglected and vice imbraced.

The nobles conſpire againſt Thereus.

Thereus fled to the Britains.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the nobles and péeres choſe one Conanus lord of Galloway to rule the eſtate as gouernour, whoſe authoritie had béene euer great amongeſt the people. His ſtudie was chieflie imploied how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each ſought others deſtructions. Alſo he cauſed due puniſhment to be executed vpon all ſuch as liued by robbing and reuing, of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no ſmall number: but he wéeded them forth, in ſuch wiſe that yet he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was vnderſtood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the adminiſtration in preſence of all the eſtates aſſembled in parlement at Beregonium, where by common conſent Joſina brother of Thereus was choſen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed.

*Conanus.*

Conanus is choſen king.

Conanus perſecuteth offendors.

He renounceth the eſtate.

Joſina elected king.

*Joſina.*

This Joſina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Picts and Britains. He had phyſicians in great eſtimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nouriſhed of a child amongeſt them, and by reaſon thereof had ſome knowledge in the facultie, ſpeciallie he vnderſtood the vertues and properties of herbes, wherewith in thoſe daies the Scots vſed to heale and remedie all maner of ſores and diſeaſes, which as then were few in number, in reſpect of the ſundrie kinds which are now knowen amongſt vs; and all by reaſon of the ſuperfluous féeding and exceſſe of meats and drinks vſed in our time, whereas our elders ſufficed with a little, liued without ſurfeting, the chiefeſt breéder of ſuch ſtrange and manifold ſickneſſes. In this Joſina his daies it chanced that a Portingale ſhip was driuen and drowned by force of a ſtreinable tempeſt néere vnto the ſhore of one of the Scotiſh Iles, where diuerſe of thoſe that were within the ſame ſhip, mariners and other eſcaped to land, amongeſt whome were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aſpect and countenance.

Surfeting the cauſe of ſtrange diſeaſes, which ſo commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philoſophers through ſhipwrack arriue in Scotland, and are ioifullie receiued of the king.

These two in companie with ſome of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Beregonium, where the king as then ſoiourned. They were Spaniſh prieſts of the pagane religion, whoſe purpoſe was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as ſome write) but whence ſoeuer they were, and what purpoſe ſoeuer they had, certeine it is they were philoſophers; and therefore the king receiued them moſt ioifullie, doing them all the honor he could deuiſe, and commanding that they ſhould be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things néedfull, and accordinglie miniſtred vnto them.

These philoſophers, after they had refreſhed themſelues at their eaſe for the ſpace of 14 daies, the king cauſed them to come before him, requiring them to ſhew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the ſoile, the maners and cuſtoms of his people, ſo far forth as they had ſéene and heard. They without pauſing for anſwere declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne thoſe things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they ſuppoſed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of corne and graine, as conteining far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue; this they ſaid that

they gathered by the influence of the heauens vnder the which it laie. And as for the rites and vſages of the people, in one point they could in no wiſe commend them, for that in religion they followed the ſuperſtitious rites of the Aegyptians, worſhipping the immortall gods in the ſhape of beaſts and fouls, whereas God was euen the ſame that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them conteined, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall cauſe or beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not poſſible to deuiſe anie ſimilitude of liuing thing that might in anie wiſe repreſent him. Therefore (ſaid they) men ought to worſhip the liuing God with fire and deuout prater, building him a temple for that purpoſe, and onelie vnto him to burne incenſe, and to performe vowes: at whoſe hands ſuch as liued chaſtlie, vprightlie, and according to the rules of iuſtice, ought euer to looke for ſome high benefit, where other that liued contrarilie might euer ſtand in doubt of contrarie reward.

*The Scotiſh religion reproued.*

*Vpright liuing well rewarded at Gods hands.*

With theſe their ſenſible inſtructions they perſuaded manie of the Scotiſh nation vnto their opinion, though the greateſt part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwiſe of the ſun, the moone, and ſtars, but that there was a certeine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of theſe ſtrangers briefflie and by the way, who came into Scotland at this preſent: but now to proceed with our purpoſe. When Joſina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Beregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a ſonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers deceaſſe was by conſent of the people proclamed king of Scotland.

*Joſina departeth this life.*

*Finnanus.*

THis Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in ſuch eſtimation, that he ordeined that nothing ſhould be decreed or practiſed touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were firſt made priuie and of counſell in the ſame. He ſought alſo to win the fauour of his people by meekeneſſe and gentle intreating of them, inſomuch that though he went about to reſtore the old religion ſomwhat defaced by his father through information (as is ſaid) of the two aboue mentioned ſage philoſophers, yet did he not conſtreine anie man to worſhip the gods, otherwiſe than his fanſie ſerued him. He was the firſt that inſtituted thoſe prelats, which gouerned after the maner of biſhops, in all matters perteining to religion, and were called in the Scotiſh tong Durceglijs in Latine Druides. Theſe Druides were appointed to be reſident within the Ile of Man, as the Scotiſhmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were reſident in Angleſeie, in the Britiſh tong called Mon. Vnto theſe alſo hauing great liuings aſſigned them, were the inferiour prieſts ſubiect, as receiuing at their hands all iniunctions and orders for the vſe of their ſacrifices and other ceremonies.

*Prelats ordered in religion.*

*Druides in the old Scotiſh tong called Durceglijs.*

*The Scots miſtake Man for Angleſeie.*

Theſe Druides afterwards applied themſelues ſo earneſtlie to the ſtudie of philoſophie, aſwell naturall as morall, that they were had in no ſmall reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of moſt perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whereof their authoritie dailie ſo far forth increaſed, that finallie iudgements in moſt doubtfull matters were committed vnto their determinations, offendors by their diſcretion puniſhed, and ſuch as had well deſerued accordinglie by their appointments rewarded. Moreouer ſuch as refuſed to obeie their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, ſo that no creature durſt once keepe companie with ſuch, till they were reconciled againe, and clearelie by the ſame Druides abſolued.

*Thr authoritie of the Druides increaſed.*

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Cæſar, with diuers other approued authors, make mention of theſe Druides, ſignifieng how the firſt beginning of their religion was in Britaine (which ſome comprehend all wholie vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the ſame religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praiſed for his ſetting forth of that heathen religion, but alſo for his politike gouernement of the eſtate in ioifull reſt and quietneſſe. Neither was his fame a little aduanced for the mariage concluded and made betwixt his ſonne Durſtus and Agaſia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that aliance he wan diuers of the Britiſh nation vnto his friendſhip. Finallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to viſit the king of Picts as then ſore diſeaſed, after he had reigned about the ſpace of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Beregonium, and there buried amongeſt his predeceſſors.

After him ſucceeded his ſonne the forenamed Durſtus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogither giuen to banketting and exceſſiue drunkenneſſe. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie thoſe that of their wicked deuiſes could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleaſures, through whoſe perſuaſions ſome of his peeres he confined, ſome he ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance & inheritance, other he put to death without iuſt cauſe or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forſooke the companie of his lawfull wife Agaſia, cauſing hir to be forced and abuſed by diuers vile perſons in moſt villanous maner.

*Durſtus.*

*Wicked councellors.*

With theſe and the ſemblable inordinat practiſes he procured the indignation of his people ſo far forth againſt him, that thoſe of the weſterne Iles with them of Cantire, Lorne, Argile, and Roſſe, conſpired togither in the reformation of ſuch diſorders as were dailie vſed in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, by the wicked ſuggeſtion of euill diſpoſed councellors, againſt whome they pretended to make their war, and not againſt their king. There were alſo ſo manie that fauoured them in this quarell, and ſo few that leaned to the king to aid him againſt them, that he was conſtreined to diſſemble with them for a time, in promiſing not onelie to remoue from him ſuch as they would appoint, but alſo to be ordered in all things according as they ſhould thinke good. And to put them in beléefe that he ment as he ſpake, he committed ſome ſuch councellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other ſome (of whome he little paſſed) he ſent vnto them as priſoners, to receiue ſuch puniſhment by death or otherwiſe, as they ſhould thinke conuenient.

*A conſpiracie.*

*A craftie and cloked diſſimulation.*

He further alſo in preſence of Dore the gouernour of Cantire, ſent to him for that purpoſe, ſware in ſolemne wiſe afore the image of Diana, to performe all ſuch promiſes and couenants as he was agréed vpon, and had made vnto the conſpirators. With which cloked diſſimulation they being deceiued, came without ſuſpect of further guile vnto Beregonium, where at their firſt comming he was readie to receiue them (as ſéemed by his feined countenance) with gladſome hart and moſt friendlie meaning; but they were no ſooner entred the caſtell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpoſe fell vpon them, and ſlue them all without mercie.

*Craftie diſſimulation.*

*A cruell murther.*

This heinous act being once ſignified abroad in their countries amongſt their friends and kinſfolke, cauſed

A new tumult.

King Durstus besieged.

caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies after, manie thousands of men in furious rage came before the castell, and besieged the king most straightlie therein. Who perceiuing himselfe in such danger as he knew not well how to escape, came forth with such companie as he had about him, and incountring with his enimies, was straightwaies beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his reigne. Durstus being thus dispatched, his children doubting the indignation of the people conceiued against them for their fathers fault, to auoid the perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the nobles of the realme assembled themselues togither for the chosing of a new king, in no wise minding to haue ante of Durstus his race to reigne ouer them, least they would seeke by some means to reuenge his death: howbeit at length when they were at point to haue fallen at variance in susteining of contrarie opinions about the election of their prince, through a wittie oration made by Corranus gouernour of Argile, who alledged manie weightie reasons for the auoiding of sedition, they all agréed to commit the free election vnto the same Corranus, promising firmelie to accept whomsoeuer he should name. Herevpon Corranus consulting a little with the péeres of the realme, named one Ewin the vncles sonne of Durstus, who as then remained in Pictland, whither he had withdrawen himselfe in Durstus his daies, being banished the realme by him, for that he could not awaie with his corrupt maners. This election was acceptable to all estats, for that thereby the administration of the kingdome continued in the line of their former kings.

Durstus is slaine.

Ewin is chosen king.

*Ewin.*

And Ewin shortlie after was brought forth of Pictland with all regall solemnitie, and at Beregonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the great reioising of the people there assembled. Herewith also the nobles of the realme, putting their hands in his, bound themselues by oth to be loiall and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins commandement, begun and continued manie hundred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie; in so much that the capteins of the tribes also required the same kind of oth of them that inhabited within their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto this day amongest those of the westerne Iles, and such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the creation of a new gouernour, whome they name their capteine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being ended, at the next faire kept within that countrie, proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting within his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the ancient & accustomed name as such rulers aforetime haue béene called by. And that so oft as they heare him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and make a certeine courtesie in signe of honour due to him, in such maner as we vse in hearing diuine seruice, when anie holie mysterie is in doing, or anie sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

Swearing of fealtie first begun.

Humble reuerence.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest studie was to mainteine iustice throughout his dominion, and to weed out such transgressours as went about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Furthermore, considering what inconueniencies procéeded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wanton delites, he ordeined that the youth of his realme should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and trauell, as to lie vpon hard boords without anie featherbeds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise themselues to throw the dart, to shoot, to wrestle, and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of warre; that when need required, trauell and such kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might make the same intollerable. Whilest Ewin is thus occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordinances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require his aid against the Britains, who were entred his countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

The dutie of a good prince.

A notable ordinance.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, leuied an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forward to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the old iniuries donne to his nation by the Britains, who likewise were as readie to receiue battell, as the Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that both the armies incountring togither (the Scots and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the other) there insued a sore conflict betwixt them, continued with vnmercifull slaughter till night parted them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who had the better, but either part being priuie to their owne losses, withdrew themselues further off from the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts the same night got them into the mounteins of Pictland, and the Britains so soone as it was day made homewards with all speed towards their countrie, leauing no small prete and bootie behind them, which the Scotishmen and the Picts recouered, comming downe with all speed from the mounteins, when they once heard that their enimies were departed.

A doubtfull battell.

King Ewin being returned from this iournie, determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of the same. He appointed also such as should watch for the apprehension of théeues and robbers by the high waies, assigning them liuings of the common treasurie to liue by. And there be euen vnto this day that hold still such liuings, though the office be worne out of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant from Beregonium, which he named after his owne name Euonium: but afterwards it was called Dunstafage, which is as much to say, as Stéeuens castell, which name it beareth at this present. Finallie, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great weale of the realme, about 19 yéeres, he departed this life, leauing behind him a son base begotten, named Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be executed with all solemne pompe and ceremonies, raised vp sone after sundry obelisks about his graue nære vnto Dunstafage, where he was buried.

Dunstafage is builded.

There were present also at the buriall, two of Durstus his sonnes, whome Ewin in his life time had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, because they were twins, and not knowne whether of them came first into the world, loked to be king after Ewin: their names were Dothan and Dorgall. And such malicious emulation and enuious spite rose betwixt the two brethren, for the atteining of their purpose, that greater could not be deuised; which Gillus, like a craftie & subtill fox, by couert means sought still to augment; and in the end causing them to come togither for some conclusion of agréement, at length when he had set them further at ods than they were before, he procured a number of souldiers appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and there to slea them both.

The craftie working of Gillus.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he came for, shewed in countenance as though he had béene much offended therewith, and done what hée could

Durstus two sonnes are slaine.

could to haue appeaſed the matter, and herewith he commeth running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good ſhift for himſelfe, he had beene ſlaine by the hands of Dothan and Dorgall, who fell into ſuch miſchéefe themſelues, as they had prepared for other. Herevpon alſo he required his friends and ſeruants moſt earneſtlie to conueie him into ſome ſure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better ſecuritie: in ſomuch that manie of thoſe that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all ſpéed vnto Dunſtafage, where being receiued into the caſtell with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuectiue oration againſt the ſonnes of Durſtus, and touching by the way what perill might inſue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuiſion, he perſuaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowen, vnto whome the ſame of right apperteined.

The nobles through feare conſented to create Gillus king.

Thoſe that were preſent, perceiuing to what ſtraine his painted proceſſe tended, and doubting leſt if they ſhould ſéeme to ſtand againſt him at that inſtant in this his demand, they might happilie be the firſt that ſhould repent the bargaine, conſented to proclaime him king: whereupon he required all ſuch as were preſent, to ſweare vnto him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the cuſtome. And herewith agréeablie as he had before promiſed, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he diſtributed among them all ſuch cattell as belonged to his ſaid father. Whereby he wan the greater fauour of manie, but yet not iudging himſelfe altogither in ſuertie, by reaſon that Dothan had left behind him three ſonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purpoſed therefore to diſpatch them alſo for the better aſſurance of his eſtate, and therevpon he made a iournie thither himſelfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all loue and freendlie affection towards the children, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lifmorus, being about twelue yeeres of age, and the other Cormacus that was two yéeres yonger. The yongeſt of the three named Ederus, being about ſeuen yéeres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be ſicke at that time, by reaſon whereof he eſcaped his hands: Gillus feigning as though he wiſhed to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leauing certeine of his ſeruants behind him, to rid Ederus the yongeſt out of the way at leiſure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dunſtafage, he cauſed them to be murthered, euen in their tutors armes, whoſe aid moſt pitifullie they beſought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his ſickneſſe, prouided more warilie for his ſafegard, for ſhe ſmelling out what was the kings purpoſe, in the dead of the night got hir ſelfe together with Ederus into a ſhip, and paſſed ouer into Argile, where being ſet on land, ſhe caried him on hir ſhoulders vp into the mounteins, and there within a ſecret den ſuſteined his languiſhing life for certeine moneths in great care and miſerie.

Gillus goeth about to murther Dothans ſonnes alſo.

A deteſtable murther.

Ederus eſcapeth.

Gillus notwithſtanding theſe his cruell acts, ſhewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more deſirous of the quiet ſtate and proſperous ſucceſſe of the commonwealth than he: euer reaſoning among his nobles, and that in the preſence of his commons touching the maintenance of iuſtice, & puniſhment of miſdoers, whereas he himſelfe thirſted continuallie, and moſt of all after the bloud of thoſe whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked miſgouernance: inſomuch that he raiſed in one place and other, all ſuch to be muſtered and ſlaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durſtus.

Gillus counterfeiteth a zeale to iuſtice.

Now the people ſéeing the dailie ſlaughter of the nobilitie, and at the laſt growing to be verie ſore moued againſt him, namelie thoſe of Galloway, Kyle, Carrike, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lorne, and Argile, they aſſembled their powers together, and with all ſpeed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conſpiracie, aſſembled ſuch puiſſance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enimies with more ſpéed than good ſucceſſe: for yer the two armies came to ioining, a great number of Gillus his friends fled to the contrarie part, ſo that herevpon doubting the iſſue if he were conſtreined to fight, he ſtale priuilie from amongſt the reſidue of his folks, and getting into a fiſhers bote, conueied himſelfe ouer into Ireland: whoſe departure being once knowne, his ſouldiors yéelded themſelues vnto Cadall gouernor of Galloway, who was capteine generall of all the conſpirators, and now by the conſent of all the eſtates created gouernor of the realme till they had choſen a king.

The Scots riſe againſt Gillus.

Gillus departeth ſecretlie and getteth ouer into Ireland.

Cadall of Galloway is choſen gouernor of the realme.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat firſt all the beſt fortreſſes into his hands, as Beregonium, Dunſtafage, and other: then he paſſed ouer into the Ile of Ila, to prouide the better for the reſiſting of Gillus, if he ſhuld attempt anie thing by purchaſing aid amongſt them of the weſterne Iles. Thither was brought vnhimto alſo, the yong Ederus (by ſuch of Durſtus his friends as had eſcaped the cruell hands of Gillus) whome Cadall cauſed to be honorablie conueied vnto Epiake the chiefeſt citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, hee might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

Leland and other take Epiake not to be ſo farre north.

In which meane while Gillus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, inſomuch that vpon ſuch golden promiſes as he made vnto the chiefeſt gouernors there, they conſented to aid him with all their forces. Wherof Cadall being aduertiſed, he thought it beſt that a king ſhould be choſen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongſt all the eſtates of the realme, whereupon cauſing a councell to be aſſembled for the ſame intent, by common agréement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephue to king Finnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Golwere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himſelfe cloſe hitherto within the ſaid Ile, for doubt of Gillus that ſought amongſt other to haue deſtroied him alſo.

Gillus purchaſeth aid in Ireland.

Ewin the ſecond of that name choſen king.

*Ewin.*

THis Ewin, being the ſecond of that name, made great prouiſion in the beginning of his reigne to reſiſt the ſaid Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had béene in the Ile of Ila, and put the ſame to fire and ſword, he prepared an armie and ſhips alſo, to tranſport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon ſuch as had aided Gillus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernor of Galloway, was appointed alſo to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the ſea at Dunſtafage, directed his courſe ſtreight ouer vnto the coaſts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enimies, he put them to the worſe, inſomuch that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduerſaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue ſaued himſelfe. His ſouldiers alſo perceiuing him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yéelded themſelues vnto Cadall, who tooke them to grace, and forthwith

Cadall with an armie is ſent into Ireland.

ſent

Gillus taken.

Gillus beheaded.

ſent out certeine companions to ſeeke Gillus, who found him in a den cloſed about with thicke woods and buſhes, where he had lien hid certeine daies, and was almoſt ſtarued for hunger. Thoſe that found him immediatlie ſtroke off his head, and preſented the ſame vnto Cadall, to the great reioiſing of all the companie.

A ſhipwrack by a tempeſt.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterpriſe with good ſucceſſe, he tooke the ſea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greeuous tempeſt, he loſt the greateſt part of his armie, with all the ſpoile and riches that they had gotten in that voiage. Which miſchance ſore blemiſhed the glorie of ſo famous a victorie, ſo that the reioiſing of manie was turned into dolefull mourning for the loſſe of their friends and kinſfolke, but namelie Cadall tooke it ſo greeuouſlie, that nothing could be more offenſiue vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him alſo much faire lands, with diuers caſtels in Galloway, in recompenſe of his good faithfull ſeruice at ſundrie times ſhewed in defenſe of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway alſo, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

Cadall for his good & faithful ſeruice is rewarded.

An interview betwixt the kings of Scots and Picts.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Picts in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th' ancient leage betwixt the Scotiſh men and the Picts. For more corroboration whereof Thora the daughter of Gethus the third king of the Picts, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the ſolemnization being kept at Epiake. Theſe things thus accompliſhed, Ewin returned to Duſtafage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Roſſe, that the Ilanders of Orkney had paſſed Pictland firth, and were entred into Cathneſſe, robbing and ſpoiling that countrie with a great part of Roſſe, he leuied an armie with all ſpeed, and haſted towards the enimies, conſtreining them by his ſudden comming to fight whether they would or not, hauing no leiſure to get awaie, ſo that with ſmall reſiſtance they were vanquiſhed and chaſed, ſome into the mounteins, and other to the ſea ſide: of whom part eſcaped by botes ouer into their countries, the reſidue of them in this their ſudden ouerthrow being either ſlaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Orkeney, for that he would not come into his enimies hands, ſlue himſelfe. And thus ended this enterpriſe againſt the enimies of Orkeney: greatlie to the increaſe of Ewins fame amongſt the Scotiſh nation.

The people of Orkney inuade Cathneſſe.

Bladus king of Orkeney ſleeth himſelf.

After this he viſited the weſt parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, infranchiſing the ſame with a ſanctuarie for the refuge of offendors. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reaſon of the great abundance of ſamons, herrings, and other fiſh which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be ſeene in that place where it ſtood, euen to this day. He likewiſe built an other citie in the eaſt part of the realme neere to the water called Lochneſſe, which he named Enuerneſſe, after the name of the water. Whither in times paſt there reſorted manie merchants of Germanie, with ſuch merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there ſtood in need of, exchanging the ſame with them for marterne ſkins, and other ſuch furres, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well ſtored with diuers kinds of merchandize, ſo that this Ewin proued a moſt famous prince for his worthie exploits right fortunatelie atchiued both in peace and warre. And finallie vnderſtanding the death of his verie deere and intirelie beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Epiake, as well to giue order for the pacifieng of his ſonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as alſo to do the more honor to his friend now deceaſed, by erecting ſome monument neere vnto his ſepulchre. Comming therefore to Epiake, and ſetting an accord betwixt the yong men, he cauſed an image to be made in all points reſembling the perſonage of Cadall, as neere as might be: which he placed in the middeſt of the market ſtead, commanding the ſame to be honored with burning of incenſe and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies alſo, through inward ſorrow, as was thought, for the loſſe of ſo deere a friend, he began to wax ſicke himſelfe, and at length perceiuing he ſhould not eſcape preſent death, he cauſed Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whoſe hands with manie wholſome aduertiſements how to vſe himſelfe in gouernement of his ſubiects, he wholie reſigned the eſtate, the which after his deceaſſe he knew to be due vnto him without all queſtion and controuerſie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned ſeuentéene yeares continuallie for the moſt part in high wealth and felicitie.

Cadall deceaſed.

Ewin reſigneth the eſtate.

Ewins deceaſe.

*Ederus.*

After the deceaſe of Ewin, Ederus was, in maner before expreſſed, receiued for king by the whole aſſent of all the Scotiſhmen. Whoſe cheefe delight was altogither in hunting and keeping of hounds and greihounds, to chaſe and purſue wild beaſts, and namelie the woolfe the heardmans foe, by meanes whereof his aduancement was much more acceptable amongſt the nobles, who in thoſe daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleaſure and paſtime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards, the publike ſtate of the realme being mainteined by vpright iuſtice, and all tranſgreſſions through terror of due puniſhment politikelie repreſſed.

Wzedus inuadeth the Scots.

The firſt that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Wzedus of the Iles, neere of kin to Gillus that vſurper and murtherer, who with a power of Iriſhmen, and other of the weſterne Iles landed in Argile, waſting & ſpoiling the countrie with fire & ſword, wherof Ederus being aduertiſed (who was at the ſame time in thoſe parts hunting amongſt the mounteins) gathered an armie with all ſpeed, and haſting to the place where his enimies ſhips laie at anchor, he firſt burned the ſame, to take awaie all meanes from them to eſcape by flight. The morning next following he did ſet vpon them alſo at vnwares: of whom ſome he ſlue, and the reſidue being taken, either in the fight or chaſe by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

Ederus burneth his enimies ſhips.

After this, he paſſed ouer into the weſterne Iles, where he did execution vpon ſuch as had aided Wzedus, putting ſome to death, and cauſing other to fine at his pleaſure, and depriuing ſome vtterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambaſſadors ſent from Caſſibilane kings of the Wzitains, requiring him of aid againſt Julius Ceſar, who (as the ſame king had perfect vnderſtanding) was appointed verie ſhortlie to paſſe the ſeas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to ſubdue the inhabitants vnto the ſeignior ie and iuriſdiction of Rome.

Caſſibilane king of the Wzitains requireth of the Scotiſhmen aid againſt the Romans.

Enuerneſſe builded.

Ederus receiued theſe ambaſſadors verie courteouſlie: and forſomuch as their maiſters requeſt required counſell, he cauſed his lords which were then preſent, to aſſemble togither the next daie, afore whome he willed that Andrógeus, cheefe of the Wzitiſh ambaſſadors, ſhould declare the effect of his meſſage,

Andrógeus cheefe ambaſſador of the Wzitains declareth the effect of his meſſage.

ſage, which he did ſo eloquentlie, and vttering ſuch ſenſible matter, how it ſtood the Scotiſhmen vpon to aid the Britains againſt ſuch common enimies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the aduiſe of his nobles, that he ſhould not onlie ſend a power to aid the Britains againſt the Romans, but alſo ſend ſome of his lords with Androgeus and his aſſociats vnto Gethus king of the Picts, to moue him to do the like: who hearing how reaſonable their demands were, promiſed further to accompliſh the ſame.

The Scots grant to aid the Britains againſt the Romans.

Thus the Britiſh ambaſſadors hauing ſped according to their deſires, repaired homewards: immediatlie vpon whoſe departure, both the kings Ederus & Gethus leuied their armies, & ſent them forth towards London, whereas then Caſſibilane ſoiourned. I find that the Scots were ten thouſand men vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Galloway, the ſonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Douald gouernor of Argile. But what ſucceſſe followed of this firſt iournie which Ceſar made into Britaine, ye ſhall find the ſame in the hiſtorie of England more at length expreſſed. The yéere that Julius Ceſar came to inuade Britaine, was the fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of the world 3912 complet, which is after Maiſter Harriſons account 54 before the comming of our Sauiour, and 692 after the building of Rome.

Cadallane & Douald with ten thouſand Scotiſhmen ſend to aid the Britains.

3129 H.B.
60 H.B.

The Scotiſhmen and Picts hauing their part of the ſpoile which the Romans at their departure left behind them, were ſent home to their countries with great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the Britains were ſo exalted in pride by the departure of the Romans, that they beléeued verelie they ſhuld haue no more to do with thoſe enimies, or if they had they thought themſelues ſtrong inough to repell them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when king Ederus was informed how the Romans prepared to inuade them afreſh, and had ſent them word thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no account of that offer, but anſwered that it was not neceſſarie, for euerie light inuaſion of forren enimies, to ſéeke helpe at other mens hands, being of puiſſance ſufficient of themſelues to reſiſt the ſame well inough.

The Britains refuſe aid being offered them.

But of this refuſall of ſo friendlie an offer, it was not long yer the Britains ſore repented them. For ſhortlie after Julius Ceſar with a farre greater power than that which he brought with him at the firſt time, landed here in this Ile amongſt them againe: and being at thée ſundrie times fiercelie incountred by king Caſſibilane, at length he put the ſame Caſſibilane with his Britains to flight, ſlaieng and taking a great number of them. Amongſt other of the priſoners were thrée of their cheefeſt capteins, Androgeus, Ciſentoriges, and Tenantius. By reaſon of which ouerthrow Caſſibilane was ſo diſcouraged, that doubting further miſchéefe, he yélded himſelfe vnto Ceſar, accepting ſuch conditions of peace as were appointed him, and for performance of couenants, deliuered ſufficient pledges.

Julius Ceſar inuadeth this land the ſecond time.

The Britains are ouerthrowne.

Ceſar hauing thus conquered the Britains, ſent his ambaſſadors vnto the kings of the Scotiſhmen and Picts, requiring them to ſubmit themſelues as Caſſibilane had done, or elſe he bad them looke for open warres at the Romans hands, which they might aſſure themſelues they ſhould in no wiſe be able to ſuſteine, conſidering their mightie and huge puiſſance, hauing the moſt part of the whole world at their commandement alreadie. Wherevnto aſwell the one king as the other made this or much-what the like anſwer, that they were bent ſooner to loſe their liues than their libertie. Which their reſolution, if they were put to the triall, ſhould be euidentlie

Julius Ceſar his meſſage to the Scots and Picts.

The anſwer of the Scots and Picts vnto Ceſar his ambaſſadors.

proued by the déed it ſelfe.

Ceſar hauing receiued this anſwer from theſe two nations, he ſendeth new meſſengers vnto them with a more rough meſſage, who not onlie by threats but alſo by great reaſons went about to perſuade them vnto ſubmiſſion. But they perſiſting in their former opinion for defenſe of their liberties, and vtterlie refuſing all maner of bondage, would incline by no meanes to come in any bond of frendſhip with the Romans. After the returne of theſe laſt meſſengers, Ceſar was fullie reſolued to enter into their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of ſword, wherevnto by treatie he might not induce them: and had ſet forward on that iournie ſhortlie after indéed, if he had not béene called backe into France, to paciſie ſundris commotions there raiſed by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in thoſe countries, where the Picards and Normans, with other the inhabitants néere about Chartres do now dwell.

Ceſar ſendeth new meſſengers vnto the Scots and Picts, but they ſped much like to the former.

The common Scotiſh chronicles record, how Julius Ceſar came as far as Kalendar wood, and there wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Piciſh kings vſed moſt to ſoiourne. Herevnto the ſame chronicles adde, that Ceſar builded a great ſtone-houſe of 24 cubits in heigth, & of 12 cubits in breadth, of ſquare hewen ſtones, right workemanlie framed, which houſe they ſaie Ceſar cauſed to be vſed in ſtéed of a iudgement hall, and here placed it néere the riuer of Caron, ouer againſt the forenamed citie of Camelon, as a witneſſe that the Romans armie had béene ſo far forward within that countrie. Such an houſe there remaineth to be ſéene euen vnto this daie, and is called Julius hoff, that is Julius hall, or Julius court. Howbeit, other more agréeable to the likelihood of a truth, write that this houſe was ſometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudius Ceſar, and of the goddes Victoria, by the Romane capteine Veſpaſian, at ſuch time as he made wars in that countrie, before his aduancement to the empire.

Kalender or Caledon wood. This cannot be true, for Ceſar came not nér Scotland, as in the hiſtorie of England it appéreth.

Julius hoff.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the ſame time, in which he looked to be inuaded by Julius Ceſar and the Romans, and for that purpoſe had ſent for them of the weſterne Iles to reinforce his hoſt, he was now inforced to conuert it another waie, for there was one Murketus, nephue vnto the aboue remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of Ireland to rob and ſpoile thoſe Iles, being deſtitute as then of men to reſiſt him. But Ederus hearing thereof, diſpatched Cadallanus with an armie into thoſe parties for defenſe of his ſubiects: which Cadallanus behaued himſelfe ſo politikelie in this exploit, that ſetting vpon the enimies as they laie at anchor, he toke them in the night ſeaſon, without making any great defenſe, and after hanged them vp along the ſhore ſide within the Ile of Gowre: Murket himſelf being honored with an higher place to hang in than all the reſt, as due to him that was their cheefe head and leader in that voiage. The remnant of Ederus his reigne paſſed without anie other notable trouble: and ſo after he had reigned 38 yeeres, he deceaſed a verie old man, about the 23 yeare of the empire of Auguſtus Ceſar. He was buried alſo at Dunſtafage with all due pompe & ſolemnitie, hauing diuers obeliſks (as the cuſtome then was) erected and ſet vp about the place where he was ſo intumulate.

Murketus nephue vnto Gillus inuadeth the weſterne Iles.

Murket is hanged with manie more.

48 HB.
26 H.B.

Ederus departeth this life.

After him reigned his ſonne Ewin, the third of that name, nothing like in any princelie qualitie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwiſe infamed by all kind of vices. In the firſt yéeres of his reigne he was wholy drowned in laſciuious lecherie, abandoning himſelfe altogither to lie weltering amongſt

*Ewin.*

A licentious king.

amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murthered, onlie bicause he might the more freelie without gainsaieng haut his vile trade of liuing with their wiues and cosins. Such delight he had also in his filthie and abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawfull for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualities. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common vnto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first deflowre the bride after hir marriage: which last ordinance toke such effect, that of manie hundred yeeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succeeding, shortlie after this Ewins decease, taken awaie and reuoked.

Filthie lawes

But now to conclude touching the doings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & vsages, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there toke him prisoner, being destitute of all aid and succors: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Cadallan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclamed gouernor of the realme. Howbeit the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous young man, in hope to haue thanks of Cadallan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in steed of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Cadallan detesting such a wicked deed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seuenth yeere after he began his reigne ouer the Scotishmen, being the 9 yeere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

Ewin is pursued and forsaken hot is subiects.

Ewin condemned to perpetuall prison

Ewin is strangled.

32 H.B.

*Metellanus.*

After Ewin succeeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Ederus a prince of most gentle behauiour. This Metellanus mainteined his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie maner of wars, either forren or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessor had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such young gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Kimbaline king of the Britains an ambassador from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernement of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, sith the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

Kimbaline king of the Britains.

Metellanus becommeth friend to the Romans.

These ambassadors went also vnto Metellanus the K. of the Scotishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superioritie in the Romane emperour, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadors with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherwith Metellanus being partlie moued to haue a friendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperour, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which means he obteined an amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning throughout the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Juda. Which most blessed and salutiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yeare of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scotish kingdome by Fergusius 324 yeeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeeres in continuall peace and quietnes, euermore readie to doo the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finallie, he passed out of this life in the 39 yeere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauior, and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Howbeit he left no issue aliue behind him to succeed in the gouernment of the kingdome: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephue to king Metellan by his sister Europeia, was proclamed king; as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the peeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a little to doo in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metellane.

The birth of our Sauior Christ.

10 H.B.

320 H.B.

5109 H. B.

Metellane departeth this world.

29 H.B.

14 H.B.

Caratake is proclamed K. This Caratake all the British and English writers take to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called England.

*Caratake.*

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Iles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which done, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Caricouium, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situat within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilest these things were a doing in Scotland, Kimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had beene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guiderius succeeding, disdained to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and inuaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life, but such as saued themselues within castels & fortresses.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Kimbaline king of the Britains dieth.

Guiderius the British king rebelleth against the Romans.

The emperour Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hereof, sent two captens, Aulus Plancius, and Cneus Sentius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, vanquished Guiderius in battell, so that he was constreined to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enimies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadours returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciaries to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guiderius had not beene constreined to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yer the Galls could be resolued vpon anie determinat purpose.

Plancius otherwise Plautius.

Guiderius sendeth to Caratake for aid.

France in those daies Gallia.

Guiderius slaine.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Galls to staie their intended rebellion. Shortlie

The empe-rour Claudi-us commeth into Britaine.

lie after Claudius himſelfe came ouer into Britaine, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obeiſance, ordered things among them at his pleaſure. And after preparing his naute and armie with all purueiance conuenient, he ſet forward towards the Iles of Orkneie, purpoſing to conquere the ſame, for that they had aided the Britains in theſe laſt warres againſt the Romans. But approching neere to thoſe Iles, he was in danger to haue beene caſt awaie by a tempeſt riſing by chance, euen as he was entred the ſtreict betwixt the Orkenies and Dungilbie head in Cathneſſe called Pictland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he firſt arriued, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the firſt ſight of the great multitude of ſhips being fled to hide themſelues in caues and dens amongeſt the rocks & mounteins.

Claudius ſaileth into the Orkenies.

Now Kirke-wale.

Claudius ta-keth the king of the Orke-nies.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, paſſed into Pomonia the chiefeſt of all the Orkenies, where diſcomfiting ſuch as appeared abroad to make reſiſtance, he beſieged the king of thoſe Iles named Ganus, within a caſtell where he was withdrawen, and finallie cauſing him to yeeld himſelfe priſoner, led him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to ſet forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie.

The doubt of Claudius go-ing into the Orkenies.

Dion Caſſius.

¶ But whatſoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this paſſage of Claudius into the Orkenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he ſtaied not paſt 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Caſſius it appeareth that he did not in deed; how ſhould we imagine that he could both pacifie the ſouth parts of Britaine, and after go into Orkenie and conquere the ſame within ſo ſmall a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of thoſe 16 daies, as the ſaid Dion affirmeth? But this diſcourſe haue I made according to their owne hiſtories, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to defraud them of whatſoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errours, as the maner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their anceſtors, take the aduantage oftentimes of writers ſcant worthie of credit.

Aruiragus forſaketh his lawfull wife.

But now againe to our purpoſe. Aruiragus being eſtabliſhed in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon ſome priuat diſpleaſure forſooke his wife named Voada, the ſiſter of Caratake king of the Scotiſhmen, and maried Genilla a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britans diſallowed; the more in deed, becauſe he had faire iſſue alreadie by Voada, as a ſon and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counſell of Aulus Plancius, thereby to breake all friendſhip and aliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no caſe of rebellion they ſhould ioine their powers togither.

Voada impri-ſoned.

Neither did he onelie refuſe Voada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but alſo cauſed hir to be kept in priſon, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where ſhe was kept, and conueied hir into Wales togither with hir children.

Voada is de-liuered out of priſon, and conueied into wales.

With which dealing Aruiragus being highlie moued, determined with force of armes to puniſh them that had thus miſuſed him: but perceiuing that not onelie thoſe people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that adioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene againſt his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their captcine Aulus Plancius aſſembling togither with ſuch of the Britains as tooke part with Aruiragus, ſet forward toward the enimies, and ioining with them in battell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that

Aruiragus giueth his enimies an ouer-throw.

the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lanchaſhire, Yorkeſhire, and Darbiſhire, were vp in armour againſt the king and the Romans, by reaſon whereof Aruiragus and Aulus Plancius withdrew towards London, that defending the ſea coaſts towards France, they might yet haue the ſea open at all times whatſoeuer chanced. And to reenforce their power, Aulus Plancius ſent ouer for two legions of ſouldiers into France, to come with all ſpeed to his aid.

Commotion againſt Aruira-gus.

The Britains, who had gone ſo farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themſelues, now being certified of all their enimies doings, thought beſt to make themſelues ſo ſtrong as was poſſible. And to the end that they might proceed in ſome orderlie meane, all the greateſt lords and eſtates aſſembled togither at Shrewſburie, in thoſe daies called Coriminum, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine againſt the Romans & Aruiragus, who went about to bring them wholie vnder ſeruile ſubiection and thraldome of the ſame Romans. They being thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the ſame purpoſe to ioine their whole puiſſance togither, there roſe a doubt whome they might chooſe for their generall captcine, for that it was feared leaſt there might grow ſome ſecret enuie amongeſt the nobles being of equall power, if one ſhould be in this caſe preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which miſchiefe, by the graue admonition of one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to ſend meſſengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiring him to aid them in their right and iuſt quarrell againſt Aruiragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie done to his ſiſter queene Voada and hir iſſue, whome the father through counſell of the Romans purpoſed to diſherit to the end, ſuch children as he had by Geniſſa (for that they were of the Romane bloud) might inioy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the Britiſh lords which were confederat in this enterpriſe, had choſen him by common aſſent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might ſo pleaſe him to take it vpon him, as their truſt was he would: conſidering the iuſt cauſes of their warre, and the ſuertie which by victorie gotten might inſue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

The Bri-tains make themſelues ſtrong.

The Bri-tains aſſem-ble them-ſelues at Shrewſburie.

They confe-derat them-ſelues toge-ther.

Caratake choſen to be captcine of the Britains.

Aruiragus would diſ-herit his own children which he had by Voada.

Caratake hauing heard the ſumme of their requeſt, and throughlie weieng the ſame, promiſed them to be readie with his whole puiſſance in the beginning of the next ſpring, to come to their aid, vnto what place ſoeuer they ſhould thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be moſt aſſured, willing them in the meane time ſo to prouide for themſelues, as their enimies might haue no aduantage at their hands. With this agreeable anſwere the Britiſh meſſengers returned to Shrewſburie to the confederats, who reioiſing at the news, made prouiſion againſt the next ſpring to go againſt the Romans, in hope of good ſucceſſe, ſpeciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who alſo with their king called Conkiſt were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whoſe neſtling ſo neere their noſes they were loth to ſee or heare of. So ſoone therefore as the ſpring approched, all thoſe three people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Yorkeſhire, in purpoſe to incounter with their enimies in battell, whereſoeuer they found them.

Caratake promiſed aid to the Bri-tains.

The Picts ioine with Scots and Britains a-gainſt the Ro-mans.

Aruiragus and Aulus Plancius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederats, likewiſe aſſembled their power, & comming towards them,

for

for a while forbare to ioine in battell, through counſell of Plancius, who perceiuing the moſt part of the Britains and Scots to be but new ſouldiers, taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by protracting time they would be ſone out of heart, through watching and euill harborough, in ſuch ſort that in the end they ſhould be eaſie inough to deale with; and euen ſo it came to paſſe. For the Romans refuſing to fight a generall battell, yet ſcoured ſo the fields on ech ſide abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or vittels, but they were ſtill ſnatched vp, ſo that what through hunger, lacke of ſléepe, and other diſeaſes, manie of the Britains began to conueie themſelues from the campe home to their houſes, of whome ſome being taken by the enimies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great diſtreſſe, and ſore infeebled by ſuch vnaccuſtomed trauell and diſeaſes as they were inforced vnto in the campe. Wherevpon Aruiragus and Aulus Plancius determined the next day to giue battell. And ſo in the morning they arraied their people, & marched forth betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

The Britains wearied through trauell.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederates, vnderſtanding the enimies intent, was as readie to receiue battell as they were to offer it; wherevpon there inſued right great and vnmercifull ſlaughter betwixt them on both parts, without ſparing any at all, till ſuch time as the night parted the fraie, with ſuch loſſe on either ſide, that after they were once got in ſunder, neither part had anie haſt afterwards to ioine againe: ſo that in the morning there appeared none in the field but onelie the dead bodies, thoſe that were left aliue as well on the one part as the other being fled and ſcattered into the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Plancius got them vnto London: and Caratake commanding his people home each man into his countrie, he himſelfe withdrew firſt towards Yorke, and after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither ſhortlie after there came vnto him ambaſſadors from Aulus Plancius, ſent to know vpon what occaſion he did aid the Britiſh rebels againſt the Romane empire, declaring that if he would not be conformable to make a worthie amends for ſo preſumptuous an enterpriſe, he ſhould be ſure to haue the Romans his enimies; and that in ſuch wiſe, as he ſhould perceiue it were much better for him to ſéeke their friendſhip, than to abide their enimitie.

The Romans giue battell to the Britains.

Night parteth the fray.

Caratake returneth home to Caricto-nium.

Ambaſſadors are ſent vnto Caratake, from Aulus Plancius.

Herevnto Caratake anſwered, that he had iuſt cauſe to doo that which he did, conſidering the iniuries which his ſiſter Voada with hir ſonne Guiderius had and were like to receiue by their counſell and meanes: and therefore he was ſo little minded to make anie amends for that was doone, that hée thought it more reaſon that the Romans ſhould clearelie auoid out of the whole poſſeſſion of Britaine, either elſe they might aſſure themſelues to haue aſwell the Britains, as alſo the Scots & Picts to be their perpetuall enimies, and that onelie for the chalenge of their ancient liberties and frédome. The Romane ambaſſadors being returned with this anſwer, Plancius toke no ſmall indignation thereat, fore menacing to be reuenged of ſo high and contumelious words pronounced againſt the maieſtie of the Romane empire.

Caratake his anſwer vnto the ambaſſadors.

About the ſame time Aruiragus, vpon truſt conceiued by ioining his power with the other confederate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the realme, and ſo to recouer the intire eſtate, reuolting from them, fled into Shrewſburie, where, at the ſame time ſuch Britiſh lords as were enimies to the Romans, were aſſembled againe in councell, by whom Aruiragus was receiued with great gladneſſe (ye maie be ſure) of thoſe lords, truſting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Genilla being at the ſame ſeaſon great with child, toke ſuch thought for this reuolting of hir huſband, that trauelling before hir time, ſhe immediatly died therwith. But Aulus Plancius, perceiuing now thoroughlie how little truſt there was to be put in the Britans, diſpatched a meſſenger in all haſt with letters vnto Claudius the emperour, who as then ſoiourned at Rome, ſignifieng vnto him in what danger the ſtate of Britaine ſtood, if timelie prouiſion were not the ſoner made.

Aruiragus reuolteth.

Genilla the wife of Arutragus dieth.

A meſſenger ſent vnto Claudius the emperor from Plancius.

Claudius weieng the matter by good aduiſe of councell, ordeined by decrée of the ſenate, that Veſpaſian (of whome ye haue heard before) ſhould be ſent hither with an armie, to tame the proud and loftie ſtomachs of the Britains, with their confederats the Scots & Picts. Veſpaſian herevpon departing from Rome, came into France, & increaſing his legions, with a ſupplie of ſuch ſouldiers as he found there, paſſed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore his coming, he found euerie fortreſſe ſo well furniſhed after the warlike order of the Romane vſage, and moreouer all ſuch companies of men of warre as kept the field ſo well appointed and ordered, that he could not but much praiſe the great diligence and politike gouernement of Plancius.

Veſpaſian commeth into Britaine.

Now when Veſpaſian had a little refreſhed his men, and taken order how to proceed in the reducing of the Britains to their former obedience, he ſet forward toward Aruiragus & other the enimies, whom he vnderſtood as then to be at Yorke, making their aſſemblie, not generallie of all that were able to beare a club, as they did the yeere before; but out of all parties a choſen number of piked men were ſent for, as out of Deuonſhire & Cornewall there came 6000, forth of Wales and the marches 12000, and the like number out of Kendall, Weſtmerland, and Cumberland. Out of Oxfordſhire and other the parties of Britaine ſubiect vnto Aruiragus, there came 35000. All which numbers aſſembled here vnto Yorke, euerie man bringing his prouiſion with him to ſerue him for two moneths ſpace. Vnto the ſame place came alſo Caratake with 30000 Scotiſh men: and Illthara otherwiſe called Tharan, king of the Picts, with almoſt as manie of his ſubiects.

The Britains gather an armie.

Jcenil.

The Scots & Picts come to aid the Britains.

Illthara or Tharan king of Picts.

Veſpaſian being certified ſtill from time to time of all the doings of his enimies, haſted with all ſpéed towards them; and by the leading of truſtie guides comming to the place where they were incamped within a mariſh ground not paſſing 12 miles from Yorke, he fiercelie vpon a ſudden ſetteth vpon them within their campe, yer they thought he had béene néere them. But yet notwithſtanding they manfullie ſtood to their defenſe: inſomuch that thoſe in the right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue bæne diſtreſſed, if Veſpaſian perceiuing the danger, had not ſent a legion to their aid in time, wherby the battell was newlie in that part reſtored. The captains on either ſide did what they could to incourage their folkes to ſticke to their tackle, without giuing ouer by anie meanes, conſidering what gaine came by victorie, and what loſſe inſued by receiuing the ouerthrow.

Veſpaſian aſſaileth the Britains in their campe.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like inraged lions, ran vpon the Romans, with ſuch cruell deſire of reuenge, that euen when they were thruſt through vpon the point of any weapon, they would run ſtill vpon the ſame, to come vnto him that held it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and deſperate hardineſſe preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the domi-

The deſperat hardineſſe of the Britains and Scotiſhmen.

Fortune fauoureth the Romans.

nion

nion of the whole world, shewed hir selfe so fauourable vnto them in this battell, that in the end, though the Britains with the confederats did what lay in men to dow for atteining of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight.

The Britains receiue the ouerthrow

Aruiragus seeing the slaughter of his people, would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his seruants caried him by force out of the field, that hee might be reserued yet vnto some better fortune. Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie, but Tharan king of the Picts, not coueting to liue after such losse of his people, threw away his armor with all his kinglie ornaments, and sitting downe vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there slaine by such as followed in the chase. Aruiragus being conueied out of danger, and gotten into Yorke, considered how by reason of this great discomfiture, it was vnpossible to resist the Romane puissance, and therefore with consent of the residue of his nobles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an herald vnto Uespasian, offring to submit himselfe in most humble wise vnto anie reasonable conditions of peace and agrement. Wherupon Uespasian commanded that Aruiragus should in priuate apparell come in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie peace, except he had Aruiragus present, and therefore he sent vnto him his safe conduct to assure him safetie both to come and go.

Caratake escapeth. Tharan king of the Picts is slaine.

Messengers sent by Aruiragus vnto Uespasian with submission.

Aruiragus seeing no other remedie, came in vnto Uespasian, according to his appointment, and vpon his submission was pardoned of all his trespasse, and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and good townes also that were partakers in the rebellion, were in semblable wise forgiuen without fining or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better assurance of their loialtie in time to come, they deliuered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place established. For the administration of the which, in euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to see good orders obserued according to the forme thereof. By which meanes the British nation eftsoones returned vnto hir former obedience of the Romane empire. All the winter following, Uespasian laie at Yorke, making his apprests against the next spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So soone therefore as the summer was come, Uespasian setteth forward with his armie, and entering into the marches of his enimies, he did put them in such feare that the Picts were glad to yeld themselues vnto him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through strength of that town to defend themselues from all assaults. Uespasian being certified therof, came & besieged them within the same citie, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleasure. This siege continued till they within, being in danger to famish through want of vittels, surrendred themselues with the town into Uespasians hands. In this town were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne & sword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Picts. The sword hauing the haft of gold, & a purple scabberd very finely wrought & trimmed, Uespasian vsed to weare in all the warres wherin he afterwards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what good successe and lucke to follow therof. The Pictish lords which were within Camelon, were commanded to deliuer pledges: and after licenced to depart without anie other damage. Uespasian himselfe remaining at Camelon, take order for the peopling of the towne with Romans, granting them the vse of the liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabiting in Rome inioied. Also ouer against the towne vpon the banke of the riuer of Caron, he builded a temple in honor of the emperor Claudius, wherein he set vp two images, the one representing Claudius, and the other the goddesse Victoria.

Aruiragus commeth in vnto Uespasian.
Aruiragus is restored again to his former dignitie.
The Britains are pardoned, but yet deliuer new hostages.
Their lawes abrogated.
New lawes.
Camelon besieged by Uespasian.
Camelon surrendred.
The kings regall ornaments taken.
Camelon peopled with Romans.

Iulius Hoff. This was at Colchester, as the British & English writers dow gesse.

Whilest he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scotishmen had assembled in Galloway a great army of Scots, Picts and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to reuenge the last ouerthrow. Wherupon Uespasian with all speed sent forth a strong power vnder the leading of Aulus Plancius to incounter the enimies. Plancius being approched within foure miles of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as though he minded not to passe further, till Uespasian with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his aid. Nevertheless, night was no sooner come on, but that he gaue generall commandement through his host, that euerie man should make him readie to depart at a certeine houre vnder the standards of their capteins in order of battell.

Caratake assembleth an armie.
Plancius sent forth with an armie against Caratake.

Then in the second watch of the night he set forward, following certeine guides (which knew all the straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon the whole campe, and though he found such resistance that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from the dawning of the day, till it was hie none, yet in the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake escaping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him to the castell of Dunstafage. Diuerse of the Britains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted themselues, were put in such dread through brute of this ouerthrow, that immediatlie therevpon they came in and yeelded themselues vnto Uespasian. And in semblable wise the people of Galloway vtterlie despairing any longer to defend their countrie against Plancius (who was now entred into their confines, and had taken the citie of Carrike) offred to become subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that time.

Plancius setteth vpon the Scotish campe.
Caratake fleeth vnto Dunstafage.
The people of Galloway submit themselues to the Romans.

These newes being certified vnto Uespasian by a pursuant, he rode streightwaies vnto Carrike, & there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambassadors vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie meanes to become friend vnto the Romane empire, in acknowledging some maner of subiection therevnto: but this deuise was to small purpose, for Caratake was determined rather to end his life as a free Scotishman in defense of libertie, than to become thrall vnto anie forreine nation, in hope to liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they would vsurpe the whole dominion vnto themselues. Whose mind when Uespasian vnderstood by his answer made to the ambassadors which were sent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunstafage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed what dangerous passages he must march thorough, all full of desart mounteins, bogs, and quauemires, without anie prouision of vittels or forrage to bee found by all the way as the armie should passe.

Ambassadors sent vnto Caratake.
Caratake vtterlie refuseth to become a subiect.

Leauing therfore this enterprise, he caused so manie vessels to be assembled, as could be prouided on all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile of Man, into the which there were gotten together a great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped the Romans hands. But this iournie also was bro-

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The Ile of wight rebelleth.

ken by another incident, for euen at the same time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of Wight, with the Kentishmen, and diuerse others the inhabitants vpon the south coast, were reuolted, and had slaine diuerse Romans, which lay in garisons in those parts. Uespasian therefore minding to cure this wound yer it should throughlie fester, hasted thither with all spéed, and with litle a do pacifieng the rebels, caused the chiefe offendors to be punished according to their deserts.

Uespasian appeaseth the rebels.

Uespasian returneth to Rome.

Shortlie after being sent for by the emperour Claudius, he returned vnto Rome with great glorie for his noble and high atchiued victories. Aulus Plancius was left in charge with the gouernement of Britaine after Uespasians departure: who hearing that Caratake had assembled a great armie of Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had not yet submitted themselues vnto the Romans, in purpose to recouer againe those countries which Uespasian had latelie conquered, he likewise prepared to meet them, so that both the armies incountering togither, there was fought a right terrible battell with great slaughter on both parties, till finallie the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through skilfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were discomfited and chased into the bogs and marishes, the common refuge in those daies for the Scots, when by anie aduenture they chanced to be put to flight.

Plancius left as gouernor.

Plancius prepareth to meet the Scots.

The Romans through policie banquish the Scotishmen.

After this ouerthrow the warre was continued for two yéers space, by rodes and incursions made one vpon another in the confines of Kile and Galloway. In which meane while Plancius fell sicke of the flix, which still continuing with him, brought him at length in such case, that he was not able to trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote his letters vnto the emperour Claudius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and therevpon required that some sufficient personage might be sent to occupie his rome. Claudius hauing receiued his letters, and vnderstanding the effect of the same, sent one Ostorius Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

Plancius falleth sicke.

Ostorius Scapula is sent into Britaine.

About the time of whose arriuall into Britaine, Aulus Plancius departed out of this world at Camelon, where he then soiourned. His bodie was burned, and according to the vsage of the Romans in those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and buried within the church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is said) Uespasian builded néere vnto Camelon, vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome taken vp amongst both Scots and Picts (as some thinke) to burne the bodies of the dead, and to burie the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuerse tokens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findor a village in Perne, fiue miles distant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which so soone as they were brought into the aire, fell to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne called Kenbacten in Marre, ten miles distant from Aberdine, about the same time were found by certeine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of workemanship, bignesse and inscription like to the other two. Manie the semblable monuments haue béene found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past: but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

Aulus Plancius dieth.

The vsage amongst the Scots to burne the dead bodie.

But now to our purpose. Immediatelie vpon the comming of Ostorius into Britaine, the people of the west countries rebelled, procuring the northerne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to do the like. They sent also vnto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarell against the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, considering it was like they should match well inough with this new Romane capteine Ostorius Scapula, that vnderstood little of the maners and vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding, Ostorius being informed of all these practises, and remembring what furtherance it were for a capteine in the begining to win a name by some praiseworthie enterprise, he made first towards the westerne Britains, whome he thought to surprise yer they should assemble with the other rebels, and so méeting with them, he chased and toke a great number of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

The Britains yet ritsconer rebell.

The Britains require aid of Caratake.

The Britains of the west part are chased.

After this, he went against the people called Iceni, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countrie now called Oxfordshire, but other take them to be Northfolke men, who being gathered togither, were gotten into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch as they vse to fense pasture grounds, that no horsemen should breake in vpon them: yet this notwithstanding, Ostorius assailed them within their strength, & in the end breaking downe the rampire, with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on ech side. But of this battell, and likewise of other enterprises, which Ostorius and other of the Romane lieutenants atchiued here in Britaine, ye shall find more thereof in the historie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which herein make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yéere of our Lord 320, at the soonest. And as for the Silures and Brigants removed by Hector Boetius so farre northward, it is euidentlie proued by Humfrey Llhoid, and others, that they inhabited countries conteined now within the limits of England. The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Ordouices where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carrike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the description as in the historie of England aforesaid.

Iceni. Oxfordshire is assailed. Some take the Iceni to be the Northfolke men.

But now to returne where we left: the bruit of this late victorie quieted the busie minds of such other of the Britains, as were readie to haue reuolted. But they of Galloway would not at the first giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Caratake continued in their rebellion, till Ostorius came thither, and beate downe such as made resistance, whereby the other were soone pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Kile and Cantire, spoiling and wasting those countries, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which iniurie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assembled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40 thousand men, what of his owne subiects and other such as came to his aid. For after he was entred into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be reuenged on the Romans, either else to lose life and libertie both at once, for the tast of bondage was so bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this season, that they in maner were wholie conspired togither to remoue that yoke of thraldome from their shoulders which so paine fullie pinched them.

They of Galloway are beaten and pacified.

Kile and Cantire wasted and spoiled. Caratake assembleth an armie.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose forth a strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one side with the course of a déepe fordlesse riuer, and on the other sides it might not be approched vnto for the steepnesse

The strength of the place where Caratake was incamped.

Of this matter ye may read more in England.

steepnesse of the crags and such fensing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any waie to enter. All such women as were somewhat stept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to doo valiantlie with shouting and hallowing vnto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approch. Other such as were yong and lustie, were appointed to keepe araie amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Women incamped.

Women placed in order of battell.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hearing that Ostorius was come to giue battell, exhorted his people to sticke to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his capteins and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiors, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for euer. On the other part Ostorius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in araie after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whome they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Caratake and his capteins exhort their men to fight.

Ostorius incourageth his Romans.

Herewith vpon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Picts, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enimies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor vnto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered vnto Ostorius. This was in the ninth years after the beginning of the warres. Ostorius vsed him verie honorablie, according to the degree of a king: finallie he sent him vnto Rome, togither with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His fame was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

Caratake ouerthrowne by the Romans.

His queene taken.

Caratake betraied by his stepmother.

Caratake is sent to Rome.

At his comming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with anie other atchiued enterprise against whatsoeuer the most puissant enimies of former time. The Emperor Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oth receiued to be a true subiect vnto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning vnto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeeres after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheeflie (during that time) how to preserue his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeares after the decease of his vncle Metellan, in the yeere of our Lord 54.

He is shewed to the people in triumph.

Caratake departeth this life.

54

Strange sights seene.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights seene in Albion, as fighting of horsemen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awaie, that no appearance of them could any where be perceiued. Also a sort of woolues in the night season set vpon such as were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and caried awaie one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffred him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreouer, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his lims sauing the head, which was like vnto a rauens. These vnketh signes and monsters put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

After Caratakes decease, his yongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succeed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yere after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbreid was a stout man of stomach, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the westerne Iles, also in Rosse & Cathnes. In the meane time the Picts hauing created there a new king called Conkist, gouernour of Mers and Louthian, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the nert townes and castels adioining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the capteins, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiors, lost their liues there.

Corbreid.

The Picts moue war against the Romans.

Shortlie after also, the same Picts ouerthrew a number of forragers, with such companies of horsemen as came to defend them. Herewith Ostorius being not a little moued, made readie his bands, and fiercelie incountred with the Picts, who defended themselues so vigorouslie, that the fore ward of the Romans was neere hand discomfited. Which danger Ostorius perceiuing, speedilie came to relieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enimies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue beene slaine. The night comming vpon parted the fraie, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Picts with such other Britains as were come vnto them out of the Ile of Man and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first ioining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them vnto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streicts of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Picts as returned from the battell.

The Picts ouerthrow the Romane forragers.

Ostorius is wounded.

The Romans trained forth into ambushes and so distressed.

Ostorius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortlie after sent a pursuant vnto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Picts, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to prouide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Picts should be eftsoons receiued vpon their submission, if they were driuen to make sute for pardon, but vtterlie to be destroied and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as soiourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Ostorius departed this world, whether of his hurts (as the Scotish chronicles make mention) or through sickenesse (as should rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it forceth not. After whose

Ostorius dieth.

Manlius Valens inuadeth the Picts.

whoſe deceaſſe Manlius Valens had the chiefeſt charge, who bringing his armie forth to incounter the Picts that came to ſeeke battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithſtanding the victorie had abiden on his ſide, if at the verie point there had not come ſuccours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400 horſſemen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whoſe freſh onſet the Romans were diſcomfited and chaſed vnto their campe, there being ſlaine aboue 3000 of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Picts ſide there wanted 2000 of their number at the leaſt.

The Romans are diſcomfited by the Picts.

About the ſame time there arriued in Britaine an other Romane capteine to be generall in place of Oſtorius now deceaſſed, his name was Aulus Didius, with him came the two legions afore remembred. At his firſt comming ouer he muſtered the old crewes of the Romane ſouldiers firſt, much blaming them for their negligence, in ſuffering the enimies ſo to increaſe vpon them, to the great danger of loſing all that (through ſloth and faintneſſe of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been woone and conquered by high prowes and valiant conduct of his predeceſſours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and ſtudie to determine with themſelues to recouer againe the honor which they had latelie loſt, which he ſaid would eaſilie be brought to paſſe, if they would take vnto them manfull ſtomachs, and obeie him and ſuch other as had the gouernance and leading of them. The Picts being informed that this Aulus Didius was arriued with this new ſupplie of men, & prepared to come againſt them, they thought good to ſend vnto Corbreid king of Scotland, to require his aid againſt the Romans, reputed as common enimies to all ſuch as loued libertie, and hated to liue in ſeruile bondage. For which reſpect Corbreid was the ſoner moued to condeſcend vnto the requeſt of the Picts; and therevpon aſſembling an armie entred into Galloway. Whereof Aulus Didius being certified, ſent an herald vnto him with all ſpeed, commanding that he ſhould depart out of thoſe quarters, ſith he had no right there, conſidering that Galloway was aſſigned vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the ſame Caratake was reuerſed againe vnto the empire.

Aulus Didius commeth into Britaine.

The Picts ſent to the Scots for aid.

The herald had vnneath done his meſſage, when word came vnto Corbreid how an armie of the Romans vnder the guiding of Caeſius Naſica was entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be ſpoiled and robbed on ech hand. Theſe newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbreid vpon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The hoſt which Corbreid brought with him into Galloway, he beſtowed in caſtels and fortreſſes abroad in the countrie for more ſafegard, but he himſelfe rode in all haſt vnto Eptake, to haue the aduiſe and aid of one Uenuſius that had maried the forenamed Cartimandua that vnkind ſtepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Uenuſius was of counſell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraieng of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through ſupport of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithſtanding in the end being wearied of the proud gouernment of the Romans, he reuolted from them vnto Corbreid. Wherewith his wife being offended, found means to apprehend both him and his brethren with certeine of his kinſfolks, and laied them faſt in priſon.

Caeſius Naſica entred with an armie into Galloway.

Uenuſius the huſband of Cartimandua.

Uenuſius reuolteth.

But now Corbreid at his comming thither, did not onelie ſet them at libertie, but alſo tooke & cauſed Cartimandua to be buried quicke. In the meane while a certeine number of Scots diſtreſſed a few forragers of the Romans, but following the chaſe ſomewhat raſhlie, they were incloſed by the enimies and ſlaine. This miſchance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good ſucceſſe, ſo that Naſica was in purpoſe to haue aſſailed a certeine ſtrong place, wherein a number of the Scotiſhmen were gotten, and had fortified the entries, had not other newes altered his purpoſe; for hearing how an other armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts, and were approched within three miles of him, he brought his hoſt forth into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the Scotiſhmen hauing knowledge, haſted forth towards him, and were no ſoner come in ſight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onſet, moſt fierclie beginning the battell, which continued till ſun-ſetting with great ſlaughter on both ſides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue diſcomfited their enimies, had not thoſe Scotiſhmen which were left in fortreſſes (as is ſaid) abroad in the countrie, come at that ſelfe inſtant to the aid of their fellowes, by whoſe means the battell was renewed againe, which laſted till the mirke night parted them in ſunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts got vp into the mountains.

The darke night parted the fraie.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with theſe conditions; that the Romans ſhould content themſelues with that which they had in poſſeſſion before the beginning of theſe laſt wars, and ſuffer Corbreid to inioy all ſuch countries as his brother Caratake held. And likewiſe the Picts paieng their former tribut for the finding of ſuch garriſons of Romans as laie at Camelon, they ſhould be no further charged with anie other exactions. Moreouer it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Picts from thenceforth ſhould receiue or ſuccour anie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor ſhould aid by anie maner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had done manie notable diſpleaſures to the Romans during the laſt warres. This peace continued a ſix yeares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of thoſe ſix yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

A peace concluded.

Aulus Didius departeth this life at London.

After his deceaſſe the emperour Nero, who ſucceeded Claudius, appointed one Uerannius to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much deſirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope to aduance his name, he ſought occaſions to haue warres with the Scotiſhmen; and at length hearing that certeine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Pictland, he did ſend a great power of Romans to make a rode into the next marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great ſpoile, both of men and of goods. With which iniuries the Scots being moued, ſought dailie in ſemblable ſort to be reuenged, ſo that by ſuch means the warre was renewed. But before anie notable incounter chanced betwixt them, Uerannius died. His laſt words were full of ambitious boaſts, wiſhing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that he might haue ſubdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Romane empire, as if he might haue had ſo much time he doubted not to haue done.

Uerannius is made lieutenant of Britaine.

Uerannius departeth this life.

Paulinus Suetonius ſucceeded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie deſirous of peace. He firſt confirmed the ancient league with Corbreid king of Scotland: a recompenſe being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries done on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for ſomuch as by probable reaſons it is apparant inough, that it

Paulinus Suetonius.

Angleſeie and not Man was thus inuaded by Suetonius.

it was not Man, but the Ile of Angleſeie which the Britains name Mon, and at this time was ſubdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make repoꝛt thereof, referring you to the place in the Engliſh chꝛonicle, where we haue ſpoken ſufficientlie after what ſoꝛt Suetonius both attempted & atchiued this enterpꝛiſe, which being bꝛought to end, he was ſent foꝛ into Gallia, to repꝛeſſe certeine tumults raiſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Bꝛitains thinking to haue a meet time foꝛ their purpoſe, mooued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in requiring the Ile of Angleſeie, as in the Engliſh chꝛonicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtrange ſights and wonders which happened about the ſame time, whereupon the ſouthſaiers (as Hector Boetius ſaith) declared that the Romans ſhould receiue a great ouerthꝛow. Upon truſt of whoſe woꝛds the Picts and other Bꝛitains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereabouts, ſet vpon ſuch Romans as inhabited there, and ſlue a great manie of them yer they were in doubt of anie rebellion. The reſidue which eſcaped, got them into an old church, where they were ſlaine ech mothers ſonne.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Petilius Cerealis his men being ſlaine returned.

Alſo Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of hoꝛſſemen to their ſuccours, was incountred by the Picts, & being put to flight, loſt all his footmen, hardlie eſcaping himſelfe with the hoꝛſſmen to the campe. Shoꝛtlie after he toke vp his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the pꝛocuratoꝛ oꝛ receiuer (as I may call him) of Bꝛitaine as then ſoiourned, who vnderſtanding how the whole Ile was on ech ſide in an vpꝛoꝛe, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while quéene Uoada ſent vnto hir bꝛother Coꝛbꝛeid king of Scotland, requiring his aid againſt the Romans, who had ſo vilie vſed hir and hir daughters, to the great diſhonoꝛ of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries, the whole nation of the Bꝛitains thꝛough the couetous dealing of the pꝛocuratoꝛ Catus, being riſen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

Catus the pꝛocuratoꝛ of Bꝛitaine fled into France.

Quéene Uoada deſireth aid of hir bꝛother Coꝛbꝛeid.

Coꝛbꝛeid being highlie diſpleaſed towards the Romans foꝛ the euill intreating of his ſiſter, determined either to ſée hir ſatiſfied by woꝛthie recompenſe, oꝛ elſe to be reuenged on them that had miſvſed hir: and hereof gaue ſignification vnto Catus the pꝛocuratoꝛ that was as then returned into Bꝛitaine with a power of men of warre. Coꝛbꝛeid receiuing but a ſcoꝛnefull anſwere from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering togither a mightie armie of one & other, purſued the Romans and their aſſociats, ſlaieng downe a wonderfull number of them. He alſo burned and deſtroied diuers townes, ſuch as in kéeping their allegiance to the Romans ſtood earneſtlie to their defenſe, as Berwike and Carleill with others. About the ſame ſeaſon there arriued in the frith a number of Dutch ſhips, fraught with people of Perherne oꝛ Poꝛauia, a region in Germanie ſituat betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were dꝛiuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and aſſembling togither vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of the Rhene, where making ſhift foꝛ veſſels, they toke the ſeas to ſéeke them ſome new habitations; and thus arriuing in Pictland, were ioiſullie receiued of the Picts and Scots, foꝛ that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries againſt the Romans. Namelie with the Picts they were much eſtéemed, foꝛ that they came foꝛth of the ſame countrie from whence their anceſtoꝛs were deſcended.

Charanach K. of the Picts.

The Romans ſlaine.

Dutchmen arriue in Scotland.

Their huge bodies and mightie limbs did greatlie commend them in the ſight of all men beſoꝛe whome they muſtered, ſo that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march foꝛth towards the enimies, they were highlie welcomed, and vpon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go foꝛth in that iournie, in aid of quéene Uoada againſt the Romans. With this Uoada was aſſembled a mightie hoſt of the Bꝛitains, amongeſt whom were fiue thouſand women, wholie bent to reuenge the villanies done to their perſons by the Romans, oꝛ to die in the paine. And foꝛ this purpoſe were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the firſt that ſhould giue the onſet. Uoada hearing of hir bꝛothers apꝛoch with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Bꝛitaine, and bꝛought them to hir campe with great ioy and triumph.

Werherns were men of goodlie ſtature.

Women come with the quéene in armour.

After taking aduiſe how to behaue themſelues in their enterpꝛiſe, they thought it good to make haſt to fight with the pꝛocuratoꝛ Catus, yer anie new power of men of warre might come to his aid foꝛth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met togither in the field, where betwixt them was ſtriken a right fierce and cruell battell; but in the end the hoꝛſſemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on ech ſide; Catus himſelfe being wounded, eſcaped verie hardlie by flight, and ſhoꝛtlie after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Bꝛitains, hauing atchiued this victoꝛie, purſued their enimies from place to place, ſo that there died by the ſwoꝛd, what in the battell and elſewhere in the chaſe, ſeuentie thouſand Romans and other ſtrangers, which ſerued amongeſt them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Bꝛitains, were ſlaine thirtie thouſand.

The Romans are put to flight and ouerthꝛowne.

Catus was wounded.

70000 Romans ſlaine, and 30000 Bꝛitains.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthꝛow, & in what danger things ſtood in Bꝛitaine, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two legions of ſouldiers, and ten thouſand of other Bꝛigants as aiders to thoſe legions. Uoada the quéene vnderſtanding of his arriuall, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who togither with the Poꝛauians came with all ſpéed vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Bꝛitains, Scots, Picts, & Poꝛauians on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched foꝛth to incounter togither with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of ſwoꝛd, being earneſtlie exhoꝛted thereto by their gouernoꝛs on either ſide. So that ioining puiſſance againſt puiſſance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being ſlaine and boꝛne downe on both ſides. But in the end the victoꝛie abode with the Romans, the Bꝛitains with other the Albans were chaſed out of the field. There were ſlaine of them at the point of foure ſcoꝛe thouſand perſons, as Tacitus wꝛiteth. The moꝛe part of the Poꝛauians, togither with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Uoada the quéene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enimies, ſlue hir ſelfe. Two of hir daughters were taken pꝛiſoners, and bꝛought armed, euen as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

Uoada aſſembled an armie againſt the Romans.

The Romans ouerthꝛow the Scots and Picts.

The Poꝛauians all ſlaine.

Uoada ſlue hir ſelfe.

The eldeſt of them within a few moneths after was maried vnto a noble Romane named Marius, who had defloured hir beſoꝛe time. He was alſo created king of Bꝛitaine by the emperours authoꝛitie, that thereby the ſtate of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He vſed to lie moſt an end in the parties of Kendale, and named a part therof (where

Marius was made king.

(where he paſſed the moſt part of his time altogether in hunting) Weſtmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the ſame adioining nert vnto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Mœatians which eſcaped from the diſcomfiture, had that portion of Scotland aſſigned forth vnto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the riuers of Tœne and Speie, called euen vnto this day Murrey land.

Weſtmerland.

Humf. Lluid doubteth of this hiſtorie of the Mœatians.

Murrey land.

Corbreid being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatlie infœbled thereby, paſſed the reſidue of his life in quietneſſe. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, medled neither with the Scots nor Picts, but onlie ſtudied to keepe the ſouth parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finallie Corbreid departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongeſt his elders nære vnto Dunſtafage, with manie obeliſks ſet vp about him.

Corbreid dead Anno Chriſti, 71. H. B.

*Dardan.*

AFter Corbreid ſuccéded one Dardan, which for his huge ſtature was afterward ſurnamed the great. He was lineally deſcended frõ Metellane, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme choſe him to be their king, onelie for the good opinion they had conceiued of him in his predeceſſors daies, by whome he was had in great eſtimation, and had atchiued vnder him manie worthie enterpriſes, ſo that he was thought moſt meeteſt for the rome, conſidering the ſonnes of Corbreid were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to inioy the ſame. For the ſaid Corbreid had three ſons in all, Corbreid, Tulcane, and Bréke. The eldeſt had bœne brought vp with Voada, quéene of the Britains, whereby he had learned the maners and vſages of the Britiſh nation, and therevpon was ſurnamed Gald; for ſo do the Scotiſhmen vſe euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countriemen that hath learned the courteſie and maners of ſtrange countries.

Corbreid his three ſonnes.

But to returne to Dardan, in the beginning of his reigne he gouerned the eſtate by good indifferent iuſtice, but after he had continued therein by the ſpace of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, remouing from offices ſuch as were vpright bearers of themſelues in the ſame, and aduancing to their places bribers and extortioners. The nobles he had in ſuſpect, fauoring onelie ſuch as thorough flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was drowned beyond all the terms of honeſtie in fleſhlie and ſinfull luſt, yet was his couetouſneſſe ſo great, that all was to little which he might lay hands vpon. He alſo put to death diuers honorable perſonages, ſuch as he perceiued to grudge at his dooings. He likewiſe purpoſed to haue made away the ſonnes of his predeceſſor Corbreid, but his traitorous practiſe being diſcloſed, the moſt part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled againſt him, and ſending for Corbreid Gald the eldeſt ſonne of the former Corbreid, remaining as then in the Ile of Man (where he ſhould haue bœne murthered) they choſe him to their king. And at length beating downe all ſuch as made reſiſtance, they got that cruell tyrant Dardan into their hands, & bringing him forth before the multitude, they cauſed his head to be openlie ſtricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, being the firſt of the emperour Domitian, & the fourth complet of his owne reigne ouer the Scotiſhmen.

Dardan is behaded. 75. H. B.

6 of Veſpaſian. H. B.

His colin Cadzus and other.

The commons rebell.

Dardan falleth into all kind of vices.

*Corbreid Gald.*

COrbreid Gald being thus choſen (as I haue ſaid) to ſuccéed in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardan, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus, a prince of comelie perſonage, and of right noble port. In the firſt begining of his reigne he puniſhed ſuch as had bœne furtherers of his predeceſſors miſgouernement, and afterwards he paſſed ouer into the weſterne Iles, where he appeaſed certeine rebels, which went about to diſquiet the ſtate of the common-wealth there. From thence he ſailed vnto the Iles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certeine offendors that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by Roſſe, and ſet a ſtay alſo in that countrie, touching certeine miſdemeanors of the people there. To be ſhort, hée purged the whole realme of all ſuch robbers, théeues, and other the like offendors againſt the quiet peace of his ſubiects, as were hugelie increaſed by the licentious rule of his predeceſſor Dardan, and herevnto he was mightilie aided by the Mœatians, who purſued ſuch offendors moſt earneſtlie, and brought in vnto him no ſmall number of them, euer as they caught them.

Gald puniſheth ſuch as diſturbe the quiet ſtate of his ſubiects.

The Mœatians helpe to apprehend théeues and offendors.

By this meanes was the ſtate of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the yeare next inſuing, being the third of Gald his reigne, he called a councell at Dunſtafage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes inſtituted by king Ewin, as before is partlie ſpecified: but he could not obteine more, than that poore men from thenceforth ſhould haue their wiues frée vnto themſelues, without being abuſed from time to time indifferentlie by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whileſt he was thus buſied about the eſtabliſhing of holſome orders & ſtatuts for the welth of his ſubiects, word was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine, being ſent from Veſpaſian the emperour to haue the gouernement of Britaine, was landed with a puiſſant armie in the countrie, and minded ſhortlie to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

Gald laboreth to abrogate wicked lawes

Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine ſent by Veſpaſian into Britaine.

With theſe newes Gald being ſomewhat aſtoniſhed, thought good to vnderſtand the certeintie of the enimies doings, before he made anie ſturre for the leuieng of his people, and therefore appointed certeine light horſſemen to ride forth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare or ſee: who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Pictland, and had giuen the Picts alreadie a great ouerthrow; and further, how they were turned weſtward on the left hand, in purpoſe to enter into Galloway. Gald being thus certified of the Romans approch towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all ſpéed he aſſembled his people, to the number of fiftie thouſand men, all ſuch as were able to beare armor, being readie to repaire vnto him in ſuch preſent neceſſitie for defenſe of their countrie.

The Dzdouices and Brigants miſtaken by the Scotiſh writers.

The picts ouerthrowne by the Romans.

The Romans purpoſe to enter into Galloway.

Gald determineth to fight with the Romans.

It hath bœne reported, that as he marched forth towards his enimies, ſundrie ſtrange ſights appeared by the way. An eagle was ſeene almoſt all a whole day, flieng vp and downe ouer the Scotiſh armie, euen as though ſhe had laboured hir ſelfe wearie. Alſo an armed man was ſeene flieng round about the armie, and ſuddenlie vaniſhed away. There fell in like maner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie ſhould paſſe, diuerſe kinds of birds that were ſpotted with bloud. Theſe monſtruous ſights troubled mens minds diuerſlie, ſome conſtruing the ſame to ſignifie good ſucceſſe, and ſome otherwiſe. Alſo the chiefeſt capteins amongſt the Scots were not all of one opinion, for ſome of them weieng the great force of the Romane armie, being the greateſt that euer had bœne brought into their countrie before that day, counſelled that they ſhuld in no wiſe be fought withall, but rather to ſuffer them to wearie themſelues, till vittels and other prouiſion ſhould faile them, and

Strange ſights appére to the Scotiſh armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.



Galdus other wiſe called Galgacus, not a Scot but a Britaine as other thinke.

them to take the aduantage of them, as occaſion ſerued.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it beſt (ſith the puiſſance of the whole realme was aſſembled) to giue battell, leaſt by deferring time, the courage and great deſire, which the people had to fight, ſhould wax faint and decaie: ſo that all things conſidered, it was generallie in the end agréed vpon to giue battell, and ſo comming within ſight of the enimies hoſt, they made readie to incounter them. At the firſt the Scots were ſomewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduerſaries, but through the chéerefull exhortations of their king, and other their capteins, their ſtomachs began to reuiue, ſo that they boldlie ſet vpon the Romans, whereof inſued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, howbeit in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chaſed out of the field. Gald himſelfe was wounded in the face, yet eſcaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in déed, by reaſon the Romans purſued moſt egerlie in the chaſe.

The Scots agree to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are diſcomfited.

There were ſlaine of the Scotiſhmen (as their chronicles report) aboue twelue thouſand, and of the Romans about ſix thouſand. This victorie being thus atchiued, the Romans got poſſeſſion of Epiake with the greateſt part of all Galloway, and paſſed the reſidue of that yéere without anie other notable exploit: but in the ſummer following, Petilius the Romane gouernor went about to ſubdue the reſt of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerſe ſkirmiſhes with him, but in no wiſe durſt ioine with them, puiſſance againſt puiſſance, leaſt they ſhould haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced eſſoines to haue receiued the ouerthrow.

The citie called Epiake is woon by the Romans.

The Scots durſt not fight anie field with the Romans.

¶ Here haue we thought good to aduertiſe the reader, that although the Scotiſh writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius ſpent in ſubduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imploied chieflie againſt Scots & Picts: the opinion of the beſt learned is wholie contrarie thereunto, affirming the ſame Brigants & Silures not to be ſo far north by the diſtance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countriemen do place them, which thing in the hiſtorie of England we haue alſo noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the ſame recorded. But neuertheleſſe wee haue here followed the courſe of the Scotiſh hiſtorie, in maner as it is written by the Scots themſelues, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authors it ſhall ſéeme to them expedient.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye ſhall find ſufficientlie in the hiſtorie of England.

In the meane time then, whileſt Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conqueſt of Galloway, Boadicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whom the Romans had before time miſuſed, as before in this treatiſe is partlie touched) gathered togither a crew of ſouldiors within the Ile of Man, partlie of the inhabitants, and partlie of ſuch Scotiſhmen of Galloway as were fled thither for ſuccor: with theſe ſhee tooke the ſeas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpoſe to reuenge hir iniuries in times paſt receiued at the Romans hands, ſhe ſet vpon their tents in the night ſeaſon, when they looked for nothing leſſe than to be diſquieted, by reaſon whereof they were brought into ſuch diſorder, that if Petilius had not cauſed ſuch fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dreſſed with pitch, roſen and tallow, for the like purpoſe, the whole campe had beene in great danger: but theſe torches or firebrands gaue not onlie light to ſée where to make reſiſtance, but alſo being caſt in the faces of the enimies, ſtaied their hardie forwardneſſe, whereby the Romans hauing leaſure to place themſelues in arraie, defended the entries of their camps, till the day was ſprung, and then giuing a full onſet vpon their enimies, they put them quite to flight.

Boadicia renewеth wars with the Romans.

The Romane campe aſſailed in the night by Boadicia.

But Boadicia not herewith diſcouraged, haſted with all ſpeed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie ſhe ſet fire on it, and ſlue ſuch Romans as ſhe found there, whereof Petilius being certified, ſent forth a legion againſt hir to withſtand hir attempts. Thoſe that had the charge of them that were thus ſent, vſed ſuch diligence, that laieng an ambuſh for hir in a place fit for that purpoſe, they ſo incloſed hir, that ſlaieng the moſt part of hir company, ſhe was taken priſoner hir ſelfe, and being brought aliue vnto Petilius, vpon hir ſtout anſwer made vnto him, as he queſtioned with hir about hir bold enterpriſes, ſhee was preſentlie ſlaine by the ſouldiors.

Epiake is taken & burned by Boadicia.

Boadicia is ſlaine.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other ſoutherne Britains, had raiſed a commotion againſt king Marius, ſo that without ſpéedie ſuccors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: whereupon he haſted thither with all conuenient ſpeed, and ſubduing the rebels, ſet all things there in good order and ſtaie: and ſo remaining there till the nert yeere after, he fell ſicke of the flix and died. Immediatlie whereupon the emperour ſent one Julius Frontinus to ſuccéed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of ſouldiors, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the kéeping of the Britains in due ſubiection of the empire, he purpoſed to bring ſuch vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Caledon, and as yet not vanquiſhed by anie man.

The Britains rebell.

The Britains are appeaſed.

Therefore entring firſt into Galloway, and viſiting ſuch garriſons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked ſo well to their charge, that the enimie had gained no aduantage at their hands, whileſt the armie was occupied in the ſouth parts about other affaires there. He alſo ſent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great loſſe & hindrance. Herunto the king of Picts much ſuſpecting the matter, made a direct anſwer, that he ſaw no cauſe why he ſhould in fauor of the Romans ſuffer his confederats the Scots to be ſubdued, and brought to deſtruction without all reaſon or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduiſe of his péeres & councellors, to aid the Scots againſt ſuch as ſought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and ſeruile bondage.

Petilius the Romane legat dieth.

Julius Frontinus ſent into Britaine.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie anſwer, ſet forward to ſubdue ſuch Scots as were yet diſobedient. And ſo entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers ſkirmiſhes with ſuch as king Gald had aſſembled to defend his countrie, but forſomuch as he was diſeaſed with ſickneſſe, he was at length conſtreined to withdraw himſelfe into Argile, leauing his power behind him to reſiſt the enimies attempts: but ſhortlie after his departure from amongſt them, they were fought withall by the Romans, and diſcomfited, three thouſand of them being ſlaine in the field. By reaſon of which ouerthrowe thoſe countries ſubmitted themſelues to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwiſe how to eſcape that preſent danger.

The Silures miſtaken for Scotiſhmen.

Frontinus purpoſeth to purſue the conqueſt of the Silures who the Scots miſtake for Galloway men.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amitie with the Picts.

The Pictiſh king refuſeth to be in league with the Romans.

Gald reſiſteth the Romans.

By reaſon of ſickneſſe he withdraweth to Argile.

These Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into ſubiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter

They ſubmit themſelues to the Romans.

ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of flegme, which vexed him in such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then gouerned the Romane empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right valiant personage, one Julius Agricola to succéd as lieutenant of Britaine in his rome. About the time of whose arriuall there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kile, Carrike, and Coningham to rebell.

Frontinus being vexed with sicknesse returneth to Rome.

Julius Agricola is sent into Britaine.

The Scots of Annándale beat downe the Romans.

These newes being reported vnto Agricola, he made his prouision with all spéd to go against them, and first entring into the borders of Pictland, he reduced such as inhabited about the confines of Berwike to their former subiection, and after marching towards the citie of Camelon, Baranach king of the Picts incountred him by the waie, but being fiercelie beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after hauing reinforced his power, he eftsoones gaue battell againe to his enimies; but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie thereupon was Camelon wone by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Agricola prepareth to go against the Scots.

Karanach K. of the Picts discomfited by the Romans.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recouered the most part of all the castels and fortresses of Pictland. The forenamed Karanach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the water of Firth, for the more suertie of his owne person. Agricola hauing sped thus in Pictland, marched forth against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constreined to giue backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wiues they were murthered each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation vsed to put awaie the shame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enimies.

Karanach flieth beyond the Firth.

The Scots of Annandale slaine by their wiues.

Agricola vnderstanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance vnto him for the atchiuing of other enterprises in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Ile of Man; but wanting vessels to conuey his armie ouer, he found meanes that such as could swim, and knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the gowlfe, and so got on land, to the great wonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to haue arriued vpon their shore: but now despairing to resist such kind of warriors as indangered themselues to passe the seas in that maner of wise, they submitted themselues vnto Agricola.

Here is a manifest error in the Scotish writers, taking Man for Ingleséy.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing certeine garisons to kéepe diuers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed ouer with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he soiourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his men of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onelie shew of his warlike armie, disposed in such politike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst aduance themselues to incounter him, so that he spent that summers season in kéeping such of the Scots as had béene aforetime subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countrie, exhorting them by gentle persuasions, to frame themselues to a ciuill trade of liuing, as well in building of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Romane maner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and aboue all things to set their children to schoole, to be brought vp in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of humanitie.

Agricola is sent into Britaine.

The Ile of Ingleséy is subdued by Agricola.

Agricola studieth to bring the Scots vnto ciuilitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer commen vpon, Agricola inuaded such countries as were yet vndiscouered by the Romans, entring by the nether side of Calidon wood, euen vnto the dolorous mounteine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mounteine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had béene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which vndoubtedlie was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to kéepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Kalendar wood.

Agricola commeth to Sterling.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mounteine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repared, and a bridge to be made ouer the Forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie ouer into Fife: and the daie after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a castell thereby, standing vpon an high mounteine cleped Bénart, he inuironed the same with a strong siege, howbeit his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approch, got him forth abroad into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to haue broken the bridge, which Agricola had made ouer the Forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the same, in his returne from thence he was incountred by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had leuied his siege, and was comming towards them, so that both the hosts méeting togither in the fields, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Karanach chased vnto the riuer of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water. By reason of this ouerthrow, Agricola brought in subiection those countries, which lie betweene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fife, Fothrike, and Ernedall, and soiourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most conuenient for the kéeping of the inhabitants in their couenanted obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

Agricola buildeth the castle of Sterling with the bridge.

Mount Bénart.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundée, whither resorted vnto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of good cheere, and to hope well of the recouerie of his losses againe by some good fortune and meanes that might happen to come yer ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them laie, as well for counsell as aid of hand: and hereupon they toke aduise which waie to worke, insomuch that at length it was by great deliberation thought good to séeke for succor at the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinentlie there were certeine messingers dispatched with all speed vnto Gald the Scotish king, requiring him in that common ieopardie to ioine in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the vtter subuersion of the whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appéered by their proceedings, hauing alreadie occupied and wrongfullie

Karanach assaileth Sterling bridge, which the Romans defended.

Karanach is eftsoones chased.

Fife with other countries brought into subiection of the Romans.

Karanach comforted by his nobles.

The Picts send for aid to king Gald.

fullie surpʒised a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scotish dominions, minding still to go forward in such vnrighteous conquests, if by timelie resistance they were not staied.

Gald pʒomiseth to ioine in league with the Picts against the Romans.

Gald vpon this request and motion of the Picts gladlie consented to ioine his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enimies as the Romans were esteemed) hauing herevnto the assent of all his péeres and chéefest councellors.

Thus whilest the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league togither for defense of themselues and their countries, certeine Scots entred into the confines of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certeine garrisons of Romane souldiers soiourned, whome they slue downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went streightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those iniuries, some he toke amongst the hilles and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the riuer of Clide, but the castell of Dunbʒeton he could not by any meanes obteine, though he assaied to win it euen to the vttermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scotishmen being thus dʒiuen backe, Agricola repared such castels and fortresses as they had ouerthʒowne and beaten downe.

The Scots flea the Roman souldiers lieng in certeine garisons.

The riuer of Clide, otherwise called Clude.

Agricola repelling the Scots, could not get wm the castell of Dunbʒeton, anciently called Alcluch, or Alcluth.

In the yeare following, being the fift after the first comming of Agricola into Bʒitaine, he caused his ships to be bʒought about frō the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enimies in vtter despaire of escaping his hands either by water or land: and thereupon passing ouer the riuer of Clide with his armie, and finding his naute there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundʒie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were readie to rebell, by reason whereof he left off this enterpʒise against the Scots, and drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to kéepe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his comming into Pictland, he apesed the rebels with small adoo, punishing the chéefe authors according to their demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane empire.

Agricola subdueth Lennox.

Agricola returneth into Pictland, to appease a rebellion of the people there.

He returneth vnto Clide.

The summer following he appointed his naute to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and créeks of Argile, and of the Ilands néere to the same. Whilest he by land passing ouer the water of Leuine, went about to conquer townes and castels, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streict passages, high mounteines, craggie rocks, thicke woods, déepe marishes, fens and mosses, with the great riuers which with his armie he must néeds passe, if he minded to atteine his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their worthie generall and other the capteins and so inuading the countrie toke townes and castels, of the which some they beat downe and raced, and some they fortified and stuffed with garisons of men of warre.

Agricola pursueth his enterpʒise against the Scots.

About the same time by commandement of king Gald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Lorne, Murrey land, Lugemarth, also those of the westerne Iles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scotish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come togither in Atholl, at a place not passing fiue miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the comming of Karanach king of the Picts, to the end that ioining togither in one armie, they might work some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fiftéene thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mounteine of Granzbene, in times past cleped Mons Grampius, there chanced a mutinie amongest his people, so that falling togither by the eares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them vnarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine presentlie at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that iournie was broken, for the Picts being vtterlie amazed and discomforted herewith, skaled and departed asunder.

All the Scots assemble.

Karanach K. of the Picts slaine by misfortune of one of his owne subiects.

Gald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his chéefest aid, durst not ieopard to trie the chance of battell with the enimies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withdʒawing of vittels out of their walke, to stop them from further pʒocæding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean time to pʒouide against the nert summer new aid and succors to kéepe the field, and so to incounter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting vpon this resolution, thought good to send some honorable amballage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto mutuall agréement & concord amongst themselues, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in pʒesent danger to be oppʒessed by the Romans.

An amballage frō the Scots to the Picts.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligentlie behaue themselues, in bʒinging their purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agréed to ioine in friendlie amitie one with another, and to chose one Garnard to their king to succéed in the rome of Karanach. They also confirmed the former leage with the Scots, and by their pʒocurement sent messengers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enimies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, wheresoeuer the same were inhabiting in anie part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent amballadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid pʒomised, as frō them that esteemed themselues halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enioy for euer.

The Picts bʒought to agrement amongst themselues.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Danes and Irishmen for aid.

Whilest these things were thus in doing, Galdus diuiding his armie into sundʒie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselues in danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreame, by reason of frost, snow, and coldnesse of aire, that they were not able to enterpʒise anie exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer was no soner come (being the seauenth after the comming of Agricola into Bʒitaine) but that they pʒepared to inuade one an other againe with all their forces.

The fame of Gald his puissance putteth the Romans in feare.

An aid of Irishmen come to the succors of the Scots.

Forth of Ireland there came (according as was pʒomised) a great power of men of warre, and ioined with an armie of Scotishmen in Atholl, being there alreadie assembled in great numbers out of all the quarters of the Scotish dominions. Thither came also Garnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled togither by common agréement amongest them, Gald king of

Gald chosen to be generall against the Romans.

the

the Scots was choſen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with with his hoſt was entred into Kalendar wood, diuided the whole armie into three battels, and ſo marched forth towards the enimies in purpoſe to incounter them. Agricola being of this aduertiſed by ſpials, parted his people alſo into three wards, doubting to be incloſed within ſome comberſome place by reaſon of the great multitude of his enimies, that were eſteemed to be in number aboue 50000 of one and other.

Gald on the other ſide vnderſtanding by ſpials this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night ſetteth vpon one of thoſe legions, which was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to ſlea the watch, was entred into the enimies lodgings, before they had anie knowlege of his comming, ſo that the fight was right fierce & cruell euen among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterpriſe of the Scots, ſent forth with all ſpéd a certeine number of light horſſemen and footmen to aſſaile them on the backs, & ſo to kéepe them occupied, till he might come with all the reſidue of his people to the reſcue. They that were thus ſent, accompliſhing their enterpriſe according to the deuiſe in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & ſtout charge vpon the Scots and Picts, greatlie to the reliefe of thoſe that were by them aſſailed, and withall ſore amazed and diſordered by reaſon of the enimies ſudden inuaſion.

Gald ſetteth vpon one part of his enimies in the night.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all ſides, till at length the daie beginning to appéere, ſhewed to the Scots and Picts the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the ſuccour of his people, being thus in danger to be diſtreſſed. Herewith were the Scots and Picts put in ſuch feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accuſtomed places of their refuge. This ouerthrow did ſo abaſh both the Scots and Picts, that they durſt attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had ſome aid out of Denmarke, but onelie did what they could to defend their townes and countrie, by making ſundrie raiſes vpon their enimies, as occaſion and opportunitie ſerued. But the Romans, ſuppoſing nothing to be hard for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they were able to ouercome whatſoeuer ſhould ſtand at defiance againſt them, determined at length to find an end of the Ile of Albion, and ſo paſſing thorough Kalendar wood, and ouer the riuer of Amond, they pitched their field néere to the riuer of Taie, not far from the caſtell named Calidon or Kalendar.

Agricola commeth to the ſuccors of his men.

Agricola diſcomfiteth his enimies.

The Romans paſſe through Caledon wood ouer the riuer of Amond.

The Picts, by reaſon that their enimies were lodged ſo neere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tuline, leaſt the ſame enimies chancing to take it, ſhould furniſh it with ſome garriſon of men, to the great danger of the whole Pictiſh kingdome. This citie ſtood vpon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire caſtels and towers, as may appeare euen vnto this daie by the old ruines therof, ſtrong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scotiſhmen in our time call the place Inchtuthill. All their wiues and children they remoued vnto the mounteins of Granzbene for their more ſuertie and ſafegard.

The Picts burne the citie of Tuline.

The place where Tuline ſtood is called by the inhabitants at this daie Inchtuthill.

About the ſame time the Romans were not a little diſquieted, by reaſon of a mutinie which chanced amongſt ſuch Germans as were appointed to come ouer to Agricola, as a new ſupplie to furniſh vp ſuch numbers as were decaied in his armie. Theſe ſlaieng their capteine, and ſuch other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike feats at the beginning, as the manner was, got certeine pinneſſes which they happened vpon in the riuer of Thames, and ſailing about the eaſt and north coaſts of this Ile, arriued in Taie water, offering themſelues to the Scots and Picts to ſerue againſt the Romans, whoſe malice they dread for their offenſe committed if they ſhould returne into their owne countries, which laie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then ſubiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in thoſe daies being cleped Uſipites, the which (as ſome ſuppoſe) inhabited Cleueland and Gulike.

The Germans cõming to ſerue the Romans rebell againſt their captein and leaders.

Theſe Uſipites firſt inhabited the parties betwixt the mounteins of Heſſen and the Rhene, now called Hochrug, frõ whence they remoued into the nether countries.

Their offer was accepted moſt thankefullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongeſt the Murraies, becauſe they were deſcended as it were of one nation. Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, there came alſo the long wiſhed aid from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten thouſand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. This Gildo with his naule firſt arriued in the frith betwixt Fife and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he ſaſt about and came into the riuer of Taie, where he landed all his people, for proniſion wherof he had good ſtore both of vittels and armour. Garnard king of the Picts hearing of their arriuall there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundée, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and comming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, receiued him in moſt ioifull wiſe, feaſted and banketed him and his people, and ſhewed them all the tokens of moſt hartie loue and friendſhip that could be deuiſed. Gildo himſelfe was led by the king vnto Dundée, and lodged with him there in the caſtell, his people were prouided for abroad in the countrie in places moſt for their eaſe, to refreſh themſelues the better after their painefull iournie by the ſeas.

Danes, and Norwegians, come to aid the Scots and Picts.

Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans.

Gildo arriueth in Taie water.

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundée the Scotiſh king Gald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, ſhewing himſelfe moſt ioifull and glad of his comming, yéelding vnto him and his people ſuch thanks and congratulations as ſerued beſt to the purpoſe, and receiued no leſſe at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certeine daies togither at Dundée, both the kings Gald & Garnard, togither with this Gildo, went vnto the caſtell of Forfare, there to conſult with their capteins and gouernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themſelues in their enterpriſe againſt the enimie. At length they reſolued not to go forth into the field till the winter ſeaſon were paſt, for doubt of the inconuenience that might inſue, by reaſon of the extreame cold intemperancie of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie ſubiect.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of anie forraine aid to come to the ſuccours of his enimies comprehending them all vnder the name of Britains.

Garnard the king of Picts ioifullie receiued Gildo.

Gald commeth into Dundée to welcome Gildo.

Gald Garnard and Gildo aſſemble a councell at Forfare, where they deuiſe how to proceed in their warre.

In the meane time they toke order for the furniture of all things neceſſarie for the wars, to haue the ſame in a perfect readines againſt the next ſpring, and till then they did appoint onelie to kéepe fronter warre, that the Romans ſhould not ſtraie abroad to fetch in vittels and other prouiſions to their owne gains, and to the vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Vpon this determination when the councell was broken vp, Gald withdrew into Atholl, to defend thoſe parties; and Garnard with the Daniſh generall Gildo, furniſhed all the caſtels and holds in Angus ouer againſt the riuer of Taie, to ſtop the paſſages of the ſame, that the enimies ſhould enter no further on that ſide. Thus paſſed the winter for that yeare, without anie great exploit on either part atchiued.

They determine to reſt all the winter, and make fronter warre onelie.

In the beginning of the next ſummer, Agricola appointed his naule of ſhips to ſaile about the coaſts of the furtheſt parts of Albion, making diligent ſearch of euerie créeke & hauen alongſt by the ſame. The mariners, executing his commandement, ſailed

Agricola ſendeth forth his naule of ſhips, to diſcouer the furtheſt point of Britaine northward.

ſailed round about the north coaſt, diſcouering ma-
nie of the weſterne Iles, and likewiſe thoſe of Ork-
neie, till at length they found out Pictland firth, be-
ing a ſtreict of the ſea of twentie miles in breadth,
which ſeparateth the Iles of Orkneie from the point
of Cathneſſe, paſſing with ſo ſwift a courſe, that
without an expert pilot the ſhips that ſhall paſſe the
ſame are oftentimes in great danger, by reaſon
of the contrarie courſe of the tides. The Romane
mariners therefore, finding certeine huſbandmen
in the nert Iles, conſtreined them to go a ſhipbord,
& to guide them through that ſtreict, promiſing them
high rewards for their labour; but they vpon a ma-
licious intent not paſſing for their owne liues, ſo
they might be reuenged of their enimies in caſting
away ſuch a notable number of them togither with
their veſſels, entred the ſtreict at ſuch an inconueni-
ent time, that the ſhips were borne with violence of
the ſtreame againſt the rocks and ſhelues, in ſuch
wiſe that a number of the ſame were drowned and
loſt without recouerie.

The Romane ſhips through want of pilots are loſt in Pictland frith.

Some of them that were not ouer-haſtie to fol-
low the firſt, ſéeing the preſent loſſe of their fellows,
returned by the ſame way they came vnto Agricola,
who in this meane time had cauſed a bridge to be
made ouer the riuer of Tay, by the which he paſſed
with his whole armie, and incamped on the further
ſide thereof néere to the roots of the mounteine of
Granzbene, leauing the bridge garniſhed with a
competent number of ſouldiers to defend it againſt
the enimies. The Picts being not a little troubled
herewith, diſpatched forth a meſſenger with all haſt
vnto Gald the Scotiſh king, ſignifieng vnto him
the whole matter, and therevpon required of him aid.

Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, paſſeth by the ſame with his hoſt, and incampeth néere to the foot of the mounteine of Granzbene.

Gald hauing muſtered his people aſwell Scotiſh
as Iriſh, aſſembled them togither to the number of
fortie thouſand perſons, what of one and other, and
incontinentlie with all ſpéed marcheth forth to come
vnto the aid of the Picts, and ſo within a few daies
paſſing ouer the mounteine of Granzbene, he arri-
ueth in a vallie beyond the ſame mounteine, where
he findeth the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians in-
camped togither not far off from the hoſt of the Ro-
mans. Here taking aduiſe togither, & in the end de-
termining to giue battell, king Gald (vnto whome
as before is expreſſed, the gouernance of the whole
was cõmitted) aſſembling togither all the number
of the confederats, made vnto them a long and pi-
thie oration, exhorting them in defenſe of libertie
(the moſt pretious iewell that man might inioy) to
ſhew their manlie ſtomachs againſt them that
ſought onelie to depriue them of that ſo great a be-
nefit. And ſith they were driuen to the vttermoſt
bounds of their countrie, he perſuaded them to
make vertue of neceſſitie, and rather chooſe to die
with honor, than to liue in perpetuall ſhame & igno-
minie, which muſt néeds inſue to their whole nation,
if they ſuffered themſelues to be vanquiſhed in that
inſtant. With theſe words, or other much what of
the ſemblable effect, Gald ſo moued the hearts of
his people, that they deſired nothing but to ioine
with their enimies, & to trie it by dint of ſword, which
they vniuerſallie ſignified according to their ac-
cuſtomed vſe with a great noiſe, ſhout, and clamor.

The Scots and Picts determine to giue battell to the Romans.

Gald exhorteth his people manfullie.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceiued
a great deſire amongeſt his ſouldiers to fight, yet he
was not negligent on his owne behalfe to incou-
rage them with moſt chéerefull words and counte-
nance; ſo that both the armies being thus bent to
haue battell, the generals on both parties began to
ſet them in araie. Agricola to the end his armie be-
ing the leſſer number ſhould not be aſſailed both a
front and on the ſides, prouided (by diſpoſing them
in a certeine order) a remedie againſt that diſaduan-
tage. On the other ſide, king Gald by reaſon of
the aduantage which he had in his great multitude
and number, ordered his battels thereafter with a
long and large front, placing the ſame vpon the
higher ground, of purpoſe to compaſſe in the eni-
mies on ech ſide. At the firſt approch of the one ar-
mie towards the other, the battell was begun right
fiercelie with ſhot of arrows and hurling of darts,
which being once paſt, they ioined togither to trie the
matter by hand-ſtrokes, wherein the Scots & Picts
had one diſaduantage, for thoſe that were archers,
or (as I may call them) kerns, comming once to
fight at hand-blowes, had nothing but broad ſwords
and certeine ſorie light bucklers to defend them-
ſelues with, ſuch as ſerue to better purpoſe for men
to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried forth
into the warres, though the ſame haue béene ſo vſed
among the Scotiſhmen, euen till theſe our daies.

Gald by reaſon of his multitude, thinketh to incloſe his enimies.

The armies approch togither to fight.

They ioine.

The Scotiſh mens diſaduantage, by reaſon of their vnfit weapons.

The Romans therefore being well appointed with
armor and broad targets, flue downe right a great
number of theſe Scots and Picts thus ſlenderlie
furniſhed, without receiuing anie great damage a-
gaine at their hands, till king Gald appointed his
ſpearemen to ſtep forth before thoſe archers & kerns,
to ſuccor them, and therewith alſo the bilmen came
forward, and ſtroke on ſo freſhlie, that the Romans
were beaten downe on heaps, in ſuch wiſe that they
were néere at point to haue bene diſcomfited, had
not a band of Germans (which ſerued amongſt the
Romans) ruſhed forth with great violence vpon the
Scotiſhmen, where moſt danger appeared, and ſo re-
ſtored againe the fainting ſtomachs of the Romans,
whereby the battell renewed on both ſides againe
right fierce and cruell, that great ruth it was to be-
hold that bloudie fight, and moſt vnmercifull mur-
ther betwixt them, which continued with more vio-
lence on the Scotiſh ſide than anie warlike ſkill, till
finallie the night comming on, tooke the daies light
from them both, and ſo parted the fraie. The Romans
withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts
with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians,
and Iriſhmen, ſuch as were left aliue, got them into
the next mounteins, hauing loſt in this cruell con-
flict the moſt part of their whole numbers.

A cohort of Germans reſtored the Romane ſide néere at point to haue had the worſe.

The night ſeuereth the armies in ſunder & parteth the fray.

The Romans withdraw to their campe, & the Scots to the mounteins.

¶ Cornelius Tacitus agréeth not in all points with
the Scotiſh chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of
the life of Julius Agricola, where he intreateth of
this battell. For he ſpeaketh but of thirtie thouſand
men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall
name of Britains) to be aſſembled at that time a-
gainſt the Romans, making no mention of anie
Scots, Picts, Iriſhmen, Norwegians, or Danes,
that ſhould be there in their aid. The number of them
that were ſlaine on the Britains ſide (as the ſame
Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thou-
ſand men, and of the Romans not paſſing three hun-
dred and fortie. Amongſt whom was one Aulus At-
ticus, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the
Scotiſh writers affirme, there died that day of
Scots, Picts, and other their confederates at the
point of twentie thouſand, and of the Romans and
ſuch as ſerued on their ſide, as good as twelue thou-
ſand. Moreouer, the night following, when Galdus
with the reſidue of his people which were left alius
was withdrawne to the mounteins, and that the
huge loſſe was vnderſtood by the wiues and kinſwo-
men of the dead, there began a pitifull noiſe among
them, lamenting and bewailing their miſerable caſe
and loſſes.

Sée more hereof in the hiſtorie of England.

The number of them that were ſlaine at this battell.

But Gald, doubting leaſt the ſame ſhould come
to the eares of ſome eſpials, that might lurke nere
to the place where he was withdrawne, cauſed an
huge ſhout and noiſe to be raiſed by his people, as
though it had béene in token of ſome reioiſing, till
the

Women bewaile their friends.

the women bewailing thus the death of their friends, might be remoued out of the way. This done, they fell to take counſell what was beſt to do in this caſe: and in the end all things conſidered, it was determined that ſomewhat before the dawning of the next morrow, euerie man ſhould diſlodge and withdraw himſelfe into ſuch a place as he thought moſt meet for his ſafegard, ſaue onelie ſuch as were appointed to attend Gald and Garnard into Atholl, whither they minded with all ſpéd to go.

The Scotiſh men & Picts breake vp their campe.

Thus leauing a great number of fiers to diſſemble their departure, they diſlodged and made awaie with all ſpéd poſſible. In the morning when their departure was once diſcouered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had beene in the chaſe, but ſome of them vnaduiſedly aduenturing too farre forward, were incloſed by their enimies and ſlaine. Thoſe that wrought this feat got them to the nert hils and ſo eſcaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adioining were diſcouered, and the ſame appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambuſhments of the enimies, Agricola cauſed the ſpoile to be gathered, and after marched forth vnto Angus, where (forſomuch as ſummer was paſt) he appointed to winter, and ſo comming thither and ſubduing the countrie, he toke pledges of the beſt amongſt the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places moſt conuenient.

The Romans in purſuing vnaduiſedlie are diſtreſſed.

Agricola ſubdueth Angus and wintereth there.

About the ſame time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argile) what miſhap had chanced to the ſame in Pictland frith. But herewith being not greatlie diſcouraged, he gaue order that the ſhips that had eſcaped, ſhould be new rigged and furniſhed with all neceſſarie proui-ſion, and manned throughlie, both with able mari-ners and men of war. This done, he appointed them eftſoones to attempt fortune, and to take their courſe againe to come round about by the Orkenies, and ſo vp alongſt by the eaſt coaſt: which enterpriſe they luckilie accompliſhed, and in the water of Taie they burnt the Daniſh fleet lieng there in harbrough.

Agricola is certified of the miſchance of his nauie.

The Romane fleet ſaileth round about the north point of Albion.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before the fore-remembred ouerthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Granzbene, there happened manie ſundrie vnketh and ſtrange ſights in this Ile. Amongſt other there appeared fieng in the aire certeine firie viſions, much to be wondered at. Alſo a great peece of Kalendar wood ſeemed in the night time as it had beene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no ſuch token. There was in like maner ſeene in the aire the ſimilitude of certeine ſhips. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both ſhapes, ſo filthie a ſight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eies. Theſe prodigious things were diuerſlie interpreted, according to the variable fanſie of man.

Strange viſions.

Ships ſeene in the aire.

It rained frogs.

A monſtrous child borne.

After that the proſperous ſucceſſe of Agricola was once notified to the emperour Domitian, he toke ſuch enuie thereat, that ſhortlie after, vnder a colour to ſend him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home vnto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellius to ſucceed him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being couſine to Agricola, cauſed no ſmall trouble amongſt the ſouldiors, ſo that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus toke a ſort of the beſt ſouldiors away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

Domitian the emperour enuieth the proſperous ſucceſs of Agricola.

Agricola is ſent for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellius appointed in his place which cauſeth the ſouldiers to make a mutine.

The Scots vpon occaſion of diſcord amongſt the Romans, come forth againſt them.

The Scots and Picts taking occaſion hereof, ioined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, aſſembled his people, who perceiuing no great forwardneſſe in their leader, created Caius Siſinnius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wiſe meddle with that charge, though they were verie earneſt in hand with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enimies vnder the leading of Gald readie to giue the onſet, wherewith the Romans being ſore troubled, by reaſon of this diſcord amongſt themſelues, ſet forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enimies: howbeit in the end, becauſe that Siſinnius receiued a mortall wound, and ſo departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chaſe right fiercelie.

The Scots fet vpon the Romans.

The Romans are diſcõfited.

This atchiued victorie, after ſo manie vnluckie enterpriſes, highlie reioiſed the appalled harts of the Albions, hauing beene continuallie in maner now for the ſpace of fiftie yeeres through aduerſe fortune grieuouſlie oppreſſed by the Romans, who being not a little diſcouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrew themſelues wholie vnto Tuline, and ſhortlie after for their more ſafegard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the ſame the Scots & Picts ſhould haue no paſſage in that place. But Gald hauing got this notable victorie with the ſpoile of the Romans campe, thought it beſt with the aduiſe of his nobles, to purſue the Romans without delaie, not ſuffering them to haue time to prouide for reſiſtance. And herevpon comming to the caſtell of Calidon otherwiſe Kalendar, they got ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the ſame riuer, which in that place is but narrow, by reaſon of the rocks & cliffes forcing the banks on either ſide to a ſtreitneſſe.

The Romans withdraw vnto Tuline.

They retire backe ouer the water of Tay and breake the bridge after them.

The Romane captcins alſo not ignorant of the paſſage of the enimies, brought forth their armie, and made themſelues readie to incounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Siſinnius was not able to ſtirre by reaſon of his wounds receiued in the laſt battell, they choſe one Titus Celius, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and ſo vnder his conduct ſetting vpon their enimies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chaſed into Calidon. There were ſlaine of the Romane part in this incounter to the number of fiue thouſand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thouſand. After this victorie thus obteined by the Scots, a great number of the Britains reuolted from the Romane obedience, as thoſe that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, ſlaieng & chaſing awaie ſuch Romans as lay abroad in thoſe parties.

The Scots get ouer the water of Tay nere to Calidon caſtell.

The Scots eftſoones giue battell to the Romans.

The Romans are againe diſcomfited.

The Britains hearing of the euill aduentures fallen to the Romans, reuolt frõ their obedience.

This done, they ſent vnto Gald king of the Scots, certeine meſſengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioiſing and gladnes for his victories, promiſing him furthermore ſuch aid as they were able to make againſt the Romans the common enimies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreouer, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon caſtell direct their meſſengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, ſignifieng vnto him the preſent danger wherein things ſtood in thoſe parties by the cruell rage of the Scotiſhmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, inſomuch that if timelie ſuccours were not the ſooner ſent, the loſſe would be irrecouerable. Herevnto Marius anſwered, that as then a common conſpiracie appeared to be in hand amongeſt his ſubiects, ſo far forth that he doubted greatlie the ſuertie of his owne eſtate; and as for hope of aid to be ſent from Rome, he ſaw ſmall likelihood; conſidering the ſlender prouiſion there through the miſgouernement of cruell Domitian, who by reaſon of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from riſing

The Romans ſend vnto Marius king of the Britains for aid.

Marius king of the Britains doubteth rebellion of his ſubiects.

Marius counſelleth the Romans to leaue the north parts vnto the enimies, and to draw vnto him into the ſouth parts to keepe the ſame.

riſing vp in armour againſt him, and therefore he thought it neceſſarie that leauing the north parts to the enimies, they ſhould all withdraw towards him into the ſouth parts, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, ſith their puiſſance might not ſuffice to reteine & rule the whole.

These newes greatlie abaſhed the Romane armie, & ſo much the more, for that about the ſame time it was ſhewed them how king Gald with an huge armie of Scotiſhmen and Picts, was come within ten miles of them. Whereupon the Romans not knowing at that inſtant what was beſt for them to do, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arriued, and perceiuing themſelues as yet to be in no great ſuertie there, they went awaie from thence with ſpeed into Galloway.

The Romans withdraw into Cantire, & after into Galloway.

In the meane time king Gald, ſuppoſing it beſt eſſones to fight with them yer they might haue anie ſpace to reinforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diuerſe caſtels and fortreſſes furniſhed with ſundrie garriſons of his enimies, ſo that he might diſcomfit and chaſe away their maine power, which he thought might as then eaſilie be done, conſidering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each ſide, preſenting themſelues with offering their ſeruice vnto him, and ſhewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladneſſe, for that it had pleaſed the gods at length yet to declare themſelues fauourable in this their reliening of the oppreſſed Britains. Hereunto Galdus on the other ſide, giuing them heartie thanks for their trauell, receiued them verie gentlie, mixing his talke with moſt comfortable words, therewith to put them in hope of ſuch good and proſperous ſucceſſe, as that ſhortlie they ſhould thereby be reſtored intierlie vnto their former liberties, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forren ſeruitude and bondage.

Gald purſueth the Romans.

But to proceed, at length he did ſo much by his iournies, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all ſpéd (ſéeing none other remedie) reſolued themſelues to giue him battell, and thereupon exhorting one another to plaie the men, ſith their onelie refuge reſted in their weapons points, they fiercelie gaue the onſet, and at the firſt put the left wing of the Scots and Picts wholie vnto the worſt. In which wing, according to their maner in thoſe daies vſed, there were a great number of women mingled amongſt the men. Gald therefore perceiuing the danger, ſuccoured them with ſuch as were appointed to giue the looking on till néed required, and then to go where they ſhould be commanded. By which meanes the battell on that ſide was renewed afreſh, the women ſhewing no leſſe valiancie than the men, and therewith much more cruelties, for they ſpared none at all, though they offered neuer ſo much to haue their liues preſerued.

The Romans determine againe to fight with the Scots.

The Romans fiercelie aſſaile the Scots.

Strange dealing in women, and contrarie to their nature

In fine, the Romans being chaſed in the left wing, their ouerthrow gaue occaſion to all the reſidue to flee backe to their campe, being purſued ſo egerlie by the Scots and Picts, that they had much adoo to defend the entries of their trenches, where both parties fought right egerlie, till at length the night parted them both in ſunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themſelues to reſt, but prouided them of all things neceſſarie againſt the nert morning to aſſaile their enimies afreſh, and namelie from the nert wood they fetched great plentie of fagots and bruſh to fill the trenches withall. But this their demeanor and purpoſe being vnderſtood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though ſome perſuaded Galdus to the contrarie) vpon déepe conſiderations of fortunes fraile fauor, was at length granted vnto them, and foure ancient Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came forth and were admitted to the preſence of the kings [Gald of the Scots, and Garnard of the Picts] vnto whome with humble ſubmiſſion they acknowledged themſelues as vanquiſhed, and that by the iuſt wrath and reuenge of the equall gods, which againſt them they had conceiued for the wrongfull inuaſion of that which in no wiſe of right apperteined vnto them. Therefore if it might pleaſe thoſe kings to bridle and refraine their diſpleaſure againſt them, in licencing them vnder ſome reaſonable conditions of appointment to depart, it ſhould be a thing reſounding ſo much to their fame and glorie, as nothing could bee more; conſidering ſo humble ſute made to them by the orators of thoſe people, who were reputed as vanquiſhers of the whole world.

The Romans ſubmit themſelues as vanquiſhed.

Herewith falling proſtrate at the feet of thoſe kings, they beſought them of pardon, in ſuch pitifull wiſe, that the hearts of the hearers began ſomewhat to mollifie, and at length Gald toke vpon him to anſwer in name of all the reſidue of the Scotiſh and Pictiſh nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on theſe conditions: That the Romans ſhould ceaſſe from that day forward in anie wiſe to infeſt or diſquiet by way of anie inuaſion the Scotiſh and Pictiſh borders, and alſo to depart wholie out of thoſe countries, reſtoring all ſuch holds and fortreſſes as they held within the ſame: and further, to deliuer all priſoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatſoeuer as then remaining in their hands, togither with ſuch goods & ſpoiles as they had latelie taken.

The conditions of peace preſcribed to the Romans by the Scots and Picts.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their orators, were gladlie accepted, ſith they ſaw no better meane how to deliuer themſelues out of that preſent danger. And ſo deliuering ſufficient hoſtages for performance of all the articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching ſouthwards to come into Kent, where Marius king of the ſouth Britains ſoiourned as then. Agricola, as the Scotiſh chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of threeſcore thouſand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but now at their departure out of Galloway, there remained vneth twentie thouſand, the reſidue being diſpatched by one meane or other. By this concluſion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole poſſeſſion of all ſuch countries as the Romans had before wonne and taken away from them, as the Yers, Louthian, the marches about Berwike, Fiffe, and Angus, with Bile, Cantire, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romane garriſons departing out of the fortreſſes and holds, and leauing the ſame vnto the former owners.

The Romans depart out of Galloway.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romans, toke order to ſet good directions amongſt his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement of the common wealth, viſiting dailie the countries abroad, the better to vnderſtand the ſtate of them, and to reforme the ſame where it was needfull. Further conſidering that as warre breédeth good ſouldiers, ſo peace by iuſtice riddeth them out of the way, if they be not the better prouided for. Such as had ſerued long time in the laſt wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their liuing, he placed in garriſons néere to the borders of the Britains for defenſe of the countrie. After this, hee came to an interuiew with Garnard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Kalendar, to repreſſe certeine troubles raiſed betwixt their ſubiects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countrie: where perceiuing a ſort of euill diſpoſed perſons to be

Galdus ſtudieth to preſerue his ſubiects in good quiet now after the warres were ended.

Such as ſought to trouble the peace were puniſhed

be wholie in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to ſteale, and trouble the peace, which they had with ſuch trauell and labour ſought to reſtore, they puniſhed the offendors, and ſet all things in good quiet, and ſo departed in ſunder with great loue and friendſhip.

Thus Galdus applieng all his ſtudie and diligence to aduance the common-wealth and quiet ſtate of his countrie, liued manie yeres ſo highlie in the fauour of all his ſubiects, that the like hath beene but ſeldome heard of: finallie, to their great griefe and diſpleaſure he ended his life, more deere to them than their owne at Epiake, in the 35 yeere of his reigne, which was about the 15 yeere of the empire of Adrian, the 4098 yeere after the worlds creation, and from the birth of our Sauiour 131, and was buried with great lamentation in moſt pompous maner, and laid in a goodlie tome which was raiſed with mightie huge ſtones, hauing a great number of obeliſks ſet vp round about it according to the maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie ſhould euer indure, the countrie where he fought laſt with the Romans was called Galdia, after his name, which by addition of a few letters is now called Galloway, and before that time Brigantia, as the Scots do hold: but how that ſeemeth to agree with a truth, ye may read in the hiſtorie of England.

Gald departeth this life at Epiake.

3. H.B.
5302. H.B.
130. H.B.

Galloway taketh the name of Gald.

*Lugthake*

AFter this famous prince was thus departed hence, his ſonne Lugthake ſucceeded in rule of the Scotiſh kingdome, no leſſe abhorred of all men for his deteſtable and filthie vices, ioined with all kind of crueltie and couetouſneſſe, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went ſo farre paſt the bounds of all continencie in following his ſenſuall luſts, that hee forced and raviſhed not onelie aunt, neece, and ſiſter, but euen his owne daughters alſo. Such as were honorable perſonages, and meet to gouerne in the common-wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the adminiſtration of things vnto vile perſons, and ſuch as could beſt deuiſe how to inuent quarels againſt the rich, whereby they might be fleeced of all whatſoeuer they had: and oftentimes vpon ſome forged cauſe cruellie put to death. So little did he prouide to ſee offendors in anie wiſe corrected, that contrarilie he mainteined them in ſuch ſort therein, that iuſtice was quite baniſhed, and nothing but ſpoile and rauine exerciſed.

An vngratious ſon ſucceedeth after his worthie father.

The incontinencie of Lugthake.

His ſmall regard to the nobilitie.

Fauor ſhewed to men of baſe condition.

Offendors mainteined.

Iuſtice is baniſhed.

Thus hee continued aboue two yeeres, to the great ruine of the common-wealth. Finallie, when he went about to put vnto death ſuch as in an aſſemble called at Dunſtafage ſpake againſt the miſordered gouernement of the realme, he was there murthered amongſt the people, with a number of thoſe alſo whome he vſed to haue attendant on his perſon for ſafegard of the ſame. His owne bodie was ſolemnelie buried by appointment of the nobles, hauing reſpect to his fathers benefits, but the carcaſſes of his gard were caſt out into the fields, there to bee deuoured of beaſts and birds of rauine.

Lugthake would haue put to death ſuch as ſpake againſt his miſgouernment.

Lugthake is murthered with a number of his men.

AFter Lugthake was thus diſpatched, one Mogall the nephue of Galdus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. His cheefeſt ſtudie was to reforme the decaied ſtate of his countrie, and firſt he cauſed ſuch wicked councellors of his predeceſſors and vncle Lugthake, as had eſcaped with life (when their maiſter was made awaie) to be put to death, according to their iuſt deſeruings. He reſtored alſo the due worſhipping of the gods, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counſell of their former rulers. The Scotiſhmen in like maner conceiuing an aſſured hope of a good redreſſe in all their greefes and oppreſſions, by the means of ſuch a well diſpoſed prince, began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, euen the like as they had done his grandfather Galdus. In the meane time came certeine ambaſſadors from the Picts, vnto this Mogall, requiring him of aid againſt the Romans and Britains, who by a ſudden inuaſion had don much hurt in Pictland, to the great diſtreſſe of the inhabitants.

Mogall is beloued of his ſubiects.

The Picts deſire aid of the Scots againſt the Romans.

At the ſame time they of Galloway certified him alſo by letters, that the ſame Romans had made a rode into their countrie, and led awaie a great bootie of goods and priſoners. Mogall hauing a mind no leſſe giuen to deeds of chiualrie, than to the ſtudie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioiſed that he had iuſt occaſion giuen him to ſhew ſome proofe of his valiant inclination, and ſo herevpon ſent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requiring to haue reſtitution and amends for the iniuries thus by them committed. The herald doing his meſſage, receiued nothing but ſcornefull words, and diſdainfull menaces, wherby Mogall being throughlie kindled with deſpite, aſſembled his power togither forth of all the parties of his dominions, and comming with the ſame into Galloway, viſited his grandfathers ſepulchre, honoring it with great reuerence and ſolemne ſupplications, requiring as it were his aid againſt thoſe enimies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by ſolemne oths and other accuſtomed meanes of ratification. This done, he drew into Annandale, where Vnipanus as then king of the Picts abode his comming. There ioining their powers togither, they marched forth into Cumberland, and ſo forward into Weſtmerland, with fire and ſword walking and ſpoiling thoſe countries, as then belonging to the Romans.

The Romans inuade the Scotiſh borders.

Mogall requireth reſtitution of wrongs done by the Romans.

Lucius Antenous the Romane lieutenant, lieng at the ſame time at Yorke, being certified hereof by ſuch as fled for feare out of thoſe parties thus inuaded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of all the countries of Britaine, and haſted forth with the ſame towards his enimies; of whoſe approch Mogall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his people to incourage them to fight manfullie againſt the Romans, perſuading them effectuallie thereto by manie familiar examples brought in of the valiant enterpriſes atchiued by their elders, in the defenſe of their countrie and libertie of the ſame. In like maner Lucius Antenous for his part exhorted the Romans, and other his ſouldiers, to call to remembrance the victorious exploits of their predeceſſors, and how that as then they ſhould fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battell more vpon a furious rage and violent madnes, than with any diſcretion or aduiſed order, ſaieng furthermore, that it laie now in their hands with no great adoo to recouer that which through the negligent ſloth of Cneus Trebellius was before loſt, whereby they ſhould atteine great honor and famous renowme for euermore.

Mogall prepareth to the wars.

Mogall viſiteth his grandfathers ſepulchre.

The Picts and Scots ioine their powers togither and enter into the lands of their enimies.

Lucius Antenous lieutenant of Britaine.

Mogall exhorteth his men to be valiantlie.

By this meanes the armies on both ſides being kindled with deſire of battell, in hope of victorie, they drew neere togither, and began the fight right fiercelie at the firſt, with throwing and ſhoting of darts and arrowes ſo thicke that one might vneth ſee another. The place was more for the aduantage of the Scots than of the Romans, becauſe they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and parts, by reaſon of bogs and mariſhes, with ſuch ſideling banks on the ſides that they could keepe none araie: yet all theſe impediments notwithſtanding, this battell was fought ſo far forth to the vtterance, that in the end, after a wonderfull ſlaughter on both ſides made, when their ſwords and other weapons were ſpent, they buckled togither with ſhort daggers.

The battell beginneth betweene the Romans and Albions.

A cruell fight.

Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constreined to retire, which their generall Antenous perceiuing, did what he could to staie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most busie in the forefront to exhort them hereunto, he was wounded with an arrow, and thereupon departed out of the battell, which gaue occasion to diuers other of his companie to followe him, by meanes whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the nert wood, there to saue themselues as well as they might, though some companies perceiuing that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselues togither and departed by another waie, which they toke at aduenture, not knowing towards what parts they drew, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in maner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselues in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enimies were lodged so neere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they sent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yeeld. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yeeld themselues as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulnesse, they were slaine in the end euerie mothers sonne.

The Romans retire.

Lucius Antenous is wounded.

The Romans are put to flight.

Lucius Antenous hauing thus receiued the ouerthrow, dispatched a post vnto Rome with all hast, signifieng vnto the emperor Adrian the whole maner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason therof things stood in great danger here in Britaine, if speedie succors were not the sooner sent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine proofe) who cared not for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged.

women as readie to the battell as the men.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Britaine. Causing therefore an armie to be leuied, he passed forth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and comming to Calice, he transported ouer into Britaine, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more busie than at this present, hauing of late wasted and spoiled the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine. Herewith Adrian being sore offended, ioined the power which he had brought with him frō Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Britaine. This done, he remoued to Yorke, where soiorning certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards drew toward the borders, and cōming to the riuer of Tine, he passed ouer the same.

Adrian the emperor prepareth to go into Britain.

Adrian transporteth into Britaine.

Adrian commeth to Yorke

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing seruing to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither corne, nor other prouision of victell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mounteins and marish grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he grieuouslie afflicted them, and that in sundrie maner. In the end espieng the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in such a vaine and fruitlesse trauell, and therefore returned vnto Tine, there to restreine the Scots and Picts from inuading such of the Britains as were subiect to the Romane empire, he caused a great trench to be cast ouerthwart the land from the mouth of Tine to the riuer of Eske, and a wall to be made on the inner side of the same, of turfe and sods. ¶ The Scotish chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the emperor Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therfore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septimus Seuerus.

He passeth ouer the riuer of Tine.

Adrian findeth nothing abroad in the countrie of his enimies.

What maner of people he had to do withall.

Adrian begin-neth to make a wall for safegard of the Britains against the Picts and Scots.

The Romans writers do confirme the same.

Adrianus hauing thus dispatched in the north parts of Britaine, in his returne visited Wales with the marches of the same, setting an order amongst such as had moued a commotion against the magistrats in those parties, the authors whereof he punished according to their offenses, & so then he came to London, whither at the same time a great number of the Britaine nobilitie resorted to do him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part shewed them such friendlie interteinment, that they could not with any better. After this he sailed into France, taking Lucius Antenous with him, because he could not awaie with the aire of Britaine, in whose place he left one Aulus Victorinus lieutenant there, who disposed diuers garisons of souldiers in places neere vnto the fore-remembred wall, for defense of the inhabitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts. Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided those lands and countries (which they had latelie wasted on the further side of Tine) in such sort betwixt them, that all whatsoeuer laie towards the Irish sea, remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon the Almane seas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

Adrian commeth to London.

Adrian returneth toward Rome.

Aulus Victorinus lieutenant of Britaine.

The Scotish men & Picts diuide the countries beyond Tine betwixt them.

After this Mogall liued manie yeares in good quiet without anie trouble of enimies. But being puffed vp in pride, by such notable victories as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace maister his owne vnrulie appetites; but that drowned in the filthie lusts of the bodie, he spared neither maid, widowe, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to such vnquenchable couetousnesse, that nothing might suffice him, finding manie forged matters against the rich, whereby to bereue them both of life and substance. He was the first which ordeined that such as were banished or condemned for anie crime, should forfeit all their lands & goods without any consideration had either of wife or child, which is obserued at the full euen vnto these our daies, where before it was otherwise in that countrie. But these so notable vices in the prince could not long continue vnpunished, for at last a conspiracie was practised against him, whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwise by relation of friends, the certeintie is not known) in the dead of the night he armed himselfe, and with two of his seruants onelie fled to the nert wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his household.

Mogall liued manie yeares in peace.

A couetous and cruell ordinance.

A conspiracie attempted against Mogall.

Mogall flieth out of his owne house,

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conspiratours pursued after him, who perceiuing them to approch, sought waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such was his hap, that he fell amongest other that were as readie as the first to wreake their malice vpon him, and so by them he was immediatlie murthered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of the world, and after the birth of our sauiour 169, Antoninus Pius then gouerning the Romane empire, and Philatus surnamed Albus reigning amongest the Picts. His head being smitten off, was set vpon a poles end, and caried about in derision; but afterwards in respect of his linage it was buried

Mogall is murthered.

148. H. B.

ried togither with the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithſtanding the commons thought it moſt vnworthie of anie ſuch honor.

*Conarus.* Conarus the ſonne of Mogall ſucceedeth his father.

MOgall being thus diſpatched, as ye haue heard, his ſonne Conarus was admitted king, who (as is reported) was priuie to the conſpiracie deuiſed againſt his father, and as he came to the gouernment by wicked meanes, ſo in the end he vſed himſelfe much what accordinglie in the ſame; for after he had for a time diſſembled his naughtie nature, he began at the laſt openlie to ſhew himſelfe in his right colours, committing firſt of all the adminiſtration of publike affaires vnto men of baſe condition and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogither in banketting and coſtlie fare, not regarding the ancient temperancie in feeding, vſed amongeſt his worthie anceſtors.

Conarus giuē to exceſſiue gluttonie.

In waſting therefore his kinglie reuenues vpon ſuch riotous exceſſe, he was nothing abaſhed to require in an open aſſemblie of his ſubiects, a ſubſidie to be granted, towards the maintenance of ſuch roiall chéere, as he iudged to ſtand with his honor to haue daillie in his houſe. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not ſufficient to furniſh the charges, he requeſted a generall contribution to be leuied through the realme, of euerie perſon according to their abilities, for the maintenance of ſuch ſuperfluous expenſes as he daillie vſed in exceſſiue banketting. The lords maruelling to heare him moue anie ſuch demand, and conſidering withall the occaſion thereof, they aſked reſpit to make their anſwer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they communed ſecretlie togither, and in the end concluded, not onelie to denie his requeſt, but alſo to depoſe him of all kinglie gouernement, ſith his naughtie life required no leſſe.

The lords conſpire againſt Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe ſet downe in the councell-chamber, one of them in name of the reſidue tooke vpon him to ſpeake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme marueiled not a little how it ſhould come to paſſe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to conſume his treaſure, ſhould yet be inforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his eſtate and charges of his houſhold; but the fault was knowen well inough to reſt in ſuch as he moſt vnworthilie had preferred to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught did nothing but deuiſe means how to cauſe the king to ſpoile his naturall ſubiects of their goods and poſſeſſions, therewith to inrich themſelues, but (ſaith he) as they ſhalbe prouided for well inough yer long, and ſo aduanced as they ſhall not néed to thirſt for other mens liuings, that is to wit, euen to a faire paire of gallowes, there to end their liues with ſhame, as a number of ſuch other leſengers had often done before them: ſo it is conuenient that the K. ſith his ſkill is ſo ſmall in the adminiſtration of his office, ſhould be ſhut vp in ſome one chamber or other, and ſuch a one to haue the gouernance of the realme, as may be thought by common aſſent of the lords moſt meet to take it vpon him.

The anſwere of the lords to the demand of Conarus.

The king hearing this tale, ſtarted vp, & with a loud voice began to call them traitors; adding, that if they went about anie hurt to his perſon, they ſhould deerelie abide the bargaine. But notwithſtanding theſe words, ſuch as were appointed therto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place aſſigned, where they laid him vp, maugre all his reſiſtance. In like maner, all ſuch as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to priſon, where the moſt part of them, vpon examination taken of their offenſes, ſuffered death according to their iuſt demerits.

Conarus is taken and committed to ſtrict keeping.

Conarus his miniſters are puniſhed for their offenſes.

Then was the rule of the realme committed vnto one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour tooke vpon him the publike regiment, vntill other aduiſe might be taken. His mans ſtudie in the beginning was onelie to cleanſe the countrie of all miſdoers, and to ſée the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finallie in all his doings ſhewed himſelfe a perfect patterne of an vpright iuſticer. But within a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) proſperous ſucceſſe changed his former mind to an euill diſpoſition, whereby he ordered things after his owne ſelfewill more than by reaſon, without the aduiſe of his péeres. And further, to the manifeſt ruine of the common-wealth, he nouriſhed ciuill diſcord and ſedition amongeſt the nobles, ſuppoſing it to make for his welfare, ſo long as they were at ods. He alſo maried a Pictiſh ladie, the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe by this his forren aliance.

Argadus is choſen to gouerne the realme.

Argadus an vpright iuſticer.

Proſperitie changeth conditions.

Herevpon the péeres of the realme, vnderſtanding what miſchiefe might inſue by theſe manifold and ſundrie abuſes of the gouernour, cauſed a parlement to be called, where, in preſence of the whole aſſemblie, they laid vnto his charge, how that (through his miſgouernement and preſumption, not onelie in coupling himſelfe in mariage with a wife of a ſtrange nation, but alſo for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the eſtate of the realme, without conſent of the nobles or commons of the ſame) he had deſerued grieuous puniſhment; his treſpaſſe being ſo much the greater, in that conſidering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he anſwered not their expectation, nor performed the truſt and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

Argadus is rebuked.

Argadus confeſſeth his fault.

Argadus hearing himſelfe thus charged, and not able to laie anie likelie excuſe, fell vpon his knées, & partlie confeſſing his fault with tears guſhing from his eies, beſought them of pardon, wholie ſubmitting himſelfe to be ordered at their diſcretion. The lords being moued with this humble ſubmiſſion of Argadus, vpon promiſe he ſhould redreſſe all his former miſdemeanours, were contented that he ſhould continue ſtill in the adminiſtration. But ſuch as had béene his chiefeſt councellors were committed to ward. After this ſharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduiſe of his peeres; and ſone after, amongeſt other things, he tooke order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferiour officers, as bailiffes, borroughmaiſters, conſtables, and ſuch other ſhould extend. But eſpeciallie he trauelled moſt diligentlie for the puniſhing of theeues and robbers, of whome none eſcaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreouer, he ordeined by ſtatute, that no man exerciſing anie publike office, ſhould taſte of anie drinke that might make him drunken. He alſo baniſhed all ſuch perſons as vſed with dreſſing of delicat meats, and (as I may call them) deintie diſhes, or banketting chéere, to allure mens appetites from the old rude fare accuſtomed amongeſt their elders, who ſought not to follow their delicious appetites, but onlie prouided to ſuſteine nature, which is ſatiſfied with a little, & that void of coſtlie furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in reforming the ſtate of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and ſuch as were vpright liuers of themſelues, indeuored ſtill to proceed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being conſumed with long impriſonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigne.

Argadus is permitted to continue in his office.

Argadus amendeth his former miſgouernance, and ruleth himſelfe by better aduiſe.

A notable ſtatute.

Fine cookerie baniſhed.

Conarus departeth out of this world. 162. H.B.

*Ethodius.*

Ethodius the nephue of Mogall is cholen king.

AFter whose decrealle, the nobles and other estates of the realme assembling themselues togither, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Mogall by his sister, to reigne ouer them. But Argadus being highlie rewarded with lands and liuings for his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the aduancement of the publike weale during the time of his gouernement, was thereto some after created as it were lord president of the councell, thereby to be chiefest in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ruling of all publike affaires & causes. Shortlie after Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those daies was) went ouer into the westerne Iles, there to take order for the administration of iustice, where immediatlie vpon his arriuall, it was shewed him, that not passing two or three daies before, there had beene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles or clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was stirred amongest their seruants, being a companie of naughtie and vnrulie fellowes, to the great disquiet of the inhabitants. Herevpon was Argadus sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appease that businesse, and to bring in the offendors, that they might receiue reward according to their demerits. Argadus forthwith hasted towards the place where he vnderstood the rebels to be remaining, and apprehending the whole number of them, some by force, and some vpon their humble submission, he returned backe with them to the king, who causing the matter to be throughlie heard, such as were the chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure. The Iland people being thus appeased, the king returned into Albion, where as then lieng at Enerlochthée, a towne (as is said) in Louchquhaber, word came vnto him that the Romans had broken downe the wall builded by the emperour Adrian, and made a great rode into the Scotish and Pictish borders, where meeting with the inhabitants assembled togither in defense of their countrie (after a sore conflict) the victorie remained with the Romans; by reason whereof they led a great bootie of cattell and other goods away with them to the places where they sojourned.

Argadus is created lord president of the councell.

Ciuill discord amongest the lords of the Iles.

Argadus is sent forth to apprehend the rebels.

The Iland rebels are punished.

The Romans inuade the Pictish and Scotish borders.

Ethodius being moued herewith, sent forthwith an herald vnto Victorine the Romane lieutenant, requiring that his subiects might haue restitution of their goods wrongfullie taken from them, or else to looke for warres within fifteene daies after. Victorine answered herevnto, that the Scots and Picts had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall, and to build a tower vpon the same, fortifieng it with a number of men of warre, who running dailie into the British confines, fetched preies thence from amongest the Romane subiects, and though he had sent diuers times to the Scotish and Pictish wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue anie towardlie answer, so that he was constreined to begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had done alreadie.

Ethodius requireth restitution of his subiects goods taken away by the Romans.

Victorines answere to Ethodius request.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answere, wrote streightwaies to the K. of the Picts, exhorting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subiects had latelie receiued at the hands of the Romans, to inuade the wall on that side where it diuided his countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon the enimies by the same, and for his part he promised shortlie after to come, and to ioine with him in such a necessarie enterprise against the common enimies of both their countries. The Pictish king giuing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promised with all speed to set forward according to the aduise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner hauing knowledge of the whole intention of the two kings, with all speed made preparation also for the wars, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in vpon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries next adioining. Which when the Romans perceiued, they passed by the enimies campe in the night season, and entred into the Pictish borders, wasting and spoiling all afore them.

Ethodius exhorteth the king of the Picts to make warre against the Romans.

The Scotishmen and the Picts inuade the British borders.

When the two kings vnderstood this, they hasted forth towards them, and were no soner come within sight of them, but that they made ech towards other, and so incountring togither, there was fought a sore battell with doubtfull victorie, for the right wings on either side vanquished the left, the breasts of both the battels keeping their ground, the one not once thinking backe from the other till night seuered them in sunder, but not without such slaughter made on both sides, that being once parted, they made no great hast to ioine againe togither; for as well the one part as the other being thus discouered, drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding for the morning. Neither did they attempt anie further exploit of all that yeare following.

The Romans incountred by the Scotishmen and Picts.

Night parted the battell.

In which meane time Victorine sent letters to Rome vnto the emperour Marcus Antonius Aurelius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifieng vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine; further declaring, that if conuenient succors were not sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious rage of the enimies, by reason of the small trust he perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no lesse readie vpon occasion to make warres in recouerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were to incroch vpon them. The emperour vpon receit of these letters, thought in his mind that Victorine was not so valiant a capteine as the case required, and that thereupon the Scots and Picts became the more imboldened to resist, therefore he sent for him home, appointing one Agricola Calphurnius to succeed in his roome, who was (as some haue left in writing) the nephue of Julius Agricola, the most famous capteine of the Romans that euer came into Britaine.

Victorine sendeth letters to Rome.

Victorine is sent for to returne vnto Rome, and one Calphurnius sent into Britaine to succeed in his roome.

This Calphurnius comming into Britaine with an armie, ioined to the same the power which he found there, as well of the Britains, as of other seruing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which done, he repaired toward the riuer of Tine, where being arriued, he marched forth into the borders of his enimies, finding all the countrie round about him so clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one hed of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland, and entring into Pictland, wasted all that was before him with fire and sword. And for so much as winter came vpon him, when he had done his will in that behalfe, he returned vnto Yorke, where he sojourned vntill the spring.

Calphurnius entreth into the borders of his enimies.

Calphurnius returneth to Yorke.

When summer was once come, hauing made his prouision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word came vnto him that the Welshmen were reuolted, and began to raise warre against the Romans, so that taking order for the reparing of the wall made by Adrian, which the enimies in diuers places had broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of men of warre for defense of the same against all inuasions that might be attempted, he turned the residue of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom in the end, though not without much adoo, he reduced to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were vp in armour against such Romans as ruled there, sundrie noble men of the maine Ile taking their part, but they also were at length brought againe to

The Welshmen rebell against the Romans.

The Welshmen brought to their former obedience.

The inhabitants of the Ile of wight reuolting frō the Romans, are constreined againe to be obedient.

to their former subiection, and the authors of that rebellion punished by death.

In the meane time the Scots and Picts determined not to attempt anie further exploit against the Romans, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the lieutenant Calphurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchiued conquests of his grandfather Julius Agricola, of whose victorious exploits, besides that which ye haue before heard, the English historie also doth make a long rehearsall. Calphurnius being thus at quiet on that side, intended wholie to reforme all misorders amongest the Britains, which being brought to indifferent good passe, he was sent for home againe vnto Rome by the emperour Antonius Commodus, the sonne and successour of the fore-remembred Marcus Aurelius sending one Publius Trebellius into Britaine, there to supplie his charge.

This Trebellius comming into Britaine, at the first vsed himselfe verie vprightlie in his office, shewing all honor and loue towards the Britains, subiects to the Romane empire, and namelie to Lucius, who reigned as king of the land, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romane empire. But after that he had once wonne him a peece of credit amongest them, he changed his maners, or rather discouered his naturall inclination, so wholie giuen to couetousnesse, that his onelie studie was set which way to fill his bags, not caring how vntrulie he forged accusations against the rich, so that either by death or banishment their goods might be confiscat, and so come to his hands. By this wicked gouernement, the Britains began so fore to hate him, that had it not beene for the loue of their king the foresaid Lucius (who holpe to appease them) there had beene some rebellion practised against him in the south part. Now the Scots and Picts hauing knowledge of this misliking in the Britains towards the Romane lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them also to be doing, to the end they might reuenge their former iniuries; and herevpon leuieng an armie, they came to the oft remembred wall, and ouerthrowing the same in diuers places, they entred into the British confins with great spoile and crueltie. Trebellius being hereof informed, hasted forth with all the power he could make, to resist their inuasions; but finding the enimies readie in the field, and incountring them sooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the first ioining abandoned of the most part of his whole armie, which consisted of Britains and Frenchmen, then called Galls, so that the residue being beaten downe, he was glad to saue himselfe as well as he might, by setting the spurs to his horsse and galloping away.

After this, gathering togither his people againe as they fled from the discomfiture, he retired backe with them vnto Yorke, hauing lost in this bickering a great number of his best souldiors, and men of warre: for the Scots and Picts, missing no small number of their friends in that battell, were not satisfied with those whome they had likewise slaine in the fight, but also fell vpon their prisoners which they had taken, and slue them also in reuenge of their fellowes whome they had lost. Afterwards they harried the countries of Westmerland and Kendall in most cruell wise, Trebellius not being so hardie to fight with them againe for doubt of some traine that might be practised by the Britains. Neither was his suspicion grounded vpon the credit of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediatlie after, the commons of the countrie rose against the Romans, in purpose to haue driuen them all out of the land.

Their capteine was one Caldorus a Pict borne. There were also diuerse of the British nobilitie amongst them not knowne, for they were disguised in strange apparell, counterfeting themselues to be of the vulgar sort. The furie of these people was great, but yet in the end the politike order of the Romans vanquished them, howbeit not without great slaughter on both sides. Caldorus escaping the hands of his enimies, fled into his natiue countrie of Pictland, not a little reioising that he had procured such slaughter amongst the Romans and Britains, both being enimies to him and his countrie. Such prisoners also of the Britains as fell into the hands of the Romans, were hanged vp vpon sundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season toke down those dead bodies, and hanged vp as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who where the doers of that act.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiuing thus what danger he stood in on euerie part, wrote vnto the emperour Commodus, that without some reformation were had, the Romans were not like to keepe foot anie long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperour doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Pertinax an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat, should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, toke vpon him the office: and first setting a staie among the Britains, by right prudent and well aduised gouernement, he afterwards made a iournie against the Scots and Picts, driuing them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constreined them to remaine within their owne confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperour Commodus being murthered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

About the same time the state of the Scotish commonwealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Iles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselues togither, and comming ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countrie in pitious wise. For redresse whereof, Argadus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius the king with a great host of Scotishmen and Picts lay in campe neere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the inuasion of the enimies on that side, if happilie they should attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Iland-men hearing of Argadus his approch, drew themselues togither to receiue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countrie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argadus was comming that waies forth to fight with his enimies, they laid themselues secretlie in ambush by the waie where he should passe, and when he was passed by them, they brake forth vpon his rereward suddenlie, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impression at the first brunt, that though he did what in him laie to bring them againe into araie of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enimies. Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hasted forth towards Argile, to reuenge



The name of Agricola dyed full to the Scotishmen and Picts.

Calphurnius studieth to reforme the estate of Britaine.

Calphurnius returneth vnto Rome.

Publius Trebellius sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Publius Trebellius giuen to couetousnesse.

He is hated of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts renew the warre against the Romans.

Trebellius fighteth against his enimies, is forsaken of his owne men, and chased out of the field.

Westmerland and Kendall spoiled by the Scotishmen and Picts.

The British commons rise against Trebellius, one Caldorus a Pict being their capteine.

The same commons are vanquished. Caldorus reioiseth at the slaughter as well of the one part as of the other.

The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans.

Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Picts.

Pertinax is chosen emperour.

Argile infested by the Ilandmen.

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intrap Argadus

Argadus is slaine.

the death of his valiant capteine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his comming, made towards the sea, and would gladlie haue béene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wils, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warilie by closing them vp among the hils and mounteins, that finallie constreined through famine, they submitted themselues vpon these conditions, that their head capteine with two hundred others of the chiefest, should yéeld themselues simplie to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

The Iland-men yéeld themselues.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capteine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and péeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had alreadie yéelded vp their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finallie they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Iland-men being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scotishmen or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongest his subiects.

Execution.

Ethodius visiteth his countries, to see iustice maintained.

And for that he would not spend his time in idlenesse, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he tooke order that all such ordinances as had béene deuised by his elders, should streictlie be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroie anie hares with nets, grens or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formes by anie meanes: nor after that they had béene once coursed and escaped, to follow the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anie hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, forrests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and couerts, néere vnto the townes & houses.

He giueth himselfe to hunting, & causeth the lawes for the maintenance of game to be well kept & looked vnto.

He ordeined moreouer therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anie hind-calues, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroied, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilest he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being borne in one of the west Iles, he was murthered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murtherer being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to do that déed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was readie to receiue what kind of death they would adiudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not bée so painfull, but that I shall reioise euen in the verie instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finallie by commandement of the magistrates he was drawne in peeces with wild horsses in most violent wise.

Ethodius murthered by a musician. 194 H.B.

Ethodius reigned 33 yéeres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperor. He was buried at Dumfatage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interrement of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine received the faith with a great part of his people, being the yéere after the birth of our Sauior, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the British 177.

Septimus Seuerus. H.B.

Britaine received the christian faith in the yeare 187.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahell or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succéed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet bicause he was verie yoong in yéeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Satrahell was subtile of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from atteining at anie time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt hee anie thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subiects, whose lands and goods hee onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By meanes whereof such mischeefe insued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition dailie rose amongst the people, that pitie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he vnderstood well inough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within dores saue his life anie long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yéeres.

*Satrahell.*

Satrahell séeketh to destroy such as were in fauor with his predecessor.

Discord ariseth among the people through the kings misgouernment.

Satrahell strangled to death by his owne seruants.

397 HB.

*Donald.*

In his place succéeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and aboue all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper among his subiects. Neither bare he with offenders, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholsome ordinances of the realme he caused to be dulie punished: finallie he tooke such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subiects as it had beene from a wild and sauage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiuing that a kings authoritie among the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the British nation to inioy that title.

Donald studieth to reduce his subiects vnto all ciuilitie.

Lucius king of Britaine dieth.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and chosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enimies the Romans, whose endeuor (as he knew) had euer béene from time to time, how to bring the whole Iland vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitors of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them wholie out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

The Britains rebell and chose one Fulgentius to their captein who sendeth for aid vnto the Scottishmen.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendlie, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such daie and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whome in

Donald promiseth to aid Fulgentius.

semblable

ſemblable wiſe Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) aſſembling their hoſt togither, reſorted vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrew in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more free acceſſe and entrie vnto them by the ſame. Neither were the Scots and Picts ſlow for their part to make forward: ſo that they likewiſe comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill vp the trench or ditch that went alongſt the ſame.

The Britains come to Adrians wall, and pull it downe to let in the Scots.

The Scotiſh men & Picts come to the aid of the Britains.

This done, ioining their powers togither, they paſſed forth towards Yorke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue beſieged him therein: but hauing knowledge how he was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpoſe of beſieging that citie, and fell to ſpoiling & harrieng of the countrie abroad on euerie ſide, conſtreining the moſt part of the people to come in and yéeld themſelues vnder their obeiſance. Thus they continued in paſſing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter inforced them to breake vp their campe, and to licence the ſouldiers to depart home into their countries, till they had new ſummons to aſſemble and meet againe.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains. The Scots helpe the Britains to ſpoile their owne countrie.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperor Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: wherevpon he with all ſpéed leuied an armie, & ſet forward with the ſame himſelfe in perſon toward Britaine, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainlie may appéere. At his comming into Britaine, he ſlacked no time, but aſſembling his power, prepared to go againſt the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, ſent ambaſſadors vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to anie, wherevpon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the beſt wiſe he could, exhorting them to ſticke to their neceſſarilie begun enterpriſe, for recouerie of their long wiſhed libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanquiſhing the emperor at that preſent they ſhould aſſuredlie atteine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, ſo that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfullie by dint of ſword, like fellowes and brethren knit in one faithfull band of truſtie concord, conſidering the enimies armie being gathered of ſo manie ſundrie nations & languages that conſent in one opinion, the cheefeſt meane for the obteining of victory muſt néeds be wanting among them.

Trebellius certifieth the emperor of the ſtate of Britaine.

Fulgentius incourageth the Britains to ſticke vnto their begun enterpriſe.

The Britains moued herewith, promiſed him to liue and die in the quarrell. Wherevpon he toke aduiſe with them, which waie to mainteine themſelues againſt Seuerus, of whoſe comming they were alreadie certified. For Seuerus hauing diſpatched the Britiſh ambaſſadors from him, ſet incontinentlie forward towards Yorke, leauing his yongeſt ſonne Geta in the ſouth parts to haue the gouernance of the ſame in his abſence. His eldeſt ſonne Antoninus he toke with him in his iournie againſt his enimies. At his comming to Yorke, he did ſacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethniſh cuſtome, & alſo toke aduiſe with his capteins how to proceed in his enterpriſe againſt his enimies.

Seuerus ſetteth forth towards his enimies.

Seuerus commeth to Yorke.

This done he marcheth forth with his armie towards them, who being alreadie ioined with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, inſomuch that thoſe of the one ſide came no ſoner in ſight of the other, but that they haſted forth to ioine togither in battell, whereof inſued great ſlaughter betwixt them, though the Britiſh part (notwithſtanding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure againſt the great multitude and practiſed ſkill of the Romane ſouldiers, ſo that in the end they were opened perforce and put to flight with the loſſe of thirtie thouſand, what of Britains, Scotiſhmen and Picts.

Seuerus is incountred by his enimies.

Fulgentius himſelfe, ſeeing the diſcomfiture and huge ſlaughter made of his people, had runne in amongſt the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, had not thoſe that were about him led him awaie by force, and ſo at length he got him amongſt the troops of the Scotiſhmen and Picts, and togither with them paſſed ouer Tine, and ſo into the borders of his friends where he got togither ſuch ſouldiers as he could, that had eſcaped from the battell, and reteined them with wages ſo well as he might, in hope vpon occaſion to imploie them eftſoones againſt his enimies. The Scots alſo ſent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the Britiſh nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Seuerus puniſhed moſt greeuouſlie, but the commons he vſed more gentlie, as it were making excuſe for them being procured thereto by their capteins. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to draw vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next ſpring. He himſelfe wintered at Yorke.

Fulgentius is put to flight and his armie diſcomfited.

Seuerus wintereth at Yorke.

In the next ſummer there was little done worthie to be ſpoken of, but that there were certeine ſkirmiſhes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occaſion ſerued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their aduantage. But forſomuch as the Scots had no aid ſent them forth of Ireland, they were not minded to ieopard againe in a foughten field, ſuppoſing it ſufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, conſidering the puiſſance that was readie bent againſt them. At length Seuerus fell ſicke at Yorke, and his ſon Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, cauſed the wall afore mentioned, diuiding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repared. This wall was built (as is before recited) firſt by Adrian the emperor, to ſtaie the Scotiſhmen from inuading the lands apperteining to the ſubiects of the Romane empire, & after ouerthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in ſort as before is partlie mentioned. Antoninus cauſed it to be fortified with baſtilions, one placed ſo néere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the ſound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the firſt deſcrieng of the enimies approch.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Pictland.

Seuerus ſickneth.

The wall is repared.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not ſo ſoone as his ſon Antoninus wiſhed, in hope after him to atteine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a leage with the Scotiſhmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other ſuch Britiſh rebels as were fled with him into Pictland, he receiued ſufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then laie. Shortlie after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the hiſtorie of England it appeareth. But now to returne vnto Donald the Scotiſh king, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that being deliuered of forren trouble, he ſtudied cheeflie how to preſerue his people in good peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauiour Chriſt the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being latelie afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganiſme and heathenith idolatrie.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be emperor concludeth a peace with the enimies.

Donald ſtudious to maintreine his ſubiects in peace and concord.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the daies of the aboue ſaid emperor Seuerus, he ſent a meſſenger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zepherinus ſaith Hariſon) being the 15 in number, as they ſaie, after ſaint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fullie minded to receiue the chriſtian religion, and vtterlie to forſake the ſuperſtitious ſeruice of the heathenith gods,

Donald conuerted vnto chriſtian beleefe in the daies of the emperor Seuerus.

gods, and therefore inſtantlie required him to ſend ouer into Scotland ſome godlie learned men, to inſtruct him in the right beléefe. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increaſe the faith of Chriſt through all parts of the world, ſent with all ſpéed into Scotland ſuch well diſpoſed perſons as he thought moſt méet for that purpoſe, who at their arriuall there, did their endeuour in ſuch diligent ſort, that not onelie the king, but alſo through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptiſed, and cléerelie forſoke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our ſauiour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the firſt erection of the Scotiſh kingdome 330, as W. Hariſon in his chronologie doth manifeſtlie confirme.

The Scotiſh men receiued the faith in the yéere of our Sauiour 203. 5399. H.B.

533 H.B.

Moreouer this Donald was the firſt as the Scotiſh chronicles alledge, that cauſed ſiluer and gold to be coined in his realme. The ſtampe which he deuiſed for the ſame, was a croſſe on the one ſide, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots vſed no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either elſe occupied with Britiſh and Romane monie, as diuers marble cheſts full of the ſame which haue béene found of late yéeres in ſundrie parts of Scotland do verie well witneſſe. Finallie K. Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the maner of our chriſtian religion, without any heatheniſh ceremonies.

Donald departeth out of this world. 216 H.B.

*Ethodius.*

AFter him ſucceéded Ethodius the ſecond, and ſonne of the former Ethodius, which prince proued ſo verie a fole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed vnto certeine noble men, who being diuided into ſundrie quarters of the realme, toke verie good order for the due gouernment of the parties ſo to them limited, and vſed themſelues verie vprightlie in all their doings. As for cauſe of wars they had none, for Seuerus before his death had giuen ſuch order for the gouernement of the Britains, that they durſt not once ſtir by reaſon of ſuch pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the chéefeſt of all the Britiſh nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though doltiſh, yet naturallie giuen to vnquenchable couetouſneſſe, was ſlaine by thoſe that were appointed to the gard of his perſon, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

The gouernance of the realme committed to ſundrie noble men.

Ethodius being giuen to couetouſneſſe is ſlaine by his owne ſeruants.

*Athirco.*

THen was his ſonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the eſtates, who in the beginning of his reigne ſhewed himſelfe verie ſober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exerciſing himſelfe in all laudable paſtimes conuenient for his eſtate, and herewith he was ſo frée and liberall towards all men, that he wan him wonderfull much praiſe and loue amongeſt his people. But theſe his noble vertues increaſed not in him together with his age, but contrarilie decaied, in ſuch ſort, that after he had reigned eight yéeres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, imbracing auarice: for courteſie and amiable countenance, he vſed ſterne and loftie lookes: for commendable exerciſes, he gaue himſelfe wholie to filthie pleaſures and ſenſuall luſts of the bodie: and ſuch as could further his purpoſe moſt in theſe his beaſtlie affections, he cheriſhed and had them moſt in eſtimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by vilanous iniurie, as he was anie other of the loweſt and meaneſt degrée.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regardeth not his nobles.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no ſmall authoritie amongſt the people of that countrie) named Natholocus, had two faire yong gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie deſirous to ſatiſfie his luſt vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not ſo content, deliuered them afterwards to be abuſed in ſemblable ſort by his pages and ſeruants. The father vnderſtanding this vilanie done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, ſent for his friends, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he required their aſſiſtance. They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of ſuch an iniurie done to their bloud, promiſed in reuenge therof to ſpend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in ſunder, they prepared themſelues to aſſemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, as to rid the countrie of ſuch a catife wretch, reſpecting nothing but the ſatiſfieng of his filthie carnall luſts, and the accompliſhment of his moſt beaſtlie appetites.

The vilanous act of Athirco in abuſing a noble mans daughters.

The kinſmen and friends of the gentlewomen conſpire againſt Athirco.

When they were once got togither in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunſtafage, where they vnderſtood that the king as then did ſoiourne, a great multitude of people ſtill reſorting vnto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approch, called togither his power, ſuppoſing at the firſt to haue beaten downe his enimies; but when he had throughlie weied the matter, and conſidered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of good wils in his people, he priuilie ſtole awaie from them, and would haue paſſed ouer into Ila, one of the weſterne Iles, to haue procured ſome ſuccor there, but being imbarked and ſet from the ſhore, he was by contrarie winds driuen backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enimies hands, he choſe rather to ſlea himſelfe, and ſo ended his wretched life in ſuch miſerable extremitie after he had reigned the ſpace of 12 yéeres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Gordian the third, or (as others ſaie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Hariſon hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doorus the brother of Athirco vnderſtanding of the death of his brother, diſguiſed himſelfe in beggers weed for doubt of death, and went into Pictland with three of his nephues, ſonnes to the ſame Athirco, whoſe names were Sindocke, Tarance, and Donald.

Athirco doubting to be forſaken of his owne men if it came to the triall of battel, conueied himſelfe from among them.

Athirco ſlaeth himſelfe.

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Doorus the brother of Athirco conueieth himſelf out of the way

Howbeit, Natholocus hauing knowledge whither he was fled, ſent forth certeine of his ſeruants, with commandement to ſearch him out, commanding furthermore verie ſtreictlie, that if they found him, they ſhould diſpatch him out of life, for feare of further miſcheefe. But they that were ſent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie reſembling Doorus, ſlue the one in ſtead of the other, and ſo returning home to their maiſter, they made him verie ioifull of the newes, although indéed they came not néere to Doorus. Then Natholocus cauſing the eſtates of the realme to aſſemble, he handled the matter in ſuch wiſe, by diſſuading them to chooſe any of Athircos bloud to reigne ouer them (for doubt leaſt they ſhould ſéeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Natholocus was elected himſelfe, more by force than by anie common conſent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wiſhed rather that the iſſue of Athirco (hauing deſerued nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdom, ſaue onlie in reſpect of the fathers offenſes) might haue inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or elſe ſome néere kinſman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldeſt of them might come to ſufficient yeares to beare the rule himſelfe.

Natholocus ſéeketh the life of Doorus.

Natholocus is choſen to be king.

BVt Natholocus being once proclamed king by the multitude, and Athircos bloud attainted of treaſon, *Natholocus.*

treaſon, and ſo publiſhed, according to the cuſtome he toke the athes of thoſe that were preſent, and then repaired vnto Dunſtafage, there to be inueſted according to the maner. This done, he called ſuch aſide as he ſuſpected, and talking with them alone, he exhorted them to be faithfull, promiſing to be their aſſured good lord and maiſter, and for an earneſt thereof, he gaue vnto diuerſe of them verie great rewards. Generallie vnto all men he ſhewed himſelfe verie gentle and tractable, thereby to win their loues, for the better eſtabliſhment of his new atchiued eſtate: and hereto he imploied ſuch riches as the former kings had heaped togither amongſt the nobles, ſtudieng by all meanes to auoid all ſeditious quarels and ſecret diſcords amongſt them.

Natholocus goeth vnto Dunſtafage to be inthronized.

Natholocus ſeeketh to procure loue of the nobilitie through bribes.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeine yéeres, at length fortune began to ſhew a change of countenance after hir old accuſtomed guiſe. For Doorus the brother of Athirco (whome, as ye haue heard, Natholocus ſuppoſed to haue béene dead) wrote certeine letters, ſignifieng his owne eſtate with the welfare of his nephues the children of Athirco vnto certeine Scotiſh lords, whom he knew to fauour his cauſe. Which letters he deliuered vnto a Pictiſh woman, appointing hir how and to whome ſhe ſhould deliuer the ſame, but the woman apprehended by the waie, and brought vnto Natholocus, he cauſed hir ſecretlie to be ſacked and throwne into a riuer. Afterwards ſending for ſuch of the nobles as the direction of the forſaid letters had giuen him occaſion to haue in ſome ſuſpicion, he committed them firſt to priſon, and at length cauſed them to be ſecretlie ſtrangled.

Fortune fauoring Natholocus for a time began to change.

Doorus writeth vnto certeine Scotiſh lords to moue them to rebellion.

Natholocus putteth ſuch to death as he ſuſpecteth to fauour Doorus.

Which wicked déed being once notified abroad, ſo moued the harts of their friends and alies, that they procured the people to rebell: and ſo gathering them togither, they raiſed open and cruell warres againſt him. Natholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himſelfe priuilie into Murrey land, there to get togither an armie to reſiſt his enimies, and for that he was deſirous alſo to vnderſtand ſomwhat of the iſſue of this trouble, he ſent one of his truſtie ſeruants, being a gentleman of that countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwiſe called Iona) eſtéemed verie skilfull in foreſhewing of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune ſhould hap of this warre, which was alreadie begun.

Natholocus ſendeth vnto a witch to know the concluſion of his enimies attempts.

The witch conſulting with hir ſpirits, declared in the end how it ſhould come ſhortlie to paſſe, that the king ſhould be murthered, not by his open enimies, but by the hands of one of his moſt familiar friends, in whome he had repoſed an eſpeciall truſt. The meſſenger demanding by whoſe hands that ſhould be: Euen by thine faith ſhe, as it ſhall be well knowen within theſe few daies. The gentleman hearing theſe words, railed againſt hir verie bitterlie, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he truſted to ſée hir burnt before he ſhould commit ſo villanous a deed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to ſignifie what anſwere he had receiued; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, ſo that what for doubt on the one ſide, that if he ſhould declare the trueth as it was told him, the king might happilie conceiue ſome great ſuſpicion, that it ſhould follow by his means as ſhe had declared, and thereupon put him to death firſt; and for feare on the other ſide, that if he kéepe it ſecret, it might happen to be reuealed by ſome other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himſelfe to worke the ſureſt way, and ſo comming to the king, he was led aſide by him into his priuie chamber, where all other being cõmanded to auoid, he declared how he had ſped; and then falling forthwith vpon Natholocus, with his dagger he ſlue him outright, and threw his bodie into a priuie; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horſſe which he had there readie, he fled with all ſpeed vnto the campe of the conſpirators, and was the firſt that brought news vnto them of this act thus by him atchiued. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 280, & in the eleuenth yeare after the firſt entring of Natholocus into the eſtate.

The witches anſwers.

what happened by giuing credit to the words of a witch.

Natholocus murthered.

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After Natholocus was thus diſpatched, the peeres aſſembled togither to ordeine one for gouernement of the realme, where in the end it was amongeſt them concluded, that the ſonnes of Athirco ſhould be ſent for into Pictland, and Findocke receiued for king. The Horatian that ſlue Natholocus was appointed to fetch them, who (according to his commiſſion) comming into Pictland, conueied them right honorablie into Argile, where Findocke being alreadie choſen king, was placed on the ſtone of marble, with all the ceremonies in that caſe appertaining.

The lords of the realme aſſemble togither to chuſe a new king.

The ſonnes of Athirco are ſent for, and the eldeſt of them named Findocke choſen to reigne.

## *Findocke.*

THis Findocke was in the flower of his age, of perſon moſt beautifull, cleane made, & of a goodlie ſtature; wherewith were ioined moſt excellent gifts of the mind, not ſo much deſirous to ſéeme as to be vertuous in déed. He was courteous, méeke, & full of affabilitie, ſtudieng alwaies to win friendſhip and loue, rather by gentleneſſe, than by feare and menacing words. The leagues with the Britains, Picts and Romans he firmelie obſerued. But as peace with forraine enimies breedeth oftentimes ciuill diſcord at home, ſo came it then to paſſe with him at this preſent: for one Donald of the Iles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Roſſe and Murrey land, fetching from thence a great ſpoile and bootie, not without great ſlaughter of ſuch as inforced themſelues for to reſiſt him. The occaſion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Natholocus. But Findocke vnderſtanding his doings, prepared an armie with ſhips, and ſailed ouer with the ſame into the Ile of Ila, where incountring with Donald and other his enimies, he vanquiſhed and chaſed them egerlie, without returning once backe, till either the ſword or the ſea had made an end of them all.

Findocke his noble qualities and vertuous diſpoſition.

Findocke obſerueth the leagues confirmed of former times with his neighbors. Thoſe of the out Iles inuade the countries of Roſſe and Murrey land.

Findocke maketh a iournie into the Iles, to ſubdue the rebels.

Donald himſelfe taking a bote, in hope to haue eſcaped, the preaſe was ſuch at his entring into the ſame, that before they could get it off from the ſhore, it ſunke by means of the ouerlading, and ſo he and all they that were on board were drowned therewithall. The king hauing atchiued this victorie, returned into Albanie; but the Iland-men not fullie quieted with this ſlaughter of their fellows, ſent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certeine Kerns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the ſonne of the former Donald, made ſtarts now and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie ſhrewd turnes in the ſame, yer they could be ſuppreſſed. But Findocke being ſone informed of theſe tidings, went ouer againe into the Iles, and ſuch of his enimies as he found, he cauſed to be hanged, to giue other example what to looke for when they ſhould rebell, but Donald eſcaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceiuing himſelfe not able to worke ſuch feats as he hoped to haue done, he ſent a meſſenger vnto the king, offering to yéeld himſelfe, and to become his true ſubiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being anſwered that he ſhould not be receiued, vnleſſe he would come vnto Dunſtafage with other of his chiefeſt complices, and to ſtand fullie at the kings mercie; he refuſed thus to do, deuiſing an other

Donald is drowned.

The Iland-men with aid of the Iriſh Kerns, make often inuaſions into Argile, and other of the Scotiſh countries.

Findocke goeth againe to ſubdue the rebels of the Iles.

Donald offereth to yéeld himſelfe vpon certeine conditions, but is not receiued.

meane

meane how to be reuenged.

Donald deuiſeth how to murther king Findocke by two naughtie perſons.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two naughtie perſons to go ouer into Albaine, and to feine themſelues to haue fled from him, where alſo he willed them to offer their ſeruice vnto the king, and to diſcloſe vnto him certeine light ſecrets of the ſaid Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be, and in the end to eſpie a time to rid him out of the way. Theſe craftie mates working according to Donalds wicked inſtructions, at length with much adoo they got credit, and after credit they got place ſo néere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the kings brother (whome they made priuie alſo vnto their intent) that finding all things correſpondent vnto their purpoſe (one day as the king hunted) the one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which the Ilanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue verie good eare, whileſt the other ſmote him to the heart with a taueline, & ſo leauing the iron ſticking in his bodie, he fled away in haſt with his traitorous companion and fellow. Thoſe that were néere, ſeeing what had happened, ſome of them ran to him, to ſée if they might relieue him as then ſtrugling with the pangs of death; others followed the murtherers, and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receiue their meed according to that which they had iuſtlie deſerued; being alſo examined, they confeſſed how they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald of the Iles, but alſo by Carantius the kings owne brother, who of ſet purpoſe being out of the way at that preſent, and hauing knowledge that he was accuſed of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as a baniſhed man, firſt into Britaine, from whence (after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto Rome, and ſeruing in the wars vnder the emperours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Dioceſianus, he became a right famous and a verie ſkilfull captaine.

Findocke is ſlaine.

The murtherers confeſſe by whoſe procurement they did the deed.

A prettie induction (if not forged) to the hiſtorie that afterwards followeth of Carauſius or Carantius as the Scots write him.

But if this report be true that Carauſius (of whom Eutropius maketh mention) were deſcended of ſo high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the ſame Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, which if they had done, no doubt they would haue ſpoken ſomewhat of the ſame; for although he might happilie vpon the conſideration aforeſaid counterfeit himſelfe to be borne of ſome baſe kinred, and ſo for a time to diſſemble what he was, yet afterwards that he atteined vnto ſo high degrée of honour, as to vſurpe the imperiall robes of purpure, and to poſſeſſe the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but that to aduance his credit and authoritie rotall, he would haue ſet forth to the vttermoſt the nobilitie of his birth, if he had beene come of anie, and that ſo apparantlie to the world, that aſwell his enimies as friends ſhould both haue knowen and ſpoken of it.

*Donald.*

Findocus being thus ſlaine in the tenth yeare of his reigne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunſtafage, his brother Donald, the third ſon to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the eſtate, prepared to go into the Iles againſt Donald that common enimie of Scotland. But this Donald himſelfe deliuered the king of a great péece of that trauell: for ſo ſone as he heard that the murther by him contriued was executed, he aſſembled a mightie power of the Iland-men, and tranſporting with them ouer into Roſſe, proclamed himſelfe king, perſecuting with fire and ſword all ſuch as denied him obedience. King Donald being aduertiſed of that attempt of his aduerſarie, ſpédilie marcheth forth with ſuch power as he had alreadie aſſembled, ſending proclamations abroad, that all other appointed to ſerue, ſhould follow him with ſpeed.

Donald of the Iles inuadeth Scotland.

Thus comming into Murrey land, he pitched downe his tents, purpoſing there to abide the comming of the reſidue of his armie. But Donald of the Iles vnderſtanding all his demeanour and whole intention, thought it beſt to aſſaile him within his campe, before all his power ſhould come vnto him, and being thus reſolued, he ſet forward in the night time, and was vpon his enimies, before that his comming towards them was once ſignified in their campe. The king then vnderſtanding his aduerſaries to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, ſetteth them in arraie, and exhorteth them with many pithie words to receiue their enimies with manlie ſtomachs. But the Iland-men incouraged alſo by their capteine, gaue the onſet ſo roundlie, that the Scotiſhmen had not leaſure to occupie their ſhot, but were inforced euen at the firſt to ioine at handblowes, which were beſtowed in ſuch furious ſort, that in the end the Scots being oppreſſed with multitude, were conſtreined to giue backe, ſome ſauing themſelues by flight, and ſome ſtanding at defenſe till they were beaten downe and killed in the place. There were ſlaine on the kings part three thouſand men, and two thouſand taken priſoners; amongeſt whome were thirtie perſonages of honorable eſtate, togither with the king himſelfe being wounded ſo ſore, that he died within three daies after the battell, rather through anguiſh of mind than of his hurts (as ſome haue written) in the ſame yeare that he began his reigne. Donald of the Iles hauing thus got the victorie, toke vpon him as king, accordinglie as he had cauſed himſelfe at the firſt to be proclamed.

Donald of the Iles ſudenlie ſetteth vpon the enimies.

The Scots ouerthrowen.

Donald deputeth this world.

Donald of the Iles taketh vpon him as king.

*Donald.*

But becauſe he came to the eſtate thus by bloud, he continued ſtill in doubt and feare of new conſpiracies, being guiltie in conſcience of his wrongfull vſurpation. Thoſe priſoners alſo, which he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them preſent death, if anie of their friends and allies attempted anie ſtirre againſt him. Moreouer he nouriſhed priuie factions amongeſt the nobilitie, ſuppoſing thereby that their powers would be the more féeble in anie publike exploit that was to be moued againſt him; finallie, if anie miſchiefe happened amongeſt them, he cauſed the matter thoroughlie to be loked vpon, but with ſuch regard that he alwaies inriched his owne cofers with the forfeitures and penalties which he toke vp amongſt them. He ſeldome times went abroad, and when he ſtirred forth anie whither, he had his gard about him, appointed with weapons in warlike ſort for dout of treaſon. He aduanced diuers of baſe condition to great wealth and honor, and behaued himſelfe ſo inſundrie ſorts with his miſtruſtfull crueltie, that manie there were which dread him, and but a few that loued him, ſo that in the end being in a maner run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was murthered one night at Ennerlochthée (whither he was come to haue paſſed ouer into the Iles) by certeine that had conſpired his death in the twelfth yeare of his reigne.

A guiltie conſcience.

Donald of the Iles is murthered. Anno Chriſti. 273. H.B.

The chiefe of the conſpirators was one Crathlint the ſonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after the déed done, conueied himſelfe ſecretlie out of the chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting néere hand in the countrie, he declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting them to aid him, in reuenging the iniuries done not onelie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but alſo to the whole ſtate of the Scotiſh common welth, by the naughtie ſuggeſtion of diuerſe of the kings complices, who as yet vnderſtood nothing of their maiſters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as men ſuſpecting nothing leſſe than that which was nowe

Crathlint chiefe conſpirator to the murthering of Donald.

Crathlint procureth the nobles of the countrie to oppreſſe the ſeruants of king Donald.

now happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioiſing greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the verie dawning of the day, comming vpon the kings houſhold meanie, they ſlue aboue two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the reſidue eſcaping forth of the houſe, and thinking to ſaue themſelues, were beaten downe in the countrie as they paſſed by the people, who bare ſo deadlie and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onelie reioiſed much at his death, but thought themſelues ſufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that did belong vnto him.

*Crathlint*

After this, Crathlint being certeinelie knowne to be the ſonne of king Findocke, by ſuch euident tokens as were ſhewed by him that brought him vp, was (partlie in reſpect of his iuſt title, and partlie for conſideration of his good ſeruice in deliuering his countrie of ſo deteſtable a tyrant) aduanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by conſent of all the eſtates, and ſo being confirmed king, he perſuaded the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a tree by the roots, leaſt anie of them happilie remaining aliue, ſhould find meanes afterwards to diſturbe the common-wealth. The people conſented lightlie hereunto, as they that beſide the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now ſuddenlie in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for his wit and other qualities of the mind, but alſo by reaſon of his comelie perſonage and paſſing beautie, ſetting forth all his doings greatlie to his high praiſe and commendation.

The iſſue therefore with other the kinſmen and alies of Donald were ſought for, and thoſe that were found, without anie difference or reſpect of age or ſex, were cruellie put to death. Which done, Crathlint appointed forth iudges and other adminiſtrators of iuſtice to ſee the laws executed, and the countries gouerned in good and quiet order, euerie man being aſſigned to his owne proper circuit. Thoſe hee choſe out of the moſt ancient peeres and barons of his realme. The yonger ſort he reſerued to attend vpon his perſon.

When he had taken direction in this wiſe for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mountains of Granzebene, there to paſſe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beaſts, whither came vnto him ambaſſadors from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their maiſter had conceiued for the ſlaughter of Donald, and the reſtoring of the right blood againe vnto the eſtate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scotiſhmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued theſe ambaſſadors moſt ioifullie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maiſter for this ſignification of his good will ſhewed by their comming, and herewith promiſed, that during his life he would gladlie obſerue the old ancient amitie eſtabliſhed betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreouer, when the ſaid ambaſſadors ſhould depart, he take vnto them to deliuer from him as a preſent vnto their maiſter certeine horſſes, with hounds and greihounds, ſuch as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

And ſhortlie after the returne of theſe ambaſſadors into their countrie, diuerſe yong gentlemen of the Pictiſh nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they ſhould depart homewards, perceiuing that the Scotiſh dogs did farre excell theirs, both in fairneſſe, ſwiftneſſe, hardineſſe, and alſo in long ſtanding vp and holding out, they got diuerſe both dogs and bitches of the beſt kinds for breed to be giuen them by the Scotiſh lords, and yet not ſo contented, they ſtale one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more eſteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The maiſter of the leaſh being informed hereof, purſued after them which had ſtolen that dog, thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chanced to ſtrike the maiſter of the leaſh through with their boreſpeares that he died preſentlie, whereupon a noiſe and crie being raiſed in the countrie by his ſeruants, diuerſe of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned; and falling vpon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there inſued a ſhrewd bickering betwixt them, ſo that of the Scots there died threeſcore gentlemen, beſides a great number of the commons, not one of them vnderſtanding (till all was done) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred ſlaine.

The kinſmen and friends of the Scots that were thus ſlaine, were wonderfullie moued with the iniurie committed, inſomuch that without commandement of king or capteine, they aſſembled in great numbers togither, and entring into the Pictiſh confines, they began to rob, ſpoile and kill after the maner of warre, wherewith the Picts being ſet in a rage, came forth togither into the field, and incountering with the Scots, there was fought a ſore battell betwixt them, without capteine, order, or ſtandard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were ſlaine notwithſtanding the day went on their ſides, about two thouſand men, but of the Scots there died aboue three thouſand, or more, as was ſuppoſed. Thus vpon a light occaſion was the league broken betwixt theſe two nations, who had continued as friends, the one ſtill readie to aid the other, euer ſith the daies of king Reutha, being the 7 in number that reigned after Ferguſe.

Theſe two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderſtand with what crueltie the one ſought to deſtroie the other. No pitie might moue their cruell harts to ſpare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: ſuch was their inordinate and like deſire which they had to ſhed each others bloud. At laſt Thelargus K. of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiuing what miſchiefe was happened through the follie of a few wilfull perſons, appointed certeine of his counſell to go as ambaſſadors vnto king Crathlint, to find ſome means to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to inſue to both nations. They according to their inſtructions comming to the place where Crathlint as then ſoiourned, had much adoo to get licence to come vnto his preſence: but at length being admitted, they vſed ſuch humble perſuaſions grounded vpon reaſonable conſiderations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for three moneths ſpace, which was but ſorlie obſerued, for deadly hatred and inward deſire of reuenge was entred ſo farre into the breaſts of the commons on both ſides, that neither commandement nor puniſhment might ſtaie them from the inuading of one anothers confines, mauger their princes and all their ſore reſtraints.

In this meane time was the eſtate of the Romane empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath beene made. Eutropius nameth him Carauſius: he would not be acknowne at his comming to Rome of what linage he was deſcended, and ſo he was reputed to come of ſome baſe ſtocke, but yet through his worthie ſeruice in the warres, he atteined vnto great

The Picts ſteale one of the kings beſt greihounds.

The Scots & Picts fight for a greihound.

What miſchiefs inſued vpon ſo light an occaſion as the ſtealing of a dog.

This chanced about the yere of Chriſt 288, as Io. Ma. noteth.

The Scots rob the Pictiſh borders.

The Scots & Picts incounter in battell.

The Scots diſcomfited by the Picts.

Of what continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Picts, & now broken about a ſmall matter as begun about a dog.

Cruell wars

Thelargus king of the Picts being an aged man, deſireth to haue peace, and therevpon ſendeth his ambaſſadors vnto Crathlint.

A truce granted.

Carantius named by Eutropius Carauſius, troubleth the eſtate of Britaine.

Crathlint is made king.

The kinſmen and friends of Donald of the Iles are perſecuted.

The politike gouernment of Crathlint.

Crathlint goeth to hunt in the mountains of Granzebene, anciently called Grampeus mons.

An ambaſſage from the Picts.

The Picts require the league to be renewed.

Crathlint promiſeth to obſerue the ancient amitie betwixt the Scotiſhmen and Picts.

The preſent ſent by Crathlint vnto the king of the Picts.

Diuers Pictiſh lords come to Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him.

A praiſe of the Scotiſh dogs.

great honor, and was appointed by Diocleſian to haue the ſouereigne regard ouer the coaſts of the French ocean, to defend the ſame from pirats of the Saxons and other Germans, that ſore moleſted the ſame in thoſe daies. But for that he vſed to ſuffer thoſe rouers to take ſpoiles and priſes, to the end he might in their returne take the ſame from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vſe, without reſtoring that which was due to the owners, or ſending anie portion thereof to the Romane emperor, he was complained vpon, and ſent for; but for that he doubted to come to his anſwer, as one which knew himſelfe guiltie, he furniſhed his naule with men, vittels and ordinance, and with the ſame toke his courſe about the weſt parts of Britaine, and landed in Weſtmerland, where he eaſilie procured the people there to ſubmit themſelues to be vnder his rule and obeiſance, and promiſed to deliuer them from the greeuous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

The wilie practiſe of Carantius.

Carantius reuolting cõmeth into weſtmerland, & cauſeth the people there to take his part againſt the Romans.

Thus hauing begun the foundation of that which he purpoſed to atchiue, for his further aduancement therein, he ſent ambaſſadors vnto his nephue king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and alſo excuſing the treſpaſſe ſurmiſed againſt him, for being of counſell touching the murther of his brother Findocke, father to the ſame Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all miſtruſt of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him againſt the Romans, he doubted not but that he ſhould in ſhort time vtterlie expell them out of all Britaine, and enioy all thoſe prouinces within the ſame (which as then they poſſeſſed) vnto his owne vſe, and this he ſaid ſhould be more honor and gaine both to the Scotiſhmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friendſhip, and ioine with them in aid againſt their common enimies, than to ſeeke to deſtroie one another, as he latelie vnderſtood they had done for a dog.

Carantius ſendeth meſſengers vnto king Crathlint, in excuſing his fault for his brother Findocks death.

Carantius requireth to be aided againſt the Romans.

Crathlint hearing the words of theſe ambaſſadors, reioiſed not a little, that his vncle Carantius was not onelie aliue, but alſo had through his valiancie atchiued ſo high renowme as to be accounted one of the worthieſt warriors amongſt all the Romane capteins. And herevpon with good aduiſe he determined to aid him in that his enterprize for the conqueſt of Britaine to the vttermoſt of his power. Adding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not onlie ſend him aid of men, but alſo come with them himſelfe: and hereof he aſſured the ambaſſadors both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with ſuch anſwer vnto their maiſter Carantius, he reioiſed not a litle, to vnderſtand how well they had ſped, and ſo much the more, for that he receiued about the ſame time the like anſwer from the king of Picts.

Crathlint reioiſeth to hear that Carantius was aliue.

Crathlint reſolueth to aid Carantius, & certifieth him of the ſame.

The king of the Picts alſo promiſeth to aid Carantius.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Eſke, where after he had purged himſelfe with manie words of excuſe, touching the murther of his brother Findocke, there was an aſſured friendſhip concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the concluſion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers togither, in aid of Carantius againſt the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Carantius likewiſe was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to do what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his preſence therevnto ſtood ſo much in ſtéed, that chieflie through his perſuaſion grounded vpon great reaſons and weightie conſiderations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in ſuch maner and forme, and with ſuch conditions, as ſhould be thought requiſite by the aduiſe and diſcréet order of eight ancient perſons: foure to be choſen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight perſons taking the matter in hand, did ſo aduiſedlie giue order for the auoiding of all cauſes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them ſatiſfied with their arbitrement and direction, ſo that a toſſull peace was confirmed, and all variance vtterlie quenched.

Crathlint and the king of the Picts come to a communication by Carantius his means, who trauelleth to ſet them at one

Peace confirmed againe betwixt the Scotiſhmen and Picts.

In this meane time Quintus Baſſianus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderſtanding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not onelie cauſed them of Weſtmerland to rebell, but alſo ſlaine and chaſed the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little diſquieted, and determined with all ſpéed to go againſt him, and to reuenge theſe iniuries. Within a few daies after, hauing his armie readie, he entered into Weſtmerland: but hearing that his enimies were alreadie come to Yorke, and had woone the citie by ſurrender, he turned his force thitherward, in purpoſe to fight with them, though he vnderſtood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and thoſe of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie ſtrong place, fenſed about with mariſhes.

Quintus Baſſianus entreth into Weſtmerland, but hearing that his enimies were at Yorke he turneth thitherwards.

But Carantius vnderſtanding all the maner of his enimies by his eſpials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the ſame night he raiſed his field without anie great brute, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched ſtreight toward the place where Baſſianus was incamped, ſo that anon after the ſpring of the day he came thither: whereof Baſſianus being aduertiſed, and perceiuing he ſhould haue battell, maketh readie for the ſame, giuing the beſt exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but forſomuch as the moſt part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing auailed: for they deſirous to ſée the vtter ruine of all the Romane power, euen at the verie point when the battels ſhould haue ioined, withdrew themſelues apart without anie ſtroke ſtriken, and got them vp into the next mounteins, to ſee what would inſue. The reſidue of the Romane armie, ſéeing themſelues thus forſaken of their fellowes, and their ſides left bare and open for the enimie to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reaſon of the mariſh ground compaſſing them in on each ſide, ſeruing well to purpoſe for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Romans, and other of their part were ouertaken and ſlaine. Amongſt whome Baſſianus himſelfe was one, and Hircius the emperors procurator an other.

The Britains betray the Romans.

The Romans are diſcõfited.

The ſlaughter of the Romans.

The Britains (who as is ſaid refuſed to fight in the beginning of the battell) yéelded themſelues vnto Carantius, and ſware to be his true liege men and ſubiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all ſuch of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yéeres and threéſcore, to remaine with him in hoſtage: but the ſpoile of the field he diuided amongſt his people equallie, ſo that as well the Scotiſhmen and Picts, as alſo his owne ſouldiers held them well contented and ſatiſfied therewith. After this victorie Carantius cauſed himſelfe to be proclamed king of Britaine, vſurping the gouernment therof wholie to himſelfe, and reteining two thouſand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the ſafegard of his perſon, ſent the reſidue home laden with riches of the enimies ſpoile. He ſent alſo with them his ambaſſadors, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this ſo proſperous a victorie, aſſigning vnto them as a portion of the conqueſt, the countries of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Yorke, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for

The Britains yeld themſelues vnto Carantius.

Carantius or Carauſius, as Eutropius nameth him, vſurpeth the kingdome of Britaine.

Carantius hauing got the victorie, diuideth the gaine in aſſigning to his cõfederats their true portions.

for euermore. Finallie the ſaid Carantius was ſlaine by his companion Alectus, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie ye may find more at large.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered from troubles againſt the Romans, deuiſed ſundrie good ordinances for the quiet ſtate of the Scotiſh common-wealth, cauſing the peace to be diligentlie obſerued betwixt him and the Picts. Also in his daies the perſecution of the chriſtians chanced, which the emperour Diocleſian commanded to be executed in moſt furious wiſe, ſo that there were few partes of the world (where anie chriſtians were knowne to inhabit) that taſted not of that his cruell ordinance and ſcourge in that behalfe. In Britaine alſo, as well as in other places, there was no ſmall quantitie of innocent bloud ſhed, with moſt vnmercifull murther committed, to the great triumph of Chriſts croſſe, that glorious enſigne of our religion.

The perſecution of the chriſtians by Diocleſian.

In which time Conſtantius Chlorus father to Conſtantine the great, was reſident in Britaine, who adiudging the Scots to be a people wholie giuen to pillage and ſlaughter, as they were in déed, determined with himſelfe to haue brought them to ſubiection. But yer he could atchiue any notable enterpriſe, he died, leauing behind him the fame of a right gentle and worthie prince, ſauing that in one point he ſore ſtained his honor, for that he was one of the chiefe that perſecuted the chriſtian flocke vnder Diocleſian, forcing no ſmall number of the faithfull amongſt the Britains, to flée vnto the Scots and Picts to auoid his perſecution. Whome Crathlint receiued for his part moſt louinglie, and aſſigned vnto them (as the Scots ſay) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, deſtroieng all ſuch temples of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides, which had continued there ſince the begining; and vterlie aboliſhed all the ſuperſtitious rites and cuſtomes of the ſame Druides, with their whole order and brotherhod. He erected a temple there, which hée dedicated vnto Jeſus Chriſt our ſauiour, wherein the chriſtians might celebrate their diuine ſeruice, according to their profeſſion. This church being richlie indowed, was the firſt biſhops ſée amongſt the Scots, and thereupon was taken for the mother church of the realme. It is now called the church of ſaint Sauiour. Finallie Crathlint departed out of this life, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, being much praiſed aſwell for his politike gouernment, as for his great and earneſt zeale which he bare toward the aduancement of the true chriſtian religion.

Conſtantius perſecuteth the chriſtians.

Many of the Britains flée to the Scots to auoid perſecution.

Crathlint deſtroieth the temples of the falſe gods in Man.

The firſt biſhops ſée in Scotland. Sodorenſis eccleſia.

Crathlint departeth out of this world.

*Fincomarke.*

FIncomarke that was his vncles ſonne, ſucceéded him in the kingdome, & was placed on the ſtone of marble, to the great reioiſing of all the eſtates, who wiſhed him a proſperous reigne, and long to continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints daies a noble chriſtian called Amphibalus, a Britaine borne, who fléeing from the perſecution then raiſed in his countrie, came vnto the ſame Crathlint, and by him was created the firſt biſhop of ſaint Sautours church in Man: this Amphibalus did verie much good amongſt the Scots and Britains in ſetting forth the word of life, and rooting out of their hearts all ſuperſtitious errors of blind gentilitie. There were other alſo of right famous memorie about the ſame time, that ceaſſed not in preaching, and inſtructing the people in the right beliefe, as Podocus, Priſcus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the Scotiſh tong Culdei, that is to vnderſtand, *Cultores Dei*, or as you would ſay in Engliſh, the worſhippers of God.

Amphibalus.

The church of S. Sautor, otherwiſe called Sodorenſis eccleſia.

Culdei.

But now to the purpoſe touching Fincomarke, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that he bega[illegible]igne in the yéere (as W. Hariſon ſaith) after the birth of our Sauiour 325, after the creation of the world 4292, and from the firſt eſtabliſhing of the Scotiſh kingdome 652, and in the 20 yéere of Conſtantine the emperour. It chanced that Octauius king of the Britains was banquiſhed by Traherus a Romane capteine, and forced for his refuge to flée vnto this Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him as a friend. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet Fincomarke refuſed ſo to do, chooſing rather to ſuſteine all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend who had put his life into his hands vpon an eſpeciall truſt of ſafegard,

322. H.B. 490. H.B. 655. H.B. First of Conſtantine. H.B.

Octauius is banquiſhed, & flieth into Scotland.

Herewith Traherus being not a little moued, aſſembled his power, and entred into Weſtmerland, the which countrie had remained in the Scotiſhmens hands euer ſince Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans would thus make him wars, had likewiſe raiſed a puiſſant armie to reſiſt them, ſo that he had at the leaſt 60 thouſand perſons togither in one armie, as 30 thouſand of his owne countriemen, 20 thouſand Picts, & ten thouſand of ſuch Britains as followed after Octauius. Fincomarke being thus furniſhed, haſted forth to incounter with his enimies, before they ſhould haue time to do any notable damage vnto his ſubiects, & ſo comming within ſight of them, ſent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnderſtand the cauſe why he thus inuaded his countrie, but receiuing frō him an vntoward anſwer, he brought forth his people into the field in order readie to giue battell, and ſo ioining with the enimie, there was fought a right ſore and cruell conflict, which continued for a time with vnmercifull murther and ſlaughter on both parts.

Traherus inuadeth weſtmerland.

Fincomarke raiſeth his power.

Fincomarke ioineth in battell with Traherus.

Finallie, when the Romans were at a point to haue got the vpper hand, they were ſuddenlie put in ſuch feare with the ſight of a number of huſbandmen, who had got togither their cattell and were driuing the ſame awaie, that ſuppoſing they had bene ſome new ſuccors comming to aid their enimies, they immediatlie fled vpon the ſame, leauing the victorie to their aduerſaries: howbeit of the Scots ſide were ſlaine (as their chronicles report) fifteene thouſand men, and on the Romane part about ſixteene thouſand. Traherus himſelfe eſcaped vnto Yorke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Octauius purſued after him, he forſooke that citie, and got him into places of more ſuertie, ſo that when the enimies came thither, the citizens yeelded themſelues, and receiued Octauius as their prince, offering from thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernement. The newes of theſe atchiued victories being bruted throughout the realme, cauſed a great number of the nobles to come in vnto Octauius, who receiued them moſt thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought ſo by their ſupport, that he was ſhortlie after reſtored to the gouernance of the whole realme, and eſtabliſhed therein according to his owne wiſh.

The Romans flée.

The number is ſlaine.

Yorke is yéelded vnto Octauius.

Octauius obteineth the rule of Britaine.

This done Fincomarke returned into his countrie, as well himſelfe as other of his nobles and men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell ſuſteined in that iournie. There was alſo promiſe made and confirmed by ſolemne oth, that the countrie of Weſtmerland, with ſuch other parts as were aſſigned to his predeceſſor king Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of their ioining togither in league againſt the Romans, ſhould for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, & to his ſucceſſors the Scotiſh kings, without anie claime or title to be made to the ſame by any of the

Weſtmerland aſſigned to the Scotiſhmen.

what yéere Fincomarke began his reigne.

Britains: but this promiſe was not long kept, for ſhortlie after that Octauius had once chaſed all the Romans forth of the Britiſh confines, and that Traherus was fled ouer into France, there was a councell called at Yorke, where it was not onelie ordeined, that from thenceforth there ſhould neuer anie ſtranger be ſuffered to reigne ouer the Britains, but alſo that the bounds of the realme ſhould be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, euen vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling forth the inhabitants of forren nations.

A councell kept at Yorke.

Such an immoderate luſt of inlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octauius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits receiued, might ſtaie him from ſeeking to wrong them, whoſe aid had reſtored him vnto his former eſtate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearſed. For herevpon there were ten thouſand men of war ſent into Weſtmerland, to the intent to conquer the ſame out of the Scotiſhmens hands: but being incountred with a power of Scotiſhmen & Picts, they were ſharpelie repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the ſame time alſo, Traherus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thouſand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Octauius, he vanquiſhed his armie, and conſtreined him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine veſſels, and ſailed into Norwaie, there to ſaue his life, becauſe that Scotland was now no ſure refuge for him. Thus was Traherus againe in poſſeſſion of Britaine as lieutenant to Conſtantine the emperor: but ſhortlie after he was by certeine conſpirators in fauour of Octauius murthered, and then Octauius returned againe: as in the Engliſh chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Octauius coueteth to inlarge his dominion.

The Britains inuade weſtmerland.

Traherus returneth into Britain. Octauius is vanquiſhed by Traherus.

Traherus by a conſpiracie is murthered. Octauius is reconciled with Fincomarke.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himſelfe with Fincomarke the Scotiſh king, and was contented that he ſhould quietlie inioy the countries of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, with ſuch other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. He likewiſe ſent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendſhip with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him alſo, if it chanced the Romans eftſoones to inuade his countrie, as ſhortlie after they did, not ceaſſing till they had ſo wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at reſt (as his age and other neceſſities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine caſtels and fortreſſes, and alſo became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might vſe the office and name of a king all the reſidue of his daies. Theſe things being thus quieted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scotiſhmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & firſt of Damaſus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the eſtate aboue 47 yeares. This was in the yeare of our redemption 172. This Fincomarke left behind him two ſonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yeares of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yonger than his brother by one yeare, ſo that neither of them might ſucceed their father, by reaſon they were not of yeares ſufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Octauius entreth into amitie with the Pictiſh king.

Octauius becommeth tributarie vnto the Roman emperor. 17 of Cõſtans & Cõſtantius emperors. H.B Fincomarke deceaſed. 358. H.B.

Eugenius & Ethodius ſons to Fincomarke.

Herevpon a councell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephues to king Crathlint, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them ſhould gouerne the land: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, and Angusianus. Romacus had a Pictiſh ladie of the bloud roiall of that nation to his mother, and for that his father was eldeſt brother next vnto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himſelfe was yonger in yeares than either Fethelmacus or Angusianus. Fethelmacus gaue his conſent with ſuch voices as he had vnto Angusianus, wherewith Romacus being not a little offended, ſought meanes to haue deſtroied them both: but his practiſe being diſcouered, cauſed manie to withdraw their good wils from him, whereby his aduerſaries were the more incouraged: and therevpon the councell brake vp, either part deuiſing how to ſtrengthen themſelues againſt the others practiſes. But forſomuch as Angusianus vſed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, ſo that Romacus was conſtreined in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being neere of kin to him, might not denie his requeſt. Angusianus therefore vnderſtanding what danger he was in, if he fell into his aduerſaries hands, got togither an armie of ſuch as fauoured his cauſe, and incountring with him in battell was put flight, and forced to flie into the weſterne Iles with his couſine Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertiſed that the inhabitants had conſpired againſt him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Romacus ſeeketh meanes to deſtroie his couſins.

Angusianus with vpright dealing purchaſeth the more friendſhip.

Romacus banquiſheth Angusianus.

Romacus is receiued for king.

Angusianus being thus chaſed out of the relme, Romacus was receiued by the moſt part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accuſtomed maner of tyrants, comming thus to the gouernement of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, ſo did he behaue himſelfe, according to that ſemblable rate, ſo ſone as he thought himſelfe to be ſure of the eſtate. Wherefore ſuch as had borne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauor in his daies, thoſe did Romacus call vnto him, and afterward vſed their counſell aboue all other mens, aduancing them alſo to moſt high rule and rich offices. Againe, thoſe which had béene in fauor with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his iſſue, he ſought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, ſo that by ſuch his doings, there was gathered no light ſuſpicion, that he would likewiſe yer long find meanes to diſpatch Ethodius and Eugenius the ſons of the ſame Fincomarke, thereby to be the more aſſured of the crowne & kingdome it ſelfe. The two children alſo fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduiſe and helpe of their truſtie friends, conueied themſelues into Weſtmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Man, where they remained looking for a daie.

Romacus gouerneth tyrannicallie. Ethodius & Eugenius the ſonnes of Fincomarke are conueied into the Ile of Man.

Then began baniſhments, confiſcations of goods, and ſlaughter of ſuch as were thought to be fauorers of Angusianus cauſe, without reſpect either of ſex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with ſuch his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conſpired togither by ſecret meanes how to deliuer their countrie of ſo pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpoſe the more ſpéedilie to paſſe, they wrought ſo cloſelie, that they had aſſembled a great armie, and were come with the ſame within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yer he had any vnderſtanding of their enterpriſe, ſo that whereas he (being vnprouided of reſiſtance) aſſaied by flight towards Pictland to haue eſcaped their hands, it preuailed him nothing, for he was taken by the ſwate, and receiued ſuch end as his former paſſed life had verie well deſerued, in the fourth yeare of his reigne: his head was ſet vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be ſhewed vnto the people to their great reioiſing. There were ſlain at the ſame time beſide him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counſell with him in all his cruell practiſes.

The Scotiſh lords conſpire againſt Romacus.

Romacus apprehended and put to death.

After which execution done, they ſent for Angusianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclamed king,

Angusianus proclamed king.

Romacus, Fethelmacus and Angusianus ſonnes to three ſeuerall brethren pretend a right to the eſtate.

king, as well by conſent of the lords, as fauour of the commons. About the ſame time, bicauſe the Britains had ſlaine the Romane lieutenant, the emperor Conſtantius ſent one Maximus thither to chaſtiſe the rebels, with whom the ſame Maximus incountring in battell, gaue them a great ouerthrow. And within three daies after Octauius king of the Britains, through greefe, age, and long ſickneſſe, being conſumed to the laſt point, departed this life. He left a ſonne behind him named alſo Octauius, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certeine yeeres vnknowne with Eugenius and Ethodius, the ſonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains alſo perſiſting in their rebellion, were eftſoones diſcomfited in battell by Maximus, and ſore by him perſecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full ſubiection.

Nectanus king of the Picts maketh ſore warres vpon the Scots.

While theſe troubles continued in Britaine, Angusianus K. of Scots was ſore diſquieted by Nectanus king of Picts, who inforced himſelfe to reuenge the death of his couſine Romacus, making ſundrie rodes & foraies into the Scotiſh confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by ſpoiling of goods, murthering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increaſed by the aid of certeine Scotiſhmen, which had borne good will vnto Romacus, he preaſed ſo ſore vpon Angusianus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie perſuaſions to haue peace or ante agreement could be heard, though Angusianus made humble ſute to haue purchaſed the ſame. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his enimie in the field, where (after ſore fight and much ſlaughter) the victorie remained with Angusianus and Nectanus with his Picts were chaſed and forced to ſaue themſelues by flight.

The Picts diſcomfited by Scots.

Nectanus himſelfe neuer reſted till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a councell of his nobles to haue their aduiſe by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries receiued by the Scots, whereof he was moſt deſirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, ſo he might ſomewhat eaſe his rancour and diſpleaſure, which he had thus conceiued againſt his enimies the Scots.

Nectanus deſirous of reuenge.

Neither wanted there diuers great perſonages in that aſſemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) ſet forward the matter in ſuch earneſt wiſe that (notwithſtanding what other could ſay to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all ſpeed an armie ſhould be leuied, and led forth into the Scotiſh borders. Nectanus hauing thus the conſent of his nobles to inuade the Scots anew, cauſed men of warre to be taken vp through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choiſeſt men that might be got; the which being once aſſembled, he ſtaied not long but ſet forward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, ſpoiling and deſtroieng all afore him at his owne will and pleaſure.

Nectanus inuadeth the Scotiſh confines.

Angusianus vnderſtanding his furie, and doubting leaſt the Britains through ſetting on of the Romans ſhould ſeeke to ioine with the Picts, to the deſtruction of the Scots, thought good to aſſaie if by ante friendlie meanes he might bring Nectanus to fall vnto ſome reaſonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pictiſh and Scotiſh eſtates, in putting the ſame in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enimies the Romans and the Britains. Herevpon therefore he wrote vnto Nectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all ſuch dangers and inconueniences as might inſue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe, how neceſſarie it were for both the nations to haue peace togither as then, conſidering how it was not to be thought that Maximus the Romane legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would reſt (if occaſion were offered) till that he had fullie ſubdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reaſonable conditions of peace, that ſhould by him be preſcribed.

Angusianus perſuadeth Nectanus to peace.

But Nectanus in no wiſe would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, ſo that Angusianus being forced to giue battell for defenſe of his ſubiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with ſundrie comfortable words, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Nectanus likewiſe incouraged his folkes to do valiantlie, ſo that the archers on both ſides ſtepped forward, letting their arrowes flie freelie one at an other, vntill at length comming to handblowes they ſtroke on freſhlie, beating downe and killing without ſparing on either ſide, ſo that a good ſpace the victorie was doubtfull. At length Angusianus perceiuing his people to be put to the worſt, ruſhed forth into the thickeſt of the preaſe amongſt his enimies, where he was quicklie eſpied, oppreſſed with preaſe, and ſlaine out of hand. The moſt part of his people miſſing him, & not vnderſtanding what was become of him, ſuppoſed that he had beene fled, and therefore fell alſo to running away; but the reſidue that ſtood ſtill at their defenſe were ſlaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had ante cauſe to reioiſe, for the capteins on both ſides were ſlaine, beſides manie thouſands of other; ſo that aſwell the one nation as the other departed from the place right penſife and ſorrowfull, giuing manie a ſore curſſe vnto ſuch as had beene the procurers and nouriſhers of ſuch deteſtable hatred betwixt thoſe two nations, which had ſo long a time beene conioined in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this bloudie battell, aſwell the Scots as Picts ſat ſtill for a ſeaſon, not attempting anie enterpriſe of importance the one againſt the other.

Nectanus refuſeth all offers of peace.

Angusianus and Nectanus ioine in battell with their armies.

Angusianus is ſlaine.

The Scots are diſcomfited.

Nectanus is alſo ſlaine.

*Fethelmacus.*

Angusianus reigned not paſt two yeares before he was ſlaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whoſe place ſucceeded his couſine Fethelmacus with little better ſucceſſe: for in the ſecond yeare of his reigne, deſirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he aſſembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to ſpoile & ſlea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts alſo being kindled herewith, gathered their power togither, and incountring with the Scots, there was a ſore battell fought betwixt them: but the Scots firſt putting the wings of their enimies hoſt to flight, at length diſcomfited their maine battell alſo, being left naked on both ſides of all aid or ſuccour, great ſlaughter was made in the chaſe of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to ſaue themſelues. So that among other, their king named Nectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Nectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within three daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their proſperous ſucceſſe, they paſſed forthwith ouer the riuer of Taie, to rob, harrie, and ſpoile the countrie of Fife.

The Scots diſcomfit the Picts.

In other Nectanus king of the Picts dieth of hurts receiued in the fight with the Scots.

The Picts, perceiuing themſelues not to be ſtrong inough to match with their enimies in plaine field at hand-ſtrokes, determined yet with ſkirmiſhes and light incounterings (if it were poſſible) to keepe them off from the winning of ante of their fenſed townes, caſtels or ſtrong holds. And to be the more able to maintaine themſelues in this their purpoſed

Heirguſt is choſen king of the Picts.

intention, they did chooſe on Heirguſt to their king, a man of ſubtill nature and craftie imagination. This Heirguſt deuiſing how to deliuer his countrie of ſuch an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two ſlie fellowes Picts by nation, to counterfeit themſelues for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exercise the ſame Fethelmacus tooke great pleaſure, they were appointed to make ſute to be in ſeruice with him, to the intent that when they might eſpie their time, they ſhould ſlea him, by one kind of meane or other.

A pretended treaſon.

They (according as they were inſtructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings houſe, but alſo to corrupt one of his muſicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counſell with them in this their wicked purpoſe. By reaſon whereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was buſie to make his prouiſion there for the warres againſt the Picts, the ſame muſician (hauing plaid in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him aſléepe) did let in thoſe two Pictiſh traitors, who forthwith ſlue him euen as he laie ſo ſléeping: but the king groning gréeuouſlie at the deadlie ſtroke, ſome of them that watched before the chamber doore perceiuing what was happened, followed after the murtherers, who fled with all ſpéed vnto the next mounteins, where they ſought to defend themſelues with hurling downe ſtones, vpon them that came vp towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confeſſing the déed, with the whole maner of the ſame, they were drawen in péeces with wild horſſes: the muſician alſo being apprehended and conuict of the treaſon, ſuffered ſemblablie the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the ſecond yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

Fethelmacus is murthered in his bed.

In the ſixt yeare of the emperour Conſtantius.

In this ſeaſon (as in times paſt hath béene beléeued) certeine bones of the apoſtle ſaint Andrew were brought forth of Achaia, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Gréekiſh monke named Regulus Albatus, commonlie called S. Reule, a man in thoſe daies highlie eſtéemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirguſt gaue his palace that ſtood in that part of Fife, where the ſame Regulus firſt landed; at whoſe contemplation alſo, he erected a church in old time called Kirkaruill, that is, the church of S. Reule, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, ſtanding in the abbie churchyard, where the chanons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scotiſh chronicles, we will proceéd with our purpoſe. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scotiſh nation ſent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the ſonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remained, during the daies of the thrée laſt remembred kings, Romacus, Angusianus, and Fethelmacus.

369. H.B.

Saint Reule commeth into Fife, then a part of Pictland, and now of Scotland.

The Scots ſend into the Iles of Man, for Fincomarke his ſonnes.

*Eugenius.*

THis Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inueſted king of the Scots by common conſent of all the nation. About the ſame ſeaſon, Maximus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderſtanding of the late diſſention betwixt the Scotiſhmen and Picts, deuiſed which waies he might beſt ſubdue both thoſe nations, thereby not onelie to inlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuaſions of thoſe ſo cruell enimies, but alſo to haue the ſouth part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the ſame empire than heretofore it had béene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to aſſaie if he might ioine in friendſhip with the one of the nations, till he had deſtroied the other: for he conſidered it would be an hard péece of worke to haue to doo with them both at one inſtant. Whereupon directing his letters vnto Heirguſt king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promiſing to aid him againſt the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Pictiſh nation, but alſo to all ſuch people as loued reſt and quietneſſe, as might eaſilie be perceiued by their continuall practiſe and vſage, euer ſéeking to diſturbe their neighbors with rodes & forraies, ſo that it ſtood with a generall commonwealth to haue them vtterlie deſtroied and extirped.

He ſendeth vnto Heirguſt king of the Picts.

Heirguſt right ioifull of theſe newes, gaue hartie thankes vnto almightie God, that had mooued the Romane lieutenant to make ſuch offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repreſſed, and put away from his people; & therefore willing to confirme a friendſhip with the ſame lieutenant, he promiſed to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon anie reaſonable conditions which he ſhould deuiſe, not onelie requiring an aid at this time againſt the ſaid Scots, but alſo at all other, as occaſion ſhould demand. Maximus hauing receiued this anſwere, he found meanes alſo to come to a communication with Heirguſt nære to Yorke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie adiudged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but alſo to the Picts. And further therewith were certeine orders appointed how the war ſhould be purſued with all expedition againſt them. Theſe things thus finiſhed, and both the princes returned to their homes, Maximus ſent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scotiſh king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make reſtitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Pictiſh nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirguſt the K. of the Picts, the authors of the ſame wrongs and iniuries to be puniſhed at his diſcretion, or if he would refuſe thus to doo, that then he ſhould looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Heirguſt his anſwere vnto Maximus his meſſage.

Maximus and Heirguſt ioine in friendſhip, and the Scots proclamed enimies to them both.

An herald ſent from Maximus vnto Eugenius.

Eugenius for anſwere herevnto, declared that ſince he entred into the gouernment of the Scotiſh eſtate, he had doone nothing that might be thought preiudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their ſubiects: and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all diſpleaſures doone on either part, according as ſhould be thought to ſtand with equitie and reaſon. Neither did he ſee what cauſe the Romans ſhould haue to make warres for the Picts againſt thoſe that had doone them no diſpleaſure: but if it were ſo that he muſt needs haue wars, he would doo what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scotiſh nation, truſting chieflie in the ſuccours of almightie God, who vſed to fauour the cauſe of the iuſt and innocent, againſt ſuch as ſought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occaſion giuen. Maximus receiuing this anſwere from Eugenius, aſſembled with all ſpeed a ſtrong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Weſtmerland, he ſpoiled that countrie moſt miſerablie, taking diuers caſtels and ſtrong holds by force, the which he furniſhed with garriſons of his people, and then paſſing into Anandale, burned and harried the ſame; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyrannie that might be ſheined againſt the inhabitants, ſo that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, ſo great an armie had not béene ſéene in thoſe parties.

The anſwere of Eugenius vnto the herald.

Maximus raiſeth a mightie armie.

He inuadeth the Scotiſh regions.

Cruell wars.

Eugenius gathering his

Eugenius is inueſted king.

The practiſe of Maximus to deſtroy the Scots.

Eugenius notwithſtanding, gathering his power togither, determined to trie the fortune of battell, and

power fighteth with his enimies, and is discomfited.

and so ioining with his enimies nære vnto the water of Cræ, his people were quicklie put to flight, and chased, by reason that they were much inferior in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase, happened to light amongest them of Argile, which had not bæne at the battell, but were comming towards it, and now fiercelie incountring with such as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire backe with some losse, wher vpon the other Scots also (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset, so that if night had not come on the sooner, there had bæne a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine in that bickering than they themselues did thinke of. Herevpon the Romans, doubting what their enimies intended to do, they fortified their campe that night verie stronglie; but Eugenius vnderstanding what a multitude of his folks were slaine in the battell, so that the verie streame of the water of Cræ was stopped vp with dead carcases, he thought best (with the aduise of the pæres) to licence his people to depart to their homes, and not to fight with his enimies anie more for that time.

The Romans following too forewardlie the chase, receive damage.

Eugenius breaketh vp his armie.

Which being done, he himselfe repaired the same night vnto Carrike, where he remained for a season, making prouision for defense of his realme the best he could deuise. Maximus hauing knowledge in the morning how the Scots were quite gone their waies, he determined to haue followed them; but bæing certified of a rebellion amongest the Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and returned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leauing in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare following, Maximus was so busied in the south parts of Britaine, that he could not attend vnto the warres against the Scots, otherwise than in mainteining such garrisons as he had placed in their countries, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but also to inuade and destroie Pictland, so that they harried the countrie of Fife, with part of Menteth and Sterling shire, burning & wasting townes, castels, and houses most cruellie.

A rebellion in Kent.

The Scots indamage the Picts.

Whereof Maximus being certified, made semblance as though he were sore græued therewith, but inwardlie he could haue reioised at nothing more than to heare of the iniuries don by the Scots vnto the Picts, supposing it to make chieflie for his purpose; and herevpon preparing an armie against the nert summer, when he had disposed all things in a quiet order amongest the Britains, he set forward with the same towards Galloway, where being arriued, there was no kind of crueltie spared against the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time vnderstanding the comming of his enimies, mustered his people, and appointed the assemblie to be made in the countrie of Kile, which way he heard that his enimies would trauell. Thither came also not onlie all the able men of the Scotish dominions, but likewise a great number of lustie & strong women apt to beare armour according to the old accustomed guise of their nation, so that there were numbred in this armie fiftie thousand persons right fierce and hardie, desirous either to vanquish the enimie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in the place.

Maximus his feined griefe.

Maximus, arriues in Britaine.

Eugenius prepareth an armie to defend his countrie.

Women vsed to the warres.

The number of the Scotish armie.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus incamped in Kile, marched towards them, and lodged the same night not far off from the riuer of Munda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Eugenius, that Maximus was come within fiue miles of him, with a greater armie than he had at his last incountring with him in Galloway. These aduertisements caused no small stir to be raised in the campe, some being striken with present feare: where other contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired nothing so much as to ioine in battell with the Romans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested. Eugenius himselfe shewed no countenance of feare at all, but incouraging his people with comfortable words, he brought them streight in order of battell, diuided into three wards, committing one of them to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the second to Doalus the gouernour of Argile, & reseruing the third to himselfe. This done, he made vnto them a pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for them to plaie the men, considering that in victorie consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being vanquished, their countrie was indangered to be brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the onelie marke which the Romans shot at, was to oppresse the libertie of the whole Iland, and to reduce the same into the forme of a prouince, to be gouerned at the will of the victorers, to the breach of all their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

Eugenius comforteth his people.

With these and manie other like reasons he went about to incourage the minds of his subiects, in such wise, that in maner the most part of them determined rather to die with honor, than to liue in such miserie as they feared would insue, if the victorie should rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in such talke togither, suddenlie commeth in one of their scouts with newes, that Maximus with his armie was euen at hand. This was in the morning, anon after the sunne was vp, where he was not looked for till the euening following, insomuch that the same his sudden arriuall, chancing so farre contrarie to their former expectations, troubled all their heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that hereby they were constreined to change the order of their battels to haue the sunne on their backs, as they had prouided at the first it should haue bæne, if the enimies had not come vntill the after none. Yet notwithstanding, they had no sooner changed their place, and gotten themselues into arraie of battell againe, but that with great violence they preassed forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which Maximus perceiuing, made all the spæd he could to set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue his enimies comming thus to incounter him. So both sides bæing fullie bent to battell, and approched within danger of shot, they let flee the same most egerlie, albeit that through hasting forth to ioine at hand-strokes, there was little hurt done with bowes or darts.

The sudden arriuall of Maximus.

The Scots giue the onset.

The battels ioine.

The Scots trieng vpon the name of their worthie and famous ancestor king Gald, did laie about them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the ioining: and likewise the Romans, being incouraged with the chærefull words of the lieutenant Maximus, boldlie incountered them, so that it was doubtfull at the first whether part should haue the worse end of the staffe. But shortlie there followed variable successe, for on the one part, they of Rosse and Mar, being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that wing of the enimies where the Picts were, fought so egerlie and with such fierce wils, that they easilie put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great number of them as they would haue passed the water of Dune, but streightwaies after falling to the spoile, they were slaine downe right, by a legion of such Romans as were sent by Maximus vnto the succours of the Picts.

Doubtfull fight.

Ethodius ouerthroweth the Picts.

The Scots hauing vanquished the Picts, are slaine by the Romans.

On the other side, in the left wing those of Argile, Cantire, Kile, and Conningham, who were matched with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after

long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glorie for euer, so that by this meanes the maine battell of the Scotishmen, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Maximus perceiuing, he caused the same to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must needes be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius chosing rather to die in the place, than either to saue his life by flight, or by rendering himselfe into his enimies hands to liue in miserie, &c: was there slaine, togither with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather spedilie with honor, than longer to liue with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdome, in the third yeere after his first entering to the rule, hauing inioied few good daies in rest during the said time.

The Scotish battell is ouerthrowne.

Eugenius is slaine.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to keepe the cariage and trusse of the field, seeing their lords and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slea some number of their enimies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne lines, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by anie valiant actiuitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driuen backe, they were finallie slaine & beaten downe. Moreouer, the Romans that pursued in chase after their enimies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kinsfolks, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they flue vpon such Romans as they met with; but being easilie vanquished, and refusing to flee, they were also slaine and cut in peeces in a most miserable maner.

The furious rage of the Scotish carters.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enimies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloialtie of the Picts, procuring this murther and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Maximus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equallie diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed maner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeans to see to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corps of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemne and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Romane princes.

The spoile diuided amongst the souldiers.

The buriall of the dead bodies by appointment of Maximus.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pitifull wise, and in maner halfe dead, was also taken vp by commandement of the same Maximus, and surgeans charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus atchiued, Maximus surueieth the countries of Kile, Carrike, and Conyngham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to inioy both goods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegiance, without anie further molestation. Heirgust king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented ther with, desirous to see the vtter destruction of all the Scotish race. Wherevnto Maximus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to vanquish by benefits, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare such as submitted themselues, and in no wise to spot the honour or maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

Ethodius sore wounded, is committed to the cure of surgeans.

Heirgust desireth the vtter destruction of the Scots.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuade him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue anie abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished anie quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namelie of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the prophesies spake) they were begotten and borne. Finallie when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bring that to passe by wicked meed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not do by other meanes. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in such cases, where words are but spent in waste, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scotishmen, should by a certeine daie auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Britain, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer vp their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The earnest sute of the Picts to haue the Scotishmen banished and expelled out of the countrie.

Where words faile, gifts preuaile.

The proclamation for the auoiding of all Scotishmen forth of the whole Iland of Britaine.

The Scots perceiuing themselues not able to make anie resistance, obeied this commandement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Iles, and some of them got ouer also into Norwaie, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got interteinment amongst the Romane souldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensigns. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to see all the Scotish linage confined, that they would not consent that a certeine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Maximus, that they might be permitted to abide in their natiue countrie all the residue of their lines, though in seruile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in graues with their slaine husbands.

The Scots plagued for their beastlie crueltie.

The cruell dealing of the Picts.

Moreouer, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a groome from the towne of hir husband, where she had remained euer sith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Britain, and descended by linage from the princes of Wales; Maximus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of Pictish riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne ease, for they did not onelie slea hir groome, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being informed, caused them that had done so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserued. The queene hirselfe being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honorablie intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so neere as it was possible.

Cartandis queene of Scots.

But

The Picts offended with Maximus.

But the Picts being offended herewith, and speciallie for putting to death of their men, sundrie of their nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to make a sore complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the deserts of their nation had not beene such toward the Romane empire, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans sake, being both an enimie and a prisoner, therefore they required that she might be confined into Britaine, and according to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all hir goods. Here Cartandis being present hir selfe, began to make pitifull lamentation, bewailing hir most vnhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched case and present miserable fortune, she should now be forced to turne againe into hir countrie: wishing rather than she should be inforced so to do, that she might offer vp hir life as a sacrifice in the place of hir husbands buriall: and therefore holding vp hir hands vnto Maximus in most pitifull wise, she besought him instantlie, that it might please him, either to suffer hir to passe the residue of hir life after such sort as she thought best agreed with hir widowlike estate, or else to take the same from hir presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

Cartandis lamenteth hir infortunate estate.

There was not a man other than the Picts, that saw and heard hir at that instant, but lamented hir wofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the Picts was disallowed, & Cartandis hauing liuing assigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was licenced to depart into what place she thought expedient, there to liue as she thought best without let or disturbance. The same time the Scotish bishops and preests, being banished as well as the other sort of the Scotish people, a number of their monks got them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, where they erected a monasterie for their owne habitation, the worthinesse whereof hath beene right famous, euen vnto these our daies, as that which was afterward indowed with manie faire reuenues by diuers of the Scotish kings, who had their burials there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as shall be hereafter expressed.

The monasterie of Iona builded by banished Scotish monks.

The time that the Scots were thus confined.

The yeere in the which the Scotishmen were thus vanquished by the Romans and Picts, and finallie confined out of their seats, was from the creation of the world 4319, after the birth of our sauior 352, from the beginning of the Scotish kingdome 679, and the third yeere of Pagnentius. The same yeere before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Maximus, manie strange sights were seene in the furthest part of Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens harts. In the night season in the aire were seene fierie swords and other weapons moouing in a long ranke, after comming togither on a heape, and being changed into an huge flame as it had been a firebrand, it then vanished awaie. The waters of the riuer of Dune ran with blood, the banks of the same riuer flashed oft times as they had beene all on a fire. There were seene also a number of small birds fall out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of rauens that deuoured vp the same.

5547. H.B.
379. H.B.
710. H.B.
The second yeare of Julian the Apostata. H.B.
Strange visions.
Swords and weapons seen in the aire.
It raineth birds.

Certeine witches and soothsaiers, declaring that these things betokened the destruction of the Scotish kingdome, were commanded by the preests to hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their tales proued most true. But to returne to our historie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cured (as is said) by commandement of Maximus, was yet banished amongst the residue, and constreined to take an oth, that he should immediatlie repaire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch neerer vnto the coasts of Albion, for doubt of some new attempt that might be made by the Scots thorough his meanes, thereby to returne into their countrie againe, & to recouer their former state. But this staied not them of the westerne Iles, but that assembling themselues togither, and chosing one Gillo to their captaine, they passed ouer into Argile, where in the end they were incountred by such Picts as were set there to defend that countrie, and slaine each mothers sonne. Their vessels were also taken and brought into sundrie hauens of the countrie, to serue for defense of the coasts vpon any new enterprise which the Scots should chance to make: but the other Scots, perceiuing they were not able to furnish forth a new armie in the Iles by any aid they might purchase there, sailed ouer into Ireland, where presenting themselues vnto the king of that region, they declared vnto him from point to point all their infortunate chances and lamentable calamities, which were happened vnto them of late through the tyrannicall puissance of the Romans, and malicious enuie of the Picts, in such sort as nothing could be more miserable than their present estate, considering the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the finall banishment of the inhabitants from their houses and lands, which had beene in possession of them and their elders, by the space almost of seuen hundred yeeres.

Gillo chosen captaine of the banished Scots in the western Iles comming into Argile is banquished by the Picts.

The Scots repaire into Ireland.

The king of Ireland with his nobles lament the Scotishmens case.

The Irishmen conclude to aid the Scotishmen.

The Irish king with his nobles moued with pitie to heare and vnderstand so dolefull calamities to haue chanced vnto that nation, whose good or bad hap could not but touch them verie neere, considering they were descended both of one progenie, comforted these Scotishmen to the best of their power, and in the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand men, and to furnish them forth with ships, victels, and munitions to passe into Albanie for recouerie of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines, and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite for such an enterprise, they toke the sea, and landing in Cantire, chanced to meet with Yeirdorkane brother to Yeirgusk king of the Picts, accompanied with a great number of Picts and Britains assembled to defend the countrie, but being sharpelie assailed of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie put to flight, & such as were ouertaken died on the sword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants that were planted on their parts.

The Scots and Irishmen land in Cantire.

The Picts incounter with the Scots and Irishmen and are discomfited.

This victorie thus atchiued, there were that gaue counsell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to take such booties of goods and prisoners as they had got in the countrie, and to returne therewith into Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, supposing it best to follow the victorie, and either to recouer againe their ancient seats, or else to die in the valiant attempt thereof. Which aduise was followed as the best, though it proued otherwise: for before they could come to any conclusion of that enterprise, the Romans, Picts, and Britains gathered themselues togither, and gaue battell againe to the Scotish and Irish companie, wherein they ouerthrew them, to their vtter ruine and destruction.

The Scots and Irishmen are ouerthrowne.

The newes of this infortunate incounter being brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought it best with all speed to send ambassadors vnto Maximus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent at the first were sore blamed and checked by Maximus, for that they had aided the Scotishmen in the last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certeine conditions, whereof the most principall article was, that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succor anie enimie to the Romane empire. This Maximus, hauing got a quiet peace on each side, vsed all meanes possible

The king of Ireland seeketh for peace.

Maximus granteth peace to the Irishmen.

Maximus seeketh by his bountious liberalitie to win the peoples fauour.

Ethodius confined into Denmarke.

poſſible how to procure the loue of his ſouldiors and men of warr, ſhewing himſelfe not onelie gentle, courteous and meeke towards them, but alſo ſo liberall and free, that his bounteous gifts paſſed all vnderſtanding: inſomuch that (as is reported by writers) he beſtowed in one daie neere hand as much in rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yelded to the empire in a whole yeere.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he vſed not onelie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but alſo towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himſelfe ſo neere vnto their maners & faſhions, that at his comming into Pictland, he laid awaie his Romane apparell, and araied himſelfe in garments after the Pictiſh guiſe. By this maner of meanes therefore he wan him ſuch loue and fauor, as well amongſt his ſouldiors, as alſo amongſt the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common conſent they choſe him for emperor, in the 383 yeere after Chriſt, proteſting generallie, that they would owe onelie their obeiſance vnto him as to their ſupreme gouernor. ¶ Here the Scotiſh chronicles ſomwhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Maximus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by conſtraint of his men of warre, than by anie meanes which he of himſelfe vſed to atteine vnto the ſame. Where the ſaid chronicles neuertheleſſe ſhew, that it came chieflie to paſſe by his owne ſeeking, procuring certeine perſons to worke for him as inſtruments to frame other to this his purpoſed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall ſtate, the ſpace of fiue yeeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradiction: which had not chanced vnto anie one man before his time, ſince the Ile was firſt inhabited. At length deſirous of more empire, he paſſed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpoſe to ſubdue all France and Italie, with ſuch other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how proſperouſlie he ſped in the beginning, and how at length he was ſlaine at Aquilia in Italie, ye ſhall find in the hiſtorie of England a great deale more at large.

Maximus is choſen emperor in Britaine.

The emperor Gratian is ſlaine by Maximus.

By reaſon of ſuch trouble in the eſtate of the Romane empire, Octauius the ſonne of Octauius late king of the Britains, the which (as before is ſaid) fled into the Ile of Man, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did ſo much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but ſhortlie after he was conſtreined to agree with the Romane emperor Theodoſius, ſo that the Britains ſhould paie their wonted tribute, and liue vnder ſuch lawes as by the emperor ſhould be to them preſcribed. In all other reſpects, Octauius ſhould be reputed during his life for king. Immediatlie hereupon two lieutenants were ſent from Theodoſius, of whome the one named Martius ſoiorned at London, and the other called Victorine at Yorke. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practiſe, aboliſhing the old Britiſh lawes, to the great offenſe of manie that could not well brooke ſtrange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined ſore therat, and vſed moſt an end their owne lawes and conſtitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane eſtate. Whereof Victorine, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue ſtreight commandement vnto Heirguſt the Pictiſh king, that in no wiſe he ſhould ſuffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be vſed anie longer amongſt his ſubiects, vpon paine that might inſue for diſobedience ſhewed towards the maieſtie of the Romane empire.

Heirguſt now perceiuing into what thraldome and miſerie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured againſt his neighbours the Scotiſhmen, as a man ſore repenting his paſſed follie, and ſeeing no readie meane preſent how to reforme the ſame, being aged and ſore broken with continuall ſickneſſe, he got himſelfe ſecretlie into his priuie chamber, where immediatlie he ſlue himſelfe, to be rid of the ſight of that preſent ſeruile eſtate, into the which he ſaw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whoſe death being once knowne, Victorine commanded that the Picts ſhould not chooſe anie other from thenceforth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obeie anie other magiſtrates but onlie ſuch as ſhould be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commiſſion of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he alledged, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Heirguſt and Maximus, that after the deceaſſe of the ſame Heirguſt, all his dominions ſhould be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a prouince. Howbeit the Picts nothing regarded the words of Victorine, but by common agreement did chooſe one Durſtus the ſecond ſonne of Heirguſt to be their king.

Heirguſt ſlaieth himſelfe.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Durſtus is choſen king of the Picts.

Whereupon Victorine being informed of their doings, raiſed a power, and made ſuch ſpeed towards them, that he was gotten ſo neere vnto the citie of Camelon, yer they had anie knowledge of his approch, that Durſtus with other of the nobles, being as then within the ſame, could not haue ſpace to eſcape their waies, but being forthwith beſieged within it, at length they were taken by force of aſſalt, and the citie ſacked, to the great inriching of the Romane armie, and vtter vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Durſtus with other the chiefeſt priſoners were firſt had vnto London, & from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the ſenat. The reſidue of the nobles that were taken there, ſuffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeaſed, and the Picts commanded to paie yearlie vnto the emperors procurator the fourth part of all their reuenues growing of their corne and cattell. Beſide this tribute he charged them alſo with diuerſe baſe ſeruices, as to labor in mettall mines, to dig ſtones forth of the quarries, and to make bricke to be ſent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleaſed him to command it.

Durſtus is beſieged of the Romans.

Durſtus is brought priſoner to London

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their baſe ſeruices.

The cauſe why he burdened them in ſuch ſort, was (as he ſaid) to teach them to know themſelues. For they were become ſo loftie, ſince the departure of the Scotiſhmen out of the Ile, that if they were not reſtreined in time by authoritie of the Romane puiſſance, the whole Britiſh nation were like to be ſhortlie diſquieted by their wilfull meanes and inſolent preſumptions. Neither was it thought ſufficient vnto Victorine, to charge the Picts in maner as is before ſpecified; but to their further greeuance he deuiſed an other waie, whereby to bring them in the end vnto vtter deſtruction, which was this: he conſtreined them togither with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remoue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this ſide the ſame water, as well thoſe which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late apperteined to the Scots, and were aſſigned to them by Maximus to poſſeſſe, after that the Scots were expelled.

The Picts are commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Victorine to the Britains, as ſubiects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuiſion betwixt the Picts and the ſame Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be caſt alongſt by the ſame, from Abircorne, through the territorie of Glaſcow vnto Alcluth, or Aldcluch, now called Dunbreton, ſo running from the

A wall made to diuide the Britains from the Picts.

The Picts forbidden to passe ouer beyond that wall

the east sea to the west. Hereto proclamation was made, that if anie of the Pictish nation did enterprise to passe this wall, and to enter into the British confines without licence of the magistrats, he should die for it. Whilest the Picts through their owne fault are thus brought into most miserable subiection of the Romans, the Scotishmen (as is said) being banished the land, liued in other countries by shifting out the time so well as they might, some continuing with their wiues and children, got a poore liuing with their hands, exercising some science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and serued vnder sundrie worthie capteins here and there, as occasion serued.

The Scots liue in other countries.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commanded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was ioifullie receiued of the king there; who also gaue him an office, therewith to mainteine his degree, so that he liued there certeine yeares in right honorable estate, and begat of his wife whome he brought thither with him forth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who after his fathers decease had issue by his wife called Rocha (a ladie of high parentage amongst the nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Korichus, second person of the realme) a sonne named Ferguse, whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scotish nation againe to their former estate and kingdome. In his yoong yeares he was appointed to serue vnder Alarike the Gottish king in that famous voiage which he toke in hand against the Romane empire. For such was the hate as then of all the northerne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane name, that by generall agreement they conspired together to the vtter ruine and finall destruction thereof. And so ech of them sent forth a power in aid of the said Alarike, chosen by common consent as generall of the whole enterprise.

Ethodius brother vnto Eugenius, late king of Scotland.

Erthus the son of Ethodius begot Fergus.

The Gotthes make an expedition against the empire of Rome.

Fergus being set forth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of such Scotishmen as were withdrawne into those parties, went with the better will, for that beside the common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towards the Romans for the vsing of his ancestors so cruellie in expelling them out of their owne homes and natiue countrie. This Fergus was present with the Gotthes at the winning of Rome, in the sacking whereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is reported) a certeine chest full of bookes, the which some hold opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne Iles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Colmekill, within a librarie there builded for the same intent. Which bookes (as is to be supposed) were certeine histories or monuments of old antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hector Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought ouer to him to Aberdine) that it could not be vnderstood of what matter they intreated.

Fergus was sent to aid the Gotthes.

Rome sacked.

It is written moreouer of Fergus, that he continued with Alarike in all his enterprises, so long as he liued, and afterwards serued vnder his successor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable estimation, as few were found comparable vnto him in those daies. At length requiring a safe conduct to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompense of his good and faithfull seruice shewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarike. ¶ About the same season, the bishops see of Candida casa, otherwise called Quhitterne, was first instituted by one Ninian a preacher, that toke great paines (as the report hath gone) to instruct the Picts and Britains in the christian faith. He was afterwards reputed a saint, and the place of his buriall had in such veneration, that manie vsed to resort thither for deuotion sake, as the manner in times past was when pilgrimage-goings were vsed.

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Fergus was capteine vnder Alarike and Athaulfe kings of the Gotthes.

Fergus with his host returned againe from Italie into Denmarke.

S. Ninian.

But now to returne where we left touching the Picts, and to shew the maner how the Scots returned againe into Albanie; ye shall vnderstand, that the Picts being brought into seruile bondage (as before we haue partlie declared) and doubting dailie of worse to insue, they sent secret messengers vnto such Scots as remained in exile in the westerne Iles, in Norwaie, and in other parts of the world, promising them, if they would giue the attempt for recouerie of their ancient dwelling places in Albanie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them laie, being readie to spend their liues to reuenge the iniuries which they dailie susteined at the Romans hands, whose continuall practise euer was, how to oppresse the ancient liberties of all such nations as came vnder their subiection. The experience whereof they now felt to their vnsufferable greeuance, looking for nothing else but shortlie to be expelled out of their countrie, and driuen to go seeke them other places to inhabit in strange countries after the maner of outlawes, as it had chanced alreadie to the Scots by commandement of Maximus, as before is expressed.

The Picts sent into forren countries to call home the Scots.

Fergus, vnto whom amongest other this message was chieflie directed, reioised greatlie of the newes; and first conferring with the king of Denmarke, of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his aduise he sent letters abroad forthwith into Norwaie, Orknie, the westerne Iles, and into Ireland, vnto such of the Scotishmen as dwelt in those places, to vnderstand their minds herein. And being certified that they were vniuersallie agreed, not onelie to trie their chance for recouerie of their former state and kingdome; but also had chosen him to be gouernour and generall capteine in that enterprise; he prepared partlie at his owne costs, and partlie at the charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his friends and alies there, a great multitude both of men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe ouer into Albanie to recouer his grandfathers estate, which as it was thought might now be the more easilie brought to passe, sith the Picts would aid him thereto, vpon an earnest desire which they had to reuenge their owne iniuries receiued at the Romans hands, and to deliuer themselues from such thraldome as they dailie felt themselues oppressed with, doubting withall shortlie to be quite expelled out of their whole countrie, as they had beene forced to forgo a great and the better part thereof alreadie.

Fergus sent vnto the Scots dispersed.

Fergus prepared himselfe to warre.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of the British bloud, by consent of the Romane legat Martius (both of them going against their allegiance) vsurped the gouernance of Britaine by his owne priuat authoritie; but shortlie after, they two falling at variance togither, the one of them slue the other. And then the souldiers not staieng till they vnderstood the pleasure of Honorius the emperour, chose one Constantine to succeed in the place of Martius, who passing ouer into France, was slaine there by Constantius one of the capteins of the said Honorius. Victorine the other of the Romane legats hearing of the death both of Martius and Constantine, remoued from Yorke vnto London, the better to prouide for the safe keeping of the land to the emperour Honorius his vse; for that he doubted sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the countrie was as then vnprouided of men of warre, the most part of them being transported ouer into France with the forenamed Constantine, and not againe returned.

Gratian vsurped the gouernance of Britaine.

Martius slaine.

Constantine succeedeth Martus.

Constantine is slaine.

The lieutenant of the north commeth to London.

The

The Picts ſend ſpéedilie vnto Fergus.

The Picts informed of theſe things, ſent word with all ſpéed vnto Fergus, requiring him to make haſt, ſith if he ſhould haue wiſhed for a conuenient time, a better could not be deuiſed; conſidering the preſent ſtate of things as well in Britaine, as in other parts of the Romane empire, the people euerie where being readie to moue rebellion. Fergus vnderſtanding the whole, by ſuch meſſengers as ſtill came one after another vnto him from the Picts, he haſted to depart with all diligence; and when all things were readie, he toke the ſea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arriued in ſafetie within the firth of Murrey land with all his veſſels and people; where taking land, & word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Dikenie, and into the weſterne Iles, all ſuch of the Scotiſh linage as liued in thoſe parties in exile, came with their wiues, children, and whole families in moſt ſpédie wiſe vnto him, as though the countrie had béene alreadie recouered out of the enimies hands, without all doubts of further perill or buſineſſe.

Fergus arriued with his ſhips in Murrey firth.

The Picts reioiſſing greatlie at the newes of his comming, repaired vnto him, and ſhewed him all the honor that might be deuiſed, beſeeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and diſpleaſures by them wrought and contriued in times paſt againſt the Scotiſh nation, ſith now they were readie for the aduancement thereof to ſpend their liues againſt ſuch as were enimies to the ſame. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Veirguſt had conſented with the Romans to baniſh the Scotiſh people, but in their anceſtors, who being blinded through the faire words and ſweete promiſes of the Romans, ſaw not the miſchiefe which they brought vpon their owne heads and their poſteritie. Therefore they deſired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictiſh and Scotiſh nations, with ſuch conditions of appointment as it ſhould pleaſe him to preſcribe.

The Picts ioifullie receiue Fergus.

The Picts craue pardon excuſing themſelues.

Fergus anſwered, that he was content to eſtabliſh the league with them, euen according to the tenor of the ancient agréement, and to ioine his power with theirs to helpe to reſtore them vnto their former eſtate and liberties, ſo that they would be contented to ſurrender vp into the Scotiſhmens hands, all ſuch townes and countries, from the which they had béene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the diſpleaſures done to the Scotiſhmen in times paſt by aiding the Romans againſt them (as he thought) the Picts had felt puniſhment inough for the ſame alreadie, being reduced into moſt ſeruile & miſerable bondage, as iuſtlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vntruthes, vſed and ſhewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and alies. The Picts were throughlie pleaſed and ſatiſfied with Fergus his words, ſo that within few daies after, their king (whome they had latelie choſen ſince the time that the Scotiſhmen were thus returned) came vnto Fergus, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time paſt had béene obſerued on the behalfe of the Scotiſh and Pictiſh nations, with ſuch ſolemne othes and aſſurance, betwixt princes in ſemblable caſes of cuſtome is requiſit and neceſſarie. Then were thoſe countries reſtored to the Scotiſhmen againe, out of the which they had béene expelled by the Romane power.

Fergus.

The Picts puniſhed for their vntruthes.

The ancient league renued againe betwixt the Scots and Picts.

The Scots reſtored to their countries.

*Fergus.*

Fergus is conueied into Argile, and there inueſted king.

AND Fergus then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and cõmons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclamed king with all ſuch accuſtomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had béene driuen forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our ſauiour 424, in the yeare after the death of Honorius the emperour, and from the firſt erection of the Scotiſh kingdome 750 yeares complet. All ſuch caſtels alſo and fortreſſes as the Picts held within anie of thoſe countries, which belonged vnto the Scots, were ſurrendered into their hands in peaceable wiſe; but the reſidue which the Romans kept were earneſtlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other neceſſaries, they likewiſe were deliuered. ¶ If I ſhould here ſay what I thinke, and that mine opinion might paſſe for currant coine, I would not ſticke to affirme that either now firſt (or not long before their late ſuppoſed expulſion from hence) the Scots ſetled themſelues to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certeine ſeats in the ſame till then: but that comming either forth of Ireland, or from the weſterne Iles, where they before inhabited, they vſed to make often inuaſions into this land, greatlie moleſting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their ſubiection. For I can neither perſuade my ſelfe, nor wiſh others to beléeue, that there was anie ſuch continuance in ſucceſſion of kings, as their hiſtories do make mention; as we haue here before ſet downe in following the ſame hiſtories, becauſe we will not willinglie ſéeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peraduenture are otherwiſe perſuaded, and thinke the ſame ſucceſſion to be moſt true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not moued thereto without good reaſon) that ſuch kings as in their hiſtories are auouched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Iles, and that verelie not ſucceſſiuelie, but diuerſe of them at one ſeaſon, and in diuerſe places. Which miſtaking of the courſe of hiſtories hath bred errors, not onelie amongſt the Scotiſh writers, but euen amongſt ſome of the Britiſh and Engliſh writers alſo, as to the learned and well aduiſed readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Gald, and ſome other hapſlie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was poſſeſſed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they méere Britains, and had little to do with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Iles in ſubiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their ſetling in Britaine) than their hiſtories make mention.

422. H.B.
396. Io. Ma.
The 18 yeare of the emperour Honorius. H.B.
755. H.B.

when the Scots firſt got certeine ſeats here in this Ile of Britaine as ſome thinke.

But now to returne where we left. After that Victorine the Romane legat was aduertiſed of all the fore-remembred doings of the Scotiſhmen and Picts, he cauſed an armie to be leuied with all ſpéed, and haſted forth with the ſame vnto Yorke, where being arriued, he attempted by an herald at armes to perſuade the Picts to forſake their confederacie latelie concluded with the Scots: but perceiuing he could not bring it to paſſe, he determined to purſue both thoſe nations with open warre: and ſo thereupon ſetting forward, he paſſed forth till he came neere Camelon, where he incamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thouſand perſons at the leaſt. Fergus being aduertiſed hereof, & hauing in like maner alreadie aſſembled a mightie huge hoſt both of Scotiſhmen and Picts, came therwith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all ſpéed in the night ſeaſon, in purpoſe to haue ſet on his enimies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Victorine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and ſet in order of battell by the third watch of the ſame night, ſo that being redie to receiue the Scots vpon their firſt approch, there was fought a right ſore and cruell battell, with ſuch ſlaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Carron (nére vnto the which

Victorine prepareth an armie to go againſt the Scots.

Victorine ſéeketh to perſuade the Picts from taking part with the Scots.

Victorine incampeth neere vnto Camelon with 50000 men.

Fergus paſſeth the Forth.

Fergus purpoſeth to aſſaile his enimies in the dawning of the day.

The riuer of Carron runneth with bloud.

which their battels ioined) was well néere filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof ſo changed into a ruddie hue, that it ſéemed as though it had run altogither with bloud.

The battell ſeuered by reaſon of a tempeſt.

In the end (whileſt as yet it was doubtfull to whether ſide the victorie would incline) there came ſuch a ſudden ſhower of raine, mixed with ſuch great abundance of haileſtones, that neither part was able to haue ſight of other, ſo that by reaſon of the violent rage of that huge ſtorme and tempeſt, either ſide was faine to withdraw from the other. There were ſlaine in this battell ſuch great numbers of men, as well on the one ſide as the other, that they had ſmall luſt to ioine in battell againe for certeine yéeres after. For the Roman lieutenant vnderſtanding what loſſe of people he had ſuſteined, without attempting anie further exploit, appointed certeine of his companies to lie in garriſon within ſundrie fortreſſes in Pictland, & with the reſidue he returned into Kent.

The lieutenant furniſhing diuerſe holds, returneth into Kent.

In like ſort the Scots with their confederates the Picts, perceiuing themſelues not able as then to make anie further attempt againſt their enimies, brake vp their armie, and deuiſed onelie how they might defend that which they had alreadie in poſſeſſion.

The Scots & Picts breake vp their campe.

And forſomuch as the Pictiſh nation was increaſed vnto a greater multitude of people, than thoſe countries which they then held were able to find with ſufficient ſuſtenance (conſidering what a great portion of their ancient ſeates the Britains and Romans kept from them) it was agréed by the Scots that they ſhould inioy the countrie of Athole, with other lands bordering néere vnto the ſame, lieng without the compaſſe of the mounteine of Granzeben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increaſed there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire caſtels and towers in thoſe parties, to the great beautifieng of that countrie. In which meane while, Victorine the Romane lieutenant commanded the Britains to make haſt with the wall (whereof ye haue heard) made of turfe, and ſuſteined with certeine poſts of timber paſſing ouerthwart the borders betwixt them and their enimies, begining (as ye haue heard) at Abercorne, and ſo ſtretching forth by Glaſco, and Kirkpatrike, euen vnto Aldcluch, now Dunbriton, 80 miles more northward than the other wall, which the emperor Adrian cauſed (as is ſaid) to be made.

Athole aſſigned to the Picts.

The Britains by the appointment of Victorine make a wall.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed, they aſſembled themſelues togither, & vnder the leading of a noble man called Graime, they ſet vpon the Britains, as they were buſie in working about the ſame, and ſlue not onelie a great number of labourers and ſouldiers, which were ſet to labour and defend the worke, but alſo entering into the Britiſh borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of cattell and other riches, which they found diſperſed abroad in the countrie. This Graime (who as I ſaid was chiefe in this enterpriſe) was brother vnto the Scotiſh quéene, the wife of king Ferguſe. He was borne in Denmarke (as ſome hold opinion) in the time of the Scotiſhmens baniſhment, and had a Scotiſhman to his father deſcended of a noble houſe, and a Daniſh ladie to his mother. He himſelfe alſo maried a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whome Ferguſe by the perſuaſion of the king of Denmarke tooke to wife, and had iſſue by hir (afore his comming into Scotland) three ſonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, and Conſtantius, of whome hereafter in their place mention ſhall be made, as occaſion ſerueth. Other there be, that affirme how this Graime was a Britaine borne, & that through hate which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell gouernement, he fled forth of his native countrie,

The Scotiſhmens & Picts interrupt the making of that wall.

Graime, otherwiſe called Graham, and his image.

Ferguſe maried a daughter of Graime

Diuerſitie of opinions touching the originall beginning of the Graimes.

and continued euer after amongſt the Scots, as firſt in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer readie to doo what diſpleaſures he could deuiſe againſt the Romans & other their friends or ſubiects. Of this Graime thoſe Scots, which vnto this day beare that ſurname, are ſaid to be deſcended.

But now to the purpoſe. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after that it was knowne in forrein countries, how the Scots had got foot againe within thoſe regions in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had poſſeſſed, there came dailie diuerſe companies of that nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Italie (where during the time of their baniſhment they had ſerued vnder ſundrie captains) vnto Ferguſe to aid him, in recouerie of their countrie and ancient ſeats, out of the which they had béene moſt cruellie expelled. So that Ferguſe now ſéeing his power thus not a little augmented by their comming, entereth into the borders of Kile, Carike, and Coningham, ſpoiling and harrieng thoſe countries on euerie ſide: but ſhortlie thereupon commeth the armie of the Romans, with whome the Scots incountering in battell, receiued no leſſe damage than they minded to haue done vnto their aduerſaries. Wherupon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew backe into Argile, where Ferguſe wintered for that part of the yéere which yet remained.

The Scotiſh men returne into their countrie.

Ferguſe inuadeth the confins of the Britains.

The Scots put to the worſe.

When ſummer was come, he was counſelled to haue eſſoines offered battell vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Gallowaie: and rather to trie the vttermoſt point of fortunes chance againſt him, than to ſuſteine ſuch diſpleaſures and iniuries at the Romans hands, as by them were dailie done vnto him and his people. But there were other that gaue other aduice, alledging how the danger was great to ieopard againe in battell with the Romans, being men of ſuch ſkill & practiſe in the feats of warre, conſidering what loſſe had chanced in the two former battels. Againe, there was great likelihood, that if he could be contented to forbeare for a time, and ſéeke to defend the borders of his countrie, ſo well as he might without giuing battell, it muſt needs come to paſſe that ſhortlie the Romane empire ſhould be brought vnto ſuch ruinous decaie, by reaſon of the multitude of enimies, which as then inuaded the ſame on each ſide, that in the end Victorine doubting his owne ſuertie, would conuerte himſelfe with his men of warre out of the countrie, and then ſhould it be an eaſie matter for the Scots and Picts to recouer againe all ſuch countries as ancientlie belonged to their elders, and wholie to reſtore the eſtates of their common-wealths vnto their former dignities.

Victorine inuadeth Galloway.

Ferguſe is diſſuaded to fight with the Romans.

The Romane empire inuaded by barbarous nations.

This aduiſe was followed as the beſt and moſt likelie, ſo that making ſundrie roads into the borders of their enimies countries ſo to keepe them ſtill occupied, Ferguſe and the Scots refuſed vtterlie to come to anie foughten field with them. Shortlie after alſo it chanced, that Victorine was accuſed vnto the emperor Honorius of ſome ſecret practiſe againſt his maieſtie, as to be about to vſurpe the crowne of Britaine, whereunto he was compelled in déed by the ſouldiers (whoſe hearts he had wone through his bountious liberalitie ſundrie waies declared towards them) and vnderſtanding at this preſent, that he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of the ſaid information made againſt him, they did moue him with ſuch earneſt perſuaſions to take vpon him the imperiall dignitie, promiſing euen to liue and die with him in defenſe thereof, as well againſt Honorius, as all other, that in the end he conſented vnto their deſires, and ſo was proclamed emperor, and clothed in purpure, vſing thereto all the other imperiall ornaments, as if he had béene emperor indéed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus was

Victorine accuſed vnto Honorius.

Victorine taketh vpon him the name and authoritie of emperor in Britaine.

Heraclianus is sent against Victorine.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Victorine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supréeme gouernor, began to feare the sequele of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offenses, they toke Victorine, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Heraclianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recouered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortlie after sent for Heraclianus, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Romane empire.

Victorine is deliuered into the hands of Heraclianus.

Heraclianus is sent into Affrike.

Placidus lieutenant of Britaine.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergusе their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Durstus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioine with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting thereunto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enimies, ouerrunning the most part of Kile, Carrike, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, destroieng all before them, which way soeuer they passed. Then turning into Pictland, they subdue the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

The warre renewd by the Scots.

The Scots and Picts inuade the borders of their enimies.

Placidus gathereth a power.

He incountereth with his enimies.

Placidus receiueth the ouerthrow.

He fleeth to Yorke.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forward towards them, with whom incountering in battell, after long fight, his horsemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to breake their araie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and ioifull victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto Yorke, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their couragious intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie moued with this ouerthrowe, but also weieng with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the inuasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such meanes as he made, shortlie after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recouered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselues with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

Placidus seeketh to haue peace.

A league concluded betwixt Scots, Picts, and Romans.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scotishmen and Picts indeuoured themselues to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Fergusе made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdome, and assigned the same forth vnto his subiects the Scotishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enimies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Cornana a part of Scotland, lieng in the furthest end of all the countrie, toke a new name of one Cathus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting forth into the sea called Nesse: so that being compound togither, that countrie was cleped Cathnesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse toke that name, being afore named Lugia.

Fergusе diuideth the land in parts.

The names of diuers places in Scotland changed. Cathnesse, wherevnto it is so named.

Rosse.

That part of the countrie anciently called Thezalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthquhane, of the tribute vsed to be paied there for sheepe, of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Quhane in the old Scotish tong signified tribute: and Buth, a flocke of sheepe. The other part of Thezalia, lieng into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the riuer named Bog, which runneth through the middest of it. Louchquhaber toke the name of a great meare or water, into the which the riuer of Quhaber falleth, and passeth through the same, notable by reason of the great plentie of samons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey land. And some names remaine a little changed by length of time, as Argile, for Argathile; Mar, for Marthea; and such like.

Buthquhane.

The signification of the name of Buthquhane.

Bogdale.

Louchquhaber.

Athole, Murrey land.

Argile, for Argathile: and Mar, for Marthea.

Fergusе also repared such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restored againe churchmen vnto their former liuings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chappels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbeie within the Ile of Iona, now Colmekill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be vsed about the same. Moreouer, in the time of peace hee was not negligent in prouiding for the defense of his realme. Such castels as were decaied and ouerthrowne by the enimies in the warre time, he repared; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their liuing now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

Fergusе repareth churches, and prouideth liuings for religious persons.

The first foundation of the abbeie within the Ile of Iona now Colmekill.

Fergusе repareth his castels.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire dailie falling into decaie, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scotishmen and Picts toke occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroie all such of the British nation as went about to destroie them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. Manie an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villainous maner. The Romane souldiers, after the decease of Placidus, ordeined one Castius to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scotishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Octauius sometime king of the Britains, in hope to atteine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seeke to aid the Scotish king Fergusе, whose sister he had in mariage. Castius therefore more destrous of peace than of warres, sent forth a messenger at armes vnto king Fergusе, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power forth of the prouinces, which were

Placidus the lieutenant of Britain dieth

The Scots & Picts renew the warre.

The crueltie of the Scots and Picts.

Castius ordeined lieutenant of Britaine.

Dionethus, or Dionotus, as some bookes haue.

Castius sendeth vnto Fergusе.

were ſubiect vnto the ſame Romans, without proceeding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, either elſe he ſhould be ſure to feele the puiſſant force of thoſe people readie bent againſt him, by whom his elders had beene driuen out of their countries, and baniſhed quite forth of all their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

The anſwer of king Fergus.

But herevnto was anſwer made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceaſſed by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there was no cauſe why he ſhould looke for anie, vntill the whole prouinces, both of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, were reſtored againe into the hands of the Scotiſhmen and Picts, according as of reaſon they ought to be. The like anſwer alſo was made by Durſtus king of the Picts, vnto whom Caſtius had ſent a like meſſage. Wherewithall the ſaid Caſtius being not a little moued, aſſembleth an armie, and with all ſpeed marcheth forth toward his enimies: but before his entering into Weſtmerland, where they were as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welſhmen (for his lands laie in Wales) was alreadie ioined with the Scots.

Caſtius raiſeth an armie.

Dionethus ioineth with the Scots againſt the Romans.

Which newes ſore appalled the hearts of the Britains, but yet being incouraged with comfortable words of their capteins to proceed, forward they go together with the Romans, and within three daies after, they came within ſight of their enimies, being ranged in battell readie to receiue them, ſo that ſtreight waies buckeling together, there was a right fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till finallie the multitude of the Scotiſh archers and kernes ſo compaſſed in the battels of the Romans on each ſide, and ſpeciallie on the backes, that in the end, and by reaſon of the loſſe of their generall Caſtius (who was ſlaine there amongſt them) thoſe of the middle ward being diſcomfited, brake their arrate and fled. Whereupon the reſidue likewiſe followed: the Scots, Picts, and Welſhmen purſuing ſo egerlie without all order, that there was no ſmall number of them diſtreſſed by the Romans, the which in their giuing backe, kept themſelues cloſe together, readie to defend themſelues, and to beat downe ſuch of there enimies as followed more raſhlie than warilie in the chaſe, not once regarding to keepe any order of battell; but yet by other companies that purſued more orderlie together for their moſt aduantage, there was great ſlaughter made both of Romans and Britains.

The armies ioine in battel.

The Romans giue backe.

The Scots follow in the chaſe too raſhlie.

After this victorie thus atchiued, Dionethus was proclamed king of Britaine, and ſore warres continued in the land by the purſuit of the Welſhmen, Scots, & Picts, to the great hazard of the prouince, and likelie expelling of all the Romans quite out of the ſame. About this time alſo there remained in France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperour Valentinianus, who vnderſtanding all theſe things by letters and meſſengers ſent from the capteins which yet remained aliue in Britaine, appointed one Maximianus being of kin to the emperor, to paſſe with an armie in all haſt ouer into Britaine, to aid and ſuccor the Romans, and ſuch Britains there, as ſtill continued in their allegiance which they had promiſed vnto the Romane empire.

Dionethus proclamed king of Britaine.

Etius lieutenant of the Romans in France or Gallia.

Maximianus ſent ouer into Britaine.

This Maximianus at his arriuall in the Iland was moſt ioifullie receiued by the ſoldiors and ſubiects of the foreſaid empire. All the lords and nobles of the countrie reſorted alſo vnto him, ſhewing themſelues moſt glad of his comming, & promiſing with what aid ſoeuer they were able to make, to go with him againſt their enimies. Whereupon, procuring them to aſſemble their powers, and to ioine the ſame with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he paſſed through the countrie vnto Yorke, and ſo from thence marched forth towards the Scots, being alreadie aſſembled in campe to defend the countrie of Weſtmerland againſt him. There were both the kings of Scots and Picts, Fergus and Durſtus, with Dionethus, naming himſelfe king of the Britains, who had brought with him, beſide the Welſhmen, a great number of thoſe Britains that inhabited in the countries now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onelie amongſt all other the Britains acknowledged him for king.

Maximianus cauſeth the Britains to ioine with him to go againſt the Scots.

The Scots and Picts aſſembled againſt the Romans.

When both the armies were come neere together, they camped for that night the one in ſight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themſelues to battell. Fergus firſt making an earneſt oration vnto his people, to incourage them the more boldlie to giue the onſet, declared amongſt other things how the right was on their ſides, which alwaies ought to miniſter hope of good ſucceſſe in them that enterpriſe anie thing in defenſe thereof; where contrariewiſe all ſuch as attempted to diſquiet other by iniurie and wrong doing, could not but looke for an euill concluſion of their malicious intents and purpoſes. Neither were other of his capteins negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting their bands, they vſed moſt comfortable words, and in diſpoſing them in good order of battell, they ſhewed moſt readie and earneſt diligence.

The armies prepare to battell.

Fergus exhorteth his people to doo valiantlie.

Right miniſtreth hope of good ſucceſſe.

On the other ſide, Maximianus with his capteins and officers of bands were as buſie on their ſide to array their battels moſt for their aduantage, as they ſaw cauſe and occaſion, ſo that both the armies being readie to fight, the onſet was giuen, and that in moſt furious wiſe, the Romans being at the firſt ſore annoied with arrowes and darts, which flue ſo thicke from each ſide, that their ſight was in manner taken from them, the skie ſeeming as it had been couered ouer with a pentiſe. So that Maximianus perceiuing this diſaduantage, he cauſed a freſh legion of his ſoldiors to aduance forward to the ſuccour of their fellowes; by reaſon whereof the battell was forthwith moſt cruellie renewed, the hindermoſt wings of the Romans ſore preſſing vpon their enimies: ſo that in the end paſſing quite through their battels, they cauſed a great diſorder and feare amongſt thoſe Scots and other their confederats, which were placed in the hindermoſt ranks. But yet calling themſelues in a ring, they made great & ſtout reſiſtance for a ſpace, and at length a great number euen of the moſt valiant perſonages of the whole hoſt, cloſed themſelues together, and with maine force aſſaied to haue broken through the thickeſt preaſe of their enimies, but being inuironed about on each part, they were there ſlaine each mothers ſonne. Whileſt the Romans drew together to reſiſt on that ſide, other of the Scotiſhmen, Picts, Britains, & Welſhmen, found a waie to get forth through their enimies on the other ſide, and ſo being gotten paſt them, made awaie as faſt as their feet might beare them: but a great number being notwithſtanding ouertaken, were ſlaine and beaten downe right pitifullie.

Maximianus perceiuing the diſaduantage, prouideth to remedie the ſame.

The Scots diſordered.

Fergus the Scotiſh king, and Durſtus king of the Picts were ſlaine in this mortall battell together, with the moſt part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus being ſore wounded eſcaped to the ſea ſide, and there getting a ſhip, paſſed ouer into Wales. This ouerthrow ſore diſmaied both the Scotiſh and Pictiſh nations, who looked for nothing more than preſent expulſion out of their countries, for Maximianus purſuing the victorie, burſt into Galloway, moſt cruellie walking and ſpoiling the ſame. And when he had made an end there, he entred into Anandale, and into the Pictiſh confines, deſtroieng all before him with fire and ſword. Camelon was beſieged, taken by force, and miſerablie put to ſacke and ſpoile, with

The two kings Fergus and Durſtus are ſlaine. Dionethus eſcapeth.

Maximianus purſueth the victorie.

Camelon taken by force.

diuerse other notable townes and places, as well belonging to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there anie end of these cruell doings, till both the Scots & Picts for their refuge were generallie constreined to withdraw themselues beyond the wall of Abircorne, which (as before is said) a few yeres passed was begun by the Britains, and stretched from Abircorne aforesaid, ouerthwart the land vnto Alcluth now Dunbreton.

The Scots and Picts withdraw beyond the wall of Abircorne.

Maximianus hauing thus driuen his enimies beyond this wall, caused them to make assurance by their oth of couenant, neuer to passe the same againe by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or Romans. There were that counselled Maximianus either vtterlie to haue destroied both the Scots and Picts, either els to haue driuen them out of the whole Ile. But he being satisfied with that which was already done, thought good to returne vnto Yorke, and there to winter; that in the beginning of the next spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dionethus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in aiding the enimies of the empire. But when the time came that he should haue set forward on that iournie, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond the seas, into what ruinous decaie the empire was fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that changing his purpose, he minded to vsurpe the crowne of Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to haue the more fauor of the British nation without anie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, being the elder of those two, which he onelie had without issue male, by the sister of king Fergusc. She that was thus coupled in mariage with Maximianus was called Othilia, & the other daughter named Vrsula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pretended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of Maximianus. Then was Dionethus made second person of the realme, aswell in degree of honor, as in publike gouerment.

Maximianus taketh vpon him the absolute gouernance of Britaine, with the imperiall title.

He marrieth Othilia the daughter of Dionethus.

Dionethus reputed for second person of the realme.

*Eugenius.*

AND whilest these things were thus a doing in Britaine, the Scotish lords had created Eugenius the sonne of Fergusc, king of their realme, as due to him by rightfull succession from his father, who had gouerned the same by the space of 16 yéeres yer he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne (as we find) in the yéere of our Lord 440, after the first beginning of the Scotish kingdome 767. His fathers corps, which at the first was secretlie buried, as occasion suffered, whilest the Romans were yet in the countrie, he caused to be taken vp, and conueied ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, where, with all solemne pompe and ceremonies it was intumulated, according to the ordinance which he himselfe had deuised in his life time, within the abbeie there.

Eugenius created king of Scots.

420. H.B.

760. H.B.

The bodie of Fergusc is buried in the abbeie of Iona, otherwise Colmekill.

In like manner Maximianus, to the intent to establish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of Britaine, and to deliuer his subiects the Britains, which bordered vpon the Scotish dominions, from all trouble of warres, was contented to make peace with the Scots vpon light sute made vnto him for the same. After this also, he being once fullie established in the estate of Britaine, coueted also to atteine to the type in gouernment of the whole empire, and therefore assembling all the forces of the British youth, sailed into Gallia, causing himselfe to be proclamed emperor, and so vsurped that title; as in the English and Italian historie you maie find more largelie erpressed. He left behind him in Britaine his father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernor there, with one legion of Romane soldiors. After this did Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, send for such Romans as Maximianus had left in Britaine, who revolting from their othes of allegiance giuen vnto the same Maximianus, obeied Etius, as one that supplied the roome of their rightfull lord and master the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise was Britaine dispurueied of all maner of able men for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts tooke good occasion to inuade the British borders, not sparing to pursue with fire and sword all such of the Britains as did yet continue in obeisance to Maximianus.

Maximianus granteth peace to the Scotishmen.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.

They first droue those Britains out of all the countries, which had béene taken from them by the same Maximianus, and by other of the Romans and Britains, as Pictland, Yle, Carrike, and Coningham, Galloway, the Marches, and Northumberland. This done, they entered into Cumberland, Westmerland, and Kendall, not ceasing till they had spoiled and defaced all those countries, with the most part of all Yorkeshire, in such cruell wise, that they made all those quarters barren both of corne and cattell, which waie soeuer they passed. The Britains perceiuing into what danger they were brought, if some good redresse were not found in time, sent ouer with all spéed vnto Rome for succor to be had at the emperor Valentinians hands, for Maximianus was otherwise occupied. Valentinian desirous to deliuer the Britains from such cruell enimies as the Scots & Picts shewed themselues to be, least through their meanes all the whole Ile should reuolt from the obedience of the Romans, appointed one Gallio borne in Rauenna, and as then soiorning about Paris in France, with a legion of soldiors to passe ouer into Britaine, to driue backe the Scots and Picts from further molesting the subiects of the empire.

The prosperous successe of the Scotishmen.

The Britains requires aid of Valentinian the emperor.

Gallio Rauennas is sent ouer into Britaine.

The Scots and Picts vpon knowledge had of this Gallios arriuall, drew backe into their countries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whose force they doubted, and not without cause, hauing had in times past so manie ouerthrowes and slaughters at their hands. But Gallio pursued them euen vnto the water of Forth, where in sundrie skirmishes he slue no small number of them: and for that he knew he should be sent for shortlie to returne againe into France, to helpe to resist such barbarous nations as warred in the same, for the better defense of the Britains against their enimies the Scots and Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in quiet after he was once gone) he caused the wall to be newlie made vp betwixt Abircorne & the mouth of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane prouince from all sudden inuasions of the enimies. This wall was earst made of turffe, but now repared with stone, and strengthened with great posts or piles of wood, driuen in betwixt in places most néedfull. It was also 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in certeine turrets cast forth vpon this wall, Gallio appointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the enimies approch towards the same, warning might be giuen by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day, vnto such of the Britains as dwelled néere vpon those borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine of death for being found in the contrarie) that euerie man vpon such knowledge had, should resort immediatlie to the place appointed, with such armour and weapon as for him was requisit.

The Scots and Picts refuse to giue battell to the Romans.

Gallio pursueth the Scots and Picts.

Gallio causeth the wall of Abircorne to be repared.

The maner of the building of that wall.

The ordination of Gallio for watch to be kept at the wall.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the suertie of the Britains, and deliuered them at that present from the cruell hands of their enimies, he returned into France with the armie that he brought with him, according to the commandement which he had from Etius the emperours lieutenant there. His departure out of Britaine was no soner knowne of the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine force

Gallio returneth into France.

force they determined to ſet vpon the Britains againe. So that aſſembling their powers togither, the kings of both thoſe nations exhort their men to doo valiantlie. Eugenius the king of the Scotiſhmen incourageth them through hope of high rewards and ſpoile. The Pictiſh king likewiſe for his part promiſeth the lieutenantſhip of Camelon (an office of moſt honor amongeſt them) vnto him that firſt ſhould paſſe the wall of Abircorne. Whereupon the Britains being aduertiſed of their enimies intentions according to the ordinance before appointed, drew in defenſible wiſe vnto that part of the wall, where they vnderſtood the Scots and Picts were minded to aſſault.

The Scots and Picts determined to inuade the Britains againe.

The Britains reſort to the wall of Abircorne to defend it.

The Scots and Picts approued the wall to aſſault it.

At length when the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings were come to the wall, and had their people readie to giue the approch, they themſelues ſtood apart ſomewhat out of danger of ſhot: and ſuch bands as were appointed to aſſaile, aduanced forth of the maine battels vnder the leading of that Graime, the which (as ye haue heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains when they had firſt made the ſame wall by commandement of Victorine the Romane lieutenant. Neither ſhewed he leſſe proofe of his valiancie at this time than he had don before. For though the Britains made earneſt reſiſtance, ſo far as their power would extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was vndermined and throwen downe in ſundrie places, ſo that the whole number of the Scots and Picts entered by the ſame into Pictland, beating downe the Britains on ech ſide that went about to make reſiſtance, for none eſcaped their hands, but ſuch as ſaued themſelues by flight.

Graim aſſaulteth the wall.

The wall is ouerthrowen.

There came alſo an other power of Scots and Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland, purſued the Britains with more crueltie than the kings did themſelues. Both houſes and people paſſed by fire and ſword, inſomuch that all ſuch of the Britains as could get away, withdrew forth of the countrie, not ſtaieng till they came beyond the riuer of Tine; by reaſon whereof, all the countrie which lieth betwixt Twæd and Tine was deliuered by appointment of the kings vnto the ſouldiers, to ſpoile and vſe at their pleaſure, whereupon followed manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, couetouſneſſe, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whileſt the Scotiſh and Pictiſh men of warre applied their market, the Britains with all diligence repared and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is ſaid) by the emperour Adrian, ſhooting ouerthwart the countrie from the riuer of Tine, vnto the riuer of Eſke.

The Britains leaue Pictland and get themſelues ouer the riuer of Tine.

The wall of Adrian is repared by the Britains.

Howbeit the Scots and Picts, becauſe winter approched, made no further attempt againſt the Britains at that time, but diuiding thoſe countries which lie by north from the foreſaid wall of Adrian, among themſelues, according to the order in that behalfe appointed by their kings, they fortified certeine caſtels and holds for defenſe of the ſame countries, as it were to countergariſon ſuch Britains as continuallie kept watch and ward vpon the foreſaid wall. The Britains therefore miſtruſting leaſt ſo ſoone as the ſpring were come, the Scots would inuade their countries which lay on the ſouth part of the ſame wall, breaking in by force through it, as they had done the yere before through the other wall of Abircorne, they ſent ambaſſadors vnto Etius the Romane lieutenant, gouerning Gallia now called France, vnder the emperour Valentinian, requiring to haue ſome aid and ſuccour at his hands, whereby to reſiſt ſuch fierce and cruell enimies, as ſought to deſtroy and expell out of their lands and houſes, all ſuch of the Britains as acknowledged themſelues in anie maner of wiſe ſubiects vnto the empire.

The countries lieng north from the wall of Adrian diuided amongeſt the Scots and Picts.

The Britains require aid at the hands of Etius.

But Etius, whether he would not, or rather becauſe he conuentientlie could not (for that he was otherwiſe occupied in defenſe of Gallia againſt the French men) made a direct anſwere that he had no men of warre in ſtore to ſend ouer into Britaine, and therefore willed them to doo what they could for their owne defenſe, for aid of him they might none haue. The meſſengers returned home with this anſwere, and made report thereof in a publike aſſemblie of all the Britiſh nobilitie, being as then gathered togither at London to conſult there for the eſtate and order of their countrie. Where after long deliberation (notwithſtanding that they perceiued they ſhould haue no more aid from the Romans) it was yet determined, that to reſiſt the enimies, the whole puiſſance of the Britiſh nation ſhould be muſtered, as well men as women, being able to doo anie ſeat of ſeruice auaſlable in defenſe of their countrie, & rather to trie the vttermoſt point of fortunes chance, than to ſuffer themſelues to be ouerrun without reſiſtance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongeſt them, as one that was deſcended of the blood of Octauius ſometime king of Britaine, went about with earneſt perſuaſions to remoue the reſidue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduiſing them to ſéeke for peace at the Scotiſhmens hands, rather than to trie the doubtfull chance of Mars his iudgement, conſidering the féebleneſſe of their whole force now, euer ſince that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and diſpeopled the land of all ſuch able men as were apt for ſeruice in the warres. But this aduiſe of Conanus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatlie offended with his words, not ſparing to ſay that he ſpake like no true man nor louer of his countrie; ſo that the former ordinance (that is to ſay, to ſéeke an end of the wars by dint of ſword) was allowed for the beſt.

Etius refuſeth to aid the Britains.

The Britains forſaken of the Romans, determine yet to make reſiſtance.

Conanus Camber counſelleth the Britains to ſéeke peace at the Scotiſh mens hands.

Britaine diſpeopled of warlie men by Maximianus.

Conanus counſell is reiected.

Herevpon there were muſters taken, armour and weapon prouided, and both day and place appointed, where they ſhould aſſemble togither to march forth towards the enimie. Conanus ſore lamenting their doings, called almightie God to record, that that which he had ſaid, was ſpoken onelie for the loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & ſithence his aduiſe might not be followed, he doubted greatlie leaſt the ruine of the Britiſh ſtate by ſome fatall appointment drew faſt vpon them. The people hearing him ſpeake thus, ſome wilfull wicked perſons fell vpon him, and ſlue him there preſentlie amongſt them: wherewith other being ſore moued to indignation, ſet vpon the murtherers, there to haue reuenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began taking of parts, and togither they went by the eares in ſuch a furious wiſe, that ſundrie amongeſt them being ſlaine, the magiſtrats had much adoo to appeaſe the fraie.

The Britains make their appreſts to go againſt the Scots.

Conanus is ſlaine amongeſt the Britains.

In this meane time, whileſt the Britains were thus buſied in ſending of their ambaſſadours to the Romans, & conſulting togither for defenſe of their countrie, the Scots firſt raced downe the wall of Abircorne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, ſo that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be ſéene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull worke, it is called now in theſe daies Graimſdike, becauſe that Graime was not onelie (as ye haue hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the ſame, but alſo at this time in the racing of it to the ground he was the greateſt doer. Which being accompliſhed, the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings aſſembled their powers, and ouerthrew all ſuch fortreſſes as had not béene deſtroied the yeare before, ſtanding on the northſide of Adrians wall, the which wall the Britains

The Scots raſe the wall of Abircorne.

Graimſdike.

The Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings inuade the Britiſh borderers.

tains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the ſame from the power of the enimie, who now ſet vpon the Britains with maine force, in ſo much that vndermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length ſundrie parts thereof were reuerſed into the ditch, ſo that the ſouldiers breaking in by the ſame, cruellie beate downe the Britains which ſtood at defenſe.

Iriſh Scots wall vndermined and ouerthrowen.

The entrie being thus woone, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the ſouth countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death ſhould kill anie woman or child, aged perſon, or otherwiſe impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in ſome places was but ſlenderlie obeied; ſuch deſire of reuenge was planted in the Scotiſhmens hearts, by reaſon of the remembrance of old iniuries, that vnneath made they anie difference either of age or ſex. To be ſhort, all thoſe countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Tine and Humber, were waſted & ſpoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (ſuch as could make ſhift to eſcape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foreſaid riuer of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which miſchiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord togither) they toke new aduiſe, to redreſſe the preſent miſchiefe in this maner. Firſt they thought it beſt to ſend forth two ambaſſadors, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to Etius the Romane lieutenant in France, for freſh aid and ſuccour. The tenour of which letters as then ſent vnto Etius here inſueth.

Crueltie of Scots.

The lords of Britaine take new aduiſe.

Se more hereof in England.

The tenour of the letters ſent vnto Etius from the Britains, as is written by Hect. Boetius.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Etius thriſe conſull. At what time our elders became ſubiects vnto the Romans, they vnderſtood by worthie proues and notable examples, that the ſenate was a moſt ſafe refuge and hauen, to be wiſhed of all ſuch as fled to the ſame for ſupport. But we their poſteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Maximianus, tending wholie to our deſtruction, being ſpoiled both of force and ſubſtance, and therefore remaining in great danger of loſing both kingdome and liues, through the fore and terrible inuaſion of our moſt cruell enimies the Scots and Picts, making humble ſute for ſuccours vnto the Romane empire, according to the loiall truſt and moſt aſſured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull ſubiects we haue repoſed in the ſame, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations to be ſpoiled, deſtroied, and ſlaine in moſt pitious wiſe, which can not but be an euident ſigne, that either the Romans haue changed their moſt commendable maners into the worſt that may be deuiſed, either els their moſt large empire, through the wrath and high diſpleaſure of almightie God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other forren nations. But if it be ſo, that the fatall force of the time preſent doth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, muſt needs be brought vnder the ſubiection of ſome barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuſe the gouernement of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the moſt cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whoſe crueltie we hauing long ſince to too much taſted, are at this preſent brought vnto that point by their late increaſed puiſſance, that we know not now after the loſſe of our goods and cattell, which way to ſafe gard our liues, for the turffe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled vp with earth, which aforetime did ſomewhat ſtate them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting paſſe anie one kind of crueltie, they haue deſtroied our fields, burned vp our houſes, townes & villages, beaten downe & raced euen to the ground our caſtels and towers, with ſuch other places of defenſe, not ſparing to put to the ſword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as ſuch other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue ſlaine ſtanding at defenſe with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the reſidue of our decaied nation, they haue driuen euen to the ſea ſide, and from thence (becauſe we cannot paſſe ouer) we are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And hereof proceed two kinds of our deſtruction, for either we are drowned in the raging flouds, either elſe ſlaine moſt vnmercifullie by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honor of the Romane people, if our aſſured loialtie and loue, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the ſpace of theſe 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miſeries, we humblie pray and beſeech you, not to ſuffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of theſe our moſt beaſtlie and cruell enimies, but ſend vnto vs ſome conuenable ſuccors and that with all ſpeed, leaſt we ſeeme to be more cruellie betraied of the Romans, than brought to deſtruction by theſe barbarous people, and that we be not ſet forth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendſhip of the Romans.

But not ſo largelie as here is expreſſed.

The anſwere of Etius.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Geffray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of theſe foreſaid letters. Whereupon Etius anſwering, declared that thoſe calamities, miſfortunes and loſſes ſuſteined by the Britains were right diſpleaſant vnto him, and ſo much the more, for that through the ſundrie inuaſions made, aſwell into France as alſo into Italie it ſelfe, and into other parties of the Romane empire by people of ſundrie nations, he could not as then ſpare anie men of warre to ſend ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the beſt ſhift they could to defend themſelues for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then ſhould they ſee ſuch redreſſe of their iniuries prouided, as they ſhould thinke themſelues to be verie well reuenged. About the ſame time that the ambaſſadours returned with this anſwere vnto London from Etius, the other alſo came backe forth of the north without hope to ſpeed of that about the which they had bin ſent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reaſonable conditions of peace, vnleſſe the Britains would wholie ſubmit themſelues as ſubiects vnto them. The Britains hereat toke ſuch indignation, that by generall conſent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by maine force; & hereupon made their prouiſion with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people togither with more ſpeed than was thought poſſible for them to haue done, & forthwith ruſhed into the borders of their enimies countries in right puiſſant wiſe and moſt warlike order.

The Scots and Picts would agree vpon no reaſonable conditions of peace.

The Scots and Picts prepare againſt the Britains.

In the fore ward went ſuch as came forth of Galloway and Annandale, with thoſe Picts which inhabited about the coaſts of Barwike. Then followed there a mightie battell of thoſe which came forth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting neere vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fife, and Angus. In the midſt of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choiſeſt ſouldiers, and ſtandards borne afore them. Then went the carriage and truſſe of the armie, next whereunto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their ſeruants and men of warre the beſt they could chooſe forth. And laſt of all (as the maner of thoſe nations hath beene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the cõmons cloſing vp the back of the whole

The order of the Scots and Picts entring into the lands of the Britains.

whole aforeſaid armie.

The Britains alſo comming forth into the field with their whole puiſſance to incounter their enimies, when they vnderſtood by eſpials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe diſcouraged in their minds, and thought good therefore once againe to aſſaie if anie peace might be purchaſed. But ſending forth their ambaſſadours vnto the confederat kings, to that end their anſwere was, that except the Britains would yéeld themſelues, their wiues and children, with all their goods and ſubſtance into the hands of their enimies, ſimplie without all conditions, there would be no peace granted. When this was knowen abroad in the hoſt of the Britains, what thorough kindeled ire on the one part, and foule deſpaire on the other, prouoking their minds to diſpleaſure, they generallie vpon change of purpoſe required battell, euen all the whole number of them.

The Britains doubt to ioine with the maine armie of the Scots and Picts.

The Britains vpon the Scotiſhmens refuſall to haue peace, require to haue battell.

Hereof inſued a moſt cruell and mortall fight: for the Britains (as it were) reſolued to die in defenſe of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne deaths vpon their enimies, with more fiercenеſſe than is credible to be thought, gaue the onſet, and ouerthrew a great number of their enimies, inſomuch that thoſe of Galloway and the Picts fighting in the fore ward with them of Argile, Athole, and ſuch other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great danger to be put to the worſe: which Graime perceiuing (by whome the moſt part of the armie was ruled, and that by commandement of both the kings) called forth a number of the Iſlandmen, who were appointed to attend the cariage, and ſent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the ſuccors of them of Galloway, being then at the point to haue ſought refuge by flight. But by the comming of theſe Iland-men to their ſuccors, they toke courage afreſh, ſo that the battell was againe moſt fiercelie renewed, and ſo continued a ſpace with great ſlaughter on both parts, till finallie the Britains being oppreſſed with the multitude of their enimies, and not able longer to indure, fell to running awaie, thinking to ſaue themſelues in certeine bogs, moſſes, and mariſh grounds neere vnto the place of the battell: but ſuch coiſterels, and other as remained with the Scotiſh cariage, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of their aduerſaries, ran forth and purſued them into thoſe mariſhes, killing and taking no ſmall number of them. There were ſlaine in this battell of the Britains, aboue 15 thouſand, and of the Scots and Picts neere hand foure thouſand.

The fierce onſet giuen by the Britains.

Graimes authoritie in ordering of the battels.

Thoſe of the weſterne Iles comming to the ſuccors of the fore ward, reſtored the battell.

The Britains run awaie.

The number of them that were ſlaine on both ſides.

The Britains hauing receiued this ouerthrow, ſaw no helpe which waie to recouer their loſſes, but onelie to ſue for peace at the victors hands. They ſent therefore an orator vnto the Scotiſh & Piciſh kings, beſeeching them humblie to grant them a peace, euen with what conditions it ſhould pleaſe them to preſcribe. The kings not moued onelie with the preſent fortune of the Britains, but alſo partlie with their owne, hauing loſt no ſmall number of right worthie perſonages in the battell, were contented to grant a peace vpon theſe conditions: That the Britains ſhould in no wiſe receiue anie lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor ſuffer anie enimie of the Scotiſh and Piciſh eſtats, of what nation ſoeuer he were, to paſſe through their countrie. They ſhould enter into no league with anie citie or nation, nor be about to make anie warres without conſent of the Scotiſh and Piciſh kings, and further ſhould be readie to ſerue them againſt all maner of enimies whenſoeuer they ſhould be ſent for. Moreouer, they ſhould remoue with their wiues, children, and whole families out of all thoſe countries, lieng betwixt Tine and Humber, reſigning the poſſeſſion of the ſame vnto the Scotiſhmen and Picts.

The Britains make humble ſute for peace.

Peace granted by the Scots with the conditions of the ſame.

Alſo they ſhould giue threeſcore thouſand peeces of gold then current to the Scotiſh & Piciſh kings, towards the diſpatch of their ſouldiors wages, and further ſhould yéeld as a tribute twentie thouſand peeces of gold, to be paied yeerelie vnto the ſeuerall vſes of the victors. They ſhould likewiſe deliuer one hundred hoſtages of ſuch as the two kings ſhould appoint, betwixt the age of eightéene and thirtie yeers. Theſe conditions of peace though they ſeemed verie ſtreict & greeuous to the Britiſh nobilitie, yet for that they vnderſtood not how to make a better bargaine, they perſuaded the multitude to accept them, and ſo a league thereupon was concluded amongſt thoſe people, and the publike ſtate of the land brought to a more quiet rule than it had beene before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to the Scotiſhmen and Picts, about 500 yeeres after Julius Ceſar had brought them in ſubiection to the Romans, being in the yeere after the birth of our Sauiour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne ouer the Scotiſhmen the ſeuenth.

60000 pound ſaith Balantine, after the rate of Scotiſh monie. 20000 pound ſaith the ſame Balantine, ſo that he eſteemeth thoſe peeces of gold to be of the value of French crownes.

The Britains tributarie to the Scots and Picts. 436. H.B.

In this ſeaſon was the Ile of Albion ſore infected with the hereſie of the Pelagians, and therefore pope Celeſtine ſent one Paladius a learned man vnto the Scots, to preſerue them from that infection, and ordeined him biſhop, the firſt in Scotland that had his inueſture from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or ſuffrages of the people, chooſing them forth among the monks and prieſts called Culdeis, as the Scotiſh chronicles do report. Paladius with right good and wholeſome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of ſundrie ſuperſtitious rites of their old gentiliſh idolatrie, till thoſe daies vſed amongſt them, whereupon he is named and reputed for the Scotiſhmens apoſtle. He lieth at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, where his reliks remained, and were long after had in great eſtimation.

The hereſie of the Pelagians. Paladius ſent into Scotland.

Of this Paladius looke more in Ireland.

Paladius accompted the apoſtle of Scotland.

Moreouer he inſtituted one Seruan biſhop of the Orkenies, that he might inſtruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Chriſt, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himſelfe had baptiſed, he made archbiſhop of Pictland. In theſe daies alſo manie ſtrange ſights were ſeene in ſundrie parts of Britaine before the laſt mentioned ouerthrow: the moone being in plaine oppoſition to the ſunne, when it ſhould be moſt round, appeared in a quadrant figure. At Yorke it rained bloud: and trees in ſundrie places being blaſted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if ye will ſo tearme it) Cheapeſide in London opened, ſo that a great hole appeared, and manie houſes were ſwallowed vp. About the ſame ſeaſon alſo (as is ſuppoſed) liued that huge perſonage Finmacoell, a Scotiſhman borne of ſeuen cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and fore feared of all men by reaſon of his mightie ſtature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of him, not ſo agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be regiſtred in an hiſtorie, and therefore here paſſed ouer with ſilence.

Seruan biſhop of Orkenie, and Teruan archbiſhop of Pictland. Vnketh ſights and ſtrange wonders appered.

Finmacoell the great hunter.

The Romane empire being brought into irrecouerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupieng ſundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie aſſiſtance from the emperors, which cauſed them to remaine in quiet certein yeers without attempting any exploit againſt the Scots or Picts, and ſo duelie paid their couenanted tribute, though ſore againſt their wils, if they might otherwiſe haue remedied it. At the laſt about ten yeers after the concluſion of this laſt peace, it chanced that one Conanus the ſonne of the aboue

Conanus a Britaine goeth about to perſuade his countriemen to breake the peace concluded with the Scots and Picts.

mentioned Conanus, deſcended of the bloud of the Octauij, ſometimes kings of the Britains, ſore maligned to ſée his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scotiſh nation, and deuiſing how to find ſome redres, called togither the moſt part of the Britiſh nobilitie, by ſecret meſſage home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great péece of his mind, perſuaded them with the weightieſt reaſons he could imagine, to leuie warre againſt the Scots and Picts, hauing at that preſent, meanes now ſince the laſt warres to mainteine it, as well by reaſon of their increaſe both of able men, as alſo of ſubſtance to furniſh them withall.

The Britains hauing reſpect to their ſonnes & kinſmen lieng in hoſtage would not agrée to breake the peace.

Héere the nobles were of ſundrie opinions: for ſome awearied with the note of bondage, would gladlie haue had warres: other hauing regard to their ſons lieng in hoſtage with the enimes, would in no wiſe conſent thereto: by reaſon whereof this councell brake vp without concluſion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had béene ſome amongſt them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had béene made, and what was intended againſt them. Whereupon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cauſe the hoſtages to be executed, but alſo to purſue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practiſed anie violence, they ſent their ambaſſadors vnto the Britains, to vnderſtand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the ſaid kings required to haue performed without all delaies, or elſe to looke for open warre out of hand.

The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conſpiracie of the Britains, preſcribe vnto them new articles to be performed.

The chiefeſt points of which articles were theſe. Firſt that the Britains ſhould not aſſemble togither in councell without licence of the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings, notwithſtanding that their ancient lawes they might vſe at their pleaſure, but they ſhould receiue no ſtranger into their countrie being a Romane or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hoſtages they ſhould receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twiſe ſo manie in number of the like age and degrée, as was couenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderſtanding what was demanded by theſe ambaſſadors, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great ſturre if they had not béene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongſt the inferior ſort of people, as though through their want of ſtomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought in to ſuch a miſerable eſtate, that loke what it pleaſed the enimie to charge the Britiſh nation with, no man durſt once ſpeake againſt it.

Impudent ſeruilitie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud and cruell Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernors.

This grudge of the commons increaſed ſo farre forth againſt their ſuperiors, that after the Scotiſh and Pictiſh ambaſſadors were returned home, with anſwer agréeable to their demandes, their aroſe incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conſpiring togither the vtter deſtruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repreſſed, ſo that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two ſeuerall times with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed, whereupon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themſelues, making raiſes vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties awaie from the heards and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finallie through famine which began to oppreſſe both parties, they perceiued what néed the one had of the others helpe, and ſo they agréed. This ciuill warre ſore decaied the force of the Britains, for beſide the great ſlaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoiding of the commons out of their houſes, the ground laie vntilled, whereof inſued a maruellous great ſcarſitie and dearth of all things, by reaſon whereof an innumerable ſort of people died. Yet ſhortlie after followed ſuch plentie, that thoſe that were left aliue forgetting the paſſed miſeries, gaue themſelues to all kind of vice, which toke ſuch rot in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vſe anie maner of vertue amongſt them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

One eſtate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Superfluous wealth occaſion of vice.

In the meane time liued the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings in good quiet and reſt, applieng their ſtudies onelie how to inſtruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exerciſes and neceſſarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flouriſh in welth and proſperitie without dread of anie forren power. For they ſaw ſuch tokens of ruine in the Britiſh eſtate, as ſmall likelihood appeared, that the ſame ſhould at anie time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie. Finallie the Scotiſh king Eugenius hauing aduanced the eſtate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predeceſſors had euer done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, he ended his life about the fourth yéere of Leo, that vſurped the empire of Conſtantinople.

The Scots applie themſelues to peace.

The death of Eugenius the Scotiſh king.

*Dongard.*

But forſomuch as Eugenius left no iſſue behind him, his brother named Dongard ſucceéded in the eſtate. He began his reigne in the yéere 470, and his chéefeſt ſtudie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of good orders and iuſtice, appointing in euerie quarter men of good fame and report to haue the adminiſtration vnder him, with commandement that they ſhould diligentlie foreſée, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himſelfe toke vpon him alſo to ſée to the reparing of ſuch caſtels as were decaied, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought moſt expedient, ſpeciallie néere to the Britiſh borders, for he well conſidered that peace increaſed riches, riches pride and preſumption, with other ſinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of warres. Therefore he doubting the changes of ſcornefull fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the ſame ſhould happen vnto him.

Dongard king of Scots. 461. H.B.

The ſtudie of Dongard for preſeruation of iuſtice and good orders.

The reparing of caſtels by K. Dongard.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouiſions for defenſe of his countrie and ſubiects increaſed the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did moſt excédinglie ſet forth his commendation. Firſt, all ſuch religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he cauſed them to be highlie reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he aſſigned forth lands, houſes, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but alſo vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, ſundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places ſhould be infranchiſed and taken for ſanctuaries, that all ſuch as fled to the ſame for ſafegard of their liues, ſhould be ſuffered to reſt in peace, ſo long as they kept them within the ſame.

The bountifous liberalitie of Dongard towards churchmen.

Sanctuaries.

About the ſame time alſo, and whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in Scotland, the Britains being awearied of their ſeruile eſtate, through the ſetting on of Conanus, conſpired together, and toke aduiſe by what meanes they might beſt ſéeke to deliuer themſelues from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduiſe taken they concluded to ſend ouer into Britaine Armorike ſome honorable ambaſſage vnto Andrœnus the king of that countrie for aid. Herewith was the archbiſhop of London appointed

The Britains ſend into Britaine Armorike for aid.

ted as chiefe ambaſſador to go on that meſſage, which archbiſhop vſed ſuch diligence in the matter, that Conſtantine the ſonne of the ſaid Andꝛoenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Bꝛitaine to the aid of the Bꝛitiſh inhabitants there. Hꝛerevpon, when the men & ſhips with all neceſſarie pꝛouiſion were once readie, he imbarked at Saint Malo, where the aſſemblie was made, and taking the ſea, ſailed fꝛoꝛth with pꝛoſperous wind and weather, which bꝛought him ſafelie into great Bꝛitaine, where he landed at Totnes in Deuonſhire, as you ſhall find in the chꝛonicles of England. He was receiued with no ſmall ioy, and fꝛoꝛthwith pꝛoclamed king of Bꝛitaine, whereꝛpon he pꝛomiſed to aſſaie to the vttermoſt of his power to recouer againe their whole lands and liberties, and to mainteine them in the ſame accoꝛding to their wiſhed deſires.

Aid ſent into Bꝛitaine from the Armoꝛike Bꝛitains.

Conſtantine pꝛoclamed king of Bꝛitaine.

For the moꝛe ſpædie accompliſhment hꝛereof, commandement was firſt giuen, that all able men ſhould be in a readineſſe, and come togither at a place appointed nære to the riuer of Humber within foꝛtie daies after. Which oꝛder being taken by the aduiſe of the loꝛds and nobles of the realme, the ſame was put in execution with ſuch diligence, that few oꝛ none being apt to beare armoꝛ, withdꝛew themſelues, euerie man in manner comming to the appointed place of the aſſemblie, and offering to go againſt the enimies, ſo that it was a wonder to conſider the conſent of the people now ioined in one mind and will to recouer their foꝛmer libertie. When Conſtantine beheld ſuch notable numbers of men, he ſuppoſed the ſame would haue ſufficed not onelie to vanquiſh the Scots and Picts, but alſo vtterlie to deſtroie & race them out of all the confines of Albion.

The aſſemblie of the Bꝛitiſh armie.

The great earneſtnes of the Bꝛitains to recouer their libertie.

When the newes of all this pꝛeparation foꝛ warres which the Bꝛitains made, was once ſignified to the Scots and Picts, they likewiſe made their appꝛeſtes to meet with them in the field, and thereꝛvpon raiſing their powers, came fꝛoꝛth with the ſame into Yoꝛkeſhire, and pitched their campes within foure miles where Conſtantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderſtanding how nære vnto the enimie they were, they raiſed and marched fꝛoꝛwards till they came within ſight of him, as then incamped with his people aloft vpon certeine hils, nære to the afoꝛeſaid riuer ſide. Here both the kings of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies foꝛ that night, made readie foꝛ battell againſt the nert day, and in the moꝛning Dongard the Scotiſh king getting him to a little hill, called his men togither, & there exhoꝛted them by ſundꝛie comfoꝛtable meanes of perſuaſion to put awaie all feare, and to fight valiantly, aſſuring them of victoꝛie if they would keepe the oꝛder of battell by him appointed, and not raſhlie bꝛeake fꝛoꝛth of the ſame in following vpon the enimies when they fell to retiring backe.

The Scots and Picts make their appꝛeſts.

The Scots and Picts appꝛoch nære to the Bꝛitains.

Dongard exhoꝛteth his people to fight manfullie.

He had ſcarſe made an end of his woꝛds, but that diuerſe of the ſtanding watch came in, and declared how the Bꝛitains began to auale the hils where they had lodged, and that the Picts were got fꝛoꝛth alreadie in oꝛder of battell, and were marching foꝛwards to incounter them. Dongard ſhewing himſelfe to be right ioifull of theſe newes, commanded incontinentlie, that the ſtandards ſhould aduance fꝛoꝛth, and euerie man to attend the ſame accoꝛding to his appointed oꝛder. Alſo that no man ſhould pꝛeſume to take anie pꝛiſoner befoꝛe the end of the battell, noꝛ to yeeld himſelfe ſo long as life laſted. So that ioining with his enimies, there followed a verie fierce and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the Bꝛitains gaue backe from the Scotiſhmen & Picts, the middle ward abiding the bꝛunt verie ſtoutlie. Where Conſtantine himſelfe ſtood like a valiant chieftaine, doing his endeuour to the vttermoſt of his power, vpon whome Dongard earneſtlie pꝛeaſſing, and entring into the thickeſt thꝛong of his enimies, was there beaten downe amongſt the Armorike Bꝛitains, and being about to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and ſlaine with manie a ſoꝛe wound.

The wings of the Bꝛitiſh armie are put backe.

Dongard is ſlaine.

Diuers of the Scots diſcomfited with this great miſhap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with moꝛe wꝛath laid about them moꝛe egerlie. The Picts alſo, foꝛ their part fought moſt conſtantlie, ſo that the battell continuing vntill none date with doubtfull ſucceſſe, at length the Bꝛitains were conſtreined ſomething to giue backe, & after taking themſelues to fearfull flight, declared that the victoꝛie remained with their enimies. There died in this moꝛtall battell nære to the point of 16 thouſand of the Bꝛitains, and of the Scots & Picts aboue 14 thouſand, with Dongard and the Scotiſh king. Conſtantine the day nert after the battell, withdꝛew ſouthwards. The Scots carried away with them the coꝛps of their dead king, and conueieng it into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, there buried it in kinglie wiſe. Dongard was thus ſlaine, in the fift yære of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauioꝛ 475 yæres, and about the ſecond yære of Zeno the emperoꝛ.

The Bꝛitains are put to flight.

465. H.B.

8. of Leo. H.B.

After him ſucceeded in gouerment of the Scotiſh kingdome Conſtantine the bꝛother of the aboue rehearſed Eugenius, a pꝛince vnlike in noble vertues vnto his bꝛother the ſaid Eugenius. Foꝛ though in him there apæered ſome good tokens of commendable towardlineſſe, as he ſæmed outwardlie to ſhew, yet was he giuen moꝛe vnto wanton pleaſure and luſt, than to the regard of the good rule and gouernment of his ſubiects, a deflourer of virgins, a rauiſher of honeſt matrones, and aboue all, a fauourer of backbiters and ſlanderers; neuer ſhewing anie ioifull countenance amongſt his nobles, but amongſt ſcoffing ieſters and other vile perſons he was as pleaſant and merie as the iocundeſt man aliue. Thus though he repꝛeſented the Bꝛitiſh king Conſtantine in name, yet in manners he far differed from him: foꝛ the Bꝛitiſh Conſtantine ſtudieng to aduance the commonwealth of his ſubiects, trained them in laudable exercitſes, & reduced them from their foꝛmer euill vſages vnto ciuill oꝛder and good cuſtoms. Contrariwiſe, the Scotiſh Conſtantine did nothing woꝛthie pꝛaiſe at all, after he was once inſtituted king, but followed ſtill his owne inoꝛdinate luſt and ſenſuall appetite.

*Conſtantine.*

Conſtantine the firſt of that name is created king of Scots.

Conſtantine the Scotiſh king nothing like in noble conditions vnto Conſtantine king of the Bꝛitains.

He granted peace vnto the Bꝛitains they ſcarſe requiring the ſame, releaſing not onelie the tribute, but alſo deliuering vp into their hands by ſecret meanes diuers caſtels ſtanding vpon the riuer of Humber. Manie other things he was about to haue done to the great pꝛeiudice and hinderance of the Scotiſh eſtate, had not the nobles of the realme the ſoner withſtood his raſh and vnaduiſed attempts. Such malice alſo was ingendꝛed in the harts of the moſt part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it not beene thꝛough the wholeſome admonition & perſuaſion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of right reuerend authoꝛitie amongſt them, they had leuied ciuill wars againſt him, but the foꝛeſaid Dongall declaring to them the great danger and inconuenience that might thereof inſue, reſtreined their wꝛathfull minds from enterpꝛiſing anie thing againſt him by foꝛce, ſo that foꝛ certeine yæres they ſuffered and bare with this his miſoꝛdered gouerniment.

Peace granted vnto the Bꝛitains, and diuers caſtels deliuered into their hands.

The good counſell of Dongall.

In the meane while the Picts noting the want of all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scots, and againe what tokens of valiant courage apæered in the king of the Bꝛitains, doubted leaſt if he ſhould

The Picts ſtand in feare of the king of Bꝛitaine.

ſæke

ſéke to reuenge old iniuries againſt them, they ſhould be little able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had ſmall truſt now, by reaſon of the inſufficiencie of the Scotiſh king) they deuiſed a meane how to rid the Britiſh king out of the waie, and ſo appointing certeine ſlie fellowes to go into Britaine for the accompliſhment of their deuiſed purpoſe, at length the ſame was brought to paſſe, as in the Engliſh chronicles ye ſhall find more at large, though in the ſame chronicles there is mention made but of one Pict that ſhould worke this feat, where the Scotiſh writers record of diuers, which neuertheleſſe were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were caſt into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to aſhes in moſt miſerable wiſe, as by the ſaid Scotiſh writers it appéereth. The death of this Conſtantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yéere of Conſtantine king of Scots, neither liued he long after: for hauing raviſhed a noble mans daughter, borne in the weſterne Iles, he was ſlaine by hir father in the night ſeaſon, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the ſpace of 17 yéeres.

Conſtantine the Scotiſh king is ſlaine by one whoſe daughter he had raviſhed. Anno 481.

## *Dongall.*

Dongall the ſonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

Then was Dongall his nephue, as ſonne to his brother Dongard, proclamed king, a prince of diſpoſition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he ſhewed himſelfe more deſirous of peace than of warres, by reaſon the ſtate of the common-wealth ſo required, conſidering how things ſtood not all in the beſt order, through his predeceſſors negligence. Dongall therefore deſirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wiſedome and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redreſſing miſorders, in puniſhing tranſgreſſions, & in deciding of all ſtrifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did ſo well their endeuour, that peace and concord therevpon inſuing, the people recouered peaceable reſt and quietneſſe, to their no ſmall comfort and contentation.

The politike rule of Dongall.

In this meane while that things paſſed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Mortigerne, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of the late deceaſſed Conſtantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbeie, where he was ſhorne a monke, and aduanced to the kingdome: but being not meet of himſelfe to gouerne, Mortigerne had the whole rule committed to his hands, whereupon he firſt cauſed the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a gard of the ſame Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings perſon: in the end alſo he procured ſome of them to murther the king, and after put all the ſaid Scots and Picts to death, as well the giltie as the vngiltie, and finallie made himſelfe king, as in the hiſtorie of England you ſhall find more at large expreſſed.

Conſtantius a monke elected king of Britaine.

Mortigerns treaſon.

Conſtantius murdered.

The Scots and Picts (for diſpleaſure that their countriemen which had béene appointed to gard the perſon of Conſtantius king of the Britains, were maliciouſlie circumuented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made ſundrie roades and forraies into the Britiſh borders, neither ſparing fire nor ſword where they came. So that the ſaid Mortigerne by a gréeuous report informed héereof, cauſed an armie with all ſpéed to be leuied, and appointed Guitellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof againſt the enimies: whileſt he (doubting leaſt the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was knowen how he would haue made awaie Conſtantines children) kept him about London, & durſt not commit himſelfe ſo much to the ſight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iournie in his owne perſon.

Guitellus generall of the Britiſh army

Guitellus, in reſpect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purpoſing to ſerue truelie in defenſe thereof, chanced vpon his approch to the borders to take the number of fiue hundred of the enimies, being aduanced from the reſidue to fetch a bootie. Theſe Guitellus cauſed to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afore anie ouerture of warre was denounced. Wherevpon ſuch other as eſcaped by flight, and had ſéene their fellowes thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellowes. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe héerewith, gather togither their people, and haſte forward with all ſpéed toward the enimies, who at the firſt ſhewed manifeſt tokens that they were ſore afraid of the Scotiſh and Pictiſh power: whereupon Guitellus their generall with comfortable words willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe to fight with truce-breakers, and ſuch as were giuen more vnto pillage and ſpoile, than to anie other commendable exerciſe or practiſe of warre.

Guitellus cauſeth fiue hundred of the enimies to be hanged.

The Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings gather their people to reſiſt the Britains.

Guitellus incourageth the appalled harts of his men of warre with comfortable words.

With ſuch and ſundrie other the like words the Britains being imboldened, as might well appéere by their change of countenances, Guitellus therevpon remoued his campe more néere vnto his enimies, ſo that at the firſt and for certeine daies togither, there chanced onelie diuers ſkirmiſhes betwixt the parties, as occaſion ſerued. But at length the one being ſore moued againſt the other, they ioine in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was verie fierce and doubtfull. For on that ſide where Dongall the Scotiſh king fought, the Britains ſhortlie began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Galanus the Pictiſh king quicklie perceiuing, forthwith prouided remedie: for taking with him certeine bands out of his owne battell, willing the reſidue to ſtand to it manfullie, and in no wiſe to giue ground to the enimie, he himſelfe with the ſaid bands fetched a compaſſe about, and ſet vpon the backs of them that ſo had ouermatched the Scots.

The Britains ioine in a pight field with the Scots and Picts.

The Scots are put backe.

Galane king of Picts ſuccoureth the Scots.

This ſudden chance ſore diſordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots incouraged afreſh, aſſailed their enimies with more eger minds than they had done at the firſt, ſo that maintenantlie both the wings of the Britiſh armie were vtterlie diſcomfited. And héerewith a certeine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make haſte to win the campe of the Britains, that ſuch as ſought to eſcape by flight, ſhould find no refuge in the ſame. Thus the Britains being chaſed and ſlaine on euerie ſide, they knew not whither to flée: ſo that in the end a great number of them throwing awaie their weapons, yéelded themſelues, moſt humblie crauing mercie at their enimies hands. There were ſlaine in this battell aboue twentie thouſand of the Britains, togither with their generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died alſo of the Scots and Picts néere hand foure thouſand. The priſoners with the ſpoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongſt the ſouldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrie to conquere caſtels and townes, ſuch as ſtood in their waie.

The wings of the Britains put to flight.

The campe of the Britains won.

The Britains chaſed, know not whither to flée.

Guitell with twentie thouſand Britains ſlaine.

Foure thouſand Scots and Picts ſlaine.

In the meane time, the Britains being ſore diſcomfited with the ouerthrow, aſſembled a councell at London, there to deuiſe by what meanes they might beſt defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now ſtood. Mortigerne as one giltie in conſcience, doubted leaſt through want of good wils in his commons, he ſhould not be able to withſtand the mightie inuaſion of his enimies, wherevpon he was minded to haue auoided the realme, but there were of his councell that aduiſed him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the vttermoſt point of fortunes hap, than with diſho-

A councell holden at London.

Mortigerne doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of his realme.

diſhonor ſo to yéeld at the firſt blow of hir froward hand, conſidering the abundance of treaſure which he had in ſtore, wherewith he might wage ſouldiers and men of warre out of Germanie & other places, in number ſufficient to match with his enimies. This counſell as the beſt was followed, and meſſengers with commiſſion & ſufficient inſtructions ſent with all ſpéed into Germanie, to reteine a number of Saxons, and to bring them ouer into Britaine, to ſerue againſt the Scots and Picts in wages with Uortigerne.

Uortigerne is counſelled to ſend for aid into Germanie.

At the ſame time there were amongſt thoſe Saxons two brethren, deſcended by rightfull linage of the princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant capteins, appointed with the Britiſh commiſſaries for a certeine ſumme of monie to take vp their preſcribed number of men, & to receiue charge of them as coronels, aſwell for their conuaie ouer into Britaine, as alſo for their ſeruice there, after their arriual. The one of theſe two brethren was called Hengiſt or Engiſt, and the other Horſus, who hauing their appointed numbers once filled, conteining about ten thouſand ſouldiers in the whole, they beſtowed them abroad in thirtie hulks, hoies, and plaits, and in the ſame tranſported them ouer into Britaine, in the 449 yéere after Chriſt, as our hiſtories do affirme: where they were receiued with great ioy and gladneſſe of Uortigerne, who truſted by their aid to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enimies.

Hengiſt and Horſus reteined in ſeruice with Uortigerne.

Therefore when they had refreſhed themſelues ſomewhat after their trauell by ſea, they were ſent forth with an other armie which Uortigerne had aſſembled of his owne ſubiects the Britains, to the frontiers of the enimies countrie, where at their firſt comming they paſſed ouer the riuer of Humber, before the Scots or Picts had knowledge that anie ſuch people were come in ſupport of the Britains to bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of the thing, ſome of them fled into the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made but ſorie ſhift, fell into the hands of the Saxons, who to begin their enterpriſe with bloud, ſlaie all ſuch as they could laie hands vpon, without anie reſpect of perſon. Great was the ſlaughter by them committed in all thoſe parties where they paſſed, namelie about the riuer of Tine. And when they had made an end there, they entred into Northumberland, and ſo into the dales aboue Berwike, next adioining vnto Pictland, deſtroieng all before them with fire and ſword.

The Saxons together with a power of Britains are ſent to the borders of the enimies countries.

The Saxons in hope of good ſucceſſe begin the warre againſt the Scots with bloud.

The Pictiſh king in the meane time had ſent vnto Dongall the king of Scots to come with all ſpéed to ſupport him againſt the dreadfull inuaſion of the enimies, whoſe force being now increaſed with a power of Saxons, would worke much miſchéefe, if the ſame were not the more ſpéedilie in the beginning repreſſed: but hearing that the Saxons and Britains daillie approched, he thought not good to tarie for the comming of the Scots, but haſted forth with his owne power to incounter his aduerſaries, and raſhlie giuing battell, he was ouercome, and thereby loſt no ſmall number of his people. In this conflict the Saxons wan them a great name for their high valiance, where contrarilie the Britains got them no ſmall note of giltie cowardize, fighting ſo faintlie, that their capteins had much adoo to cauſe them to kéepe their ground, being readie ſtill to haue run awaie: which their faintneſſe of ſtomach being noted of Hengiſt, euen then put him in no ſmall confidence that it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to conquere them at his pleaſure, when time and occaſion might ſerue thereto.

The king of Picts ſendeth for aid vnto the Scotiſh king.

The king of the Picts banquiſhed.

The Saxons won praiſe, and the Britains noted of cowardize.

The Pictiſh nation hauing receiued this grieuous ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enimies, ſent againe an other ambaſſage vnto the Scotiſh king Congall, to ſignifie to him by way of lamentation, what loſſe had happened to them by that moſt cruell people the Saxons void of all religion and mercie, and what miſchiefe by the ſame people was intended, aſwell againſt Scots as Picts, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of both nations, if the enimies in time were not reſiſted. They that were ſent, declared all this matter vnto king Congall, and as they had in commiſſion, beſought him of ſpéedie ſuccors. Congall not onlie moued for the harms and loſſes of the Picts his friends and alies, but alſo much more for the likelihood of the imminent danger and perill towards himſelfe and his owne people, determined ſpéedilie to go with all his power, and to ioine with the Picts, as fullie reſolued to preuent that miſchiefe which was like to follow, if the violent rage of the enimies were not the ſoner reſiſted.

The Picts earneſtlie ſolicit the Scots for aid.

He ſent word therefore to the Pictiſh king, that if he might kéepe off the enimies by light ſkirmiſhes and incurſions for a ſmall time, he would come to his aid ſhortlie, with all the whole puiſſance of his realme. And herewithall he commanded by open proclamation, that all thoſe within his dominions, which were able to beare armour ſhould by the twentith day after aſſemble togither at the ſouth ſide of Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then and there with them vittels ſufficient to ſerue them for two moneths. According to the which proclamation, there came togither at the day and place aſſigned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and méete for the warres. On the morrow after, when Congall had taken the muſters & view of his whole numbers, he ſet forward towards the place where he vnderſtood that the king of the Picts as then lodged, who had likewiſe aſſembled his people, and incampe tarried for the comming of the Scotiſh armie.

Cõgall promiſed to aid the Picts.

Promiſion made by the Scots to aid the Picts.

On the fift day after, both the kings met togither, and ſhewed great tokens of intire loue and friendſhip the one towards the other. After this they go to heare diuine ſeruice, where they make their deuout praiers vnto almightie God for their good ſpéed and luckie ſucceſſe in that iournie: which being done, they march forth toward the enimies, as then lieng in campe not paſt ten miles from them. Here at the firſt ſight of the enimies, diuers of the Scots and Picts being ſtriken with feare to behold ſo great a multitude, as the like had not béene ſéene in thoſe parties manie a day before, they ſtale away and ſecretlie hid themſelues in the next woods. But the kings, to giue example to other, cauſed them that were thus ſtolne away, to be ſought out, & brought againe into the campe, where they were hanged in open ſight of all the armie.

The Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings aſſemble togither with their powers.

The Scots and Picts come within ſight of the enimies.

The Saxons & Britains alſo vpon the approch of their enimies gathered their companies togither, & maintenantlie herewith the Saxons incouraged with ſuch comfortable ſpeach as Hengiſt vttered amongeſt them, required to haue battell without delay: whoſe example the Britains following, ſhewed themſelues alſo right willing therevnto. Congall the Scotiſh king perceiuing the enimies to make readie for battell, went likewiſe amongſt his folks, and exhorted them in beſt wiſe he could, to play the men. The like alſo did Galanus the Pictiſh king amongeſt his people, omitting nothing that might incourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the battell on both ſides comming forward to ioine, the arrowes and darts flue freſhlie betwixt them, but neither part minding to giue place for all the ſhot, at length they ioined at handblowes, firſt the Britains in the right wing with the Scots in the left wing;

The Scots through comfort of Hengiſts exhortation deſire battell.

The Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings exhort their people to fight valiantlie.

The battell is begun.

The Britains flée.

wing; but the Britains not able long to indure against the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great shower of raine, mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest there wished himselfe thence, the storme beating so fast vpon them, that one might vnneath sée an other, so that the Scotishmen and Picts wist not whether were better to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

A great tempest.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their maner in time of anie present danger, closed themselues togither and drew nere vnto their chiefetteins standard. Finallie the tempest no sooner began to ceasse, but the Scots and Picts leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains, supposing the victorie had bene wholie theirs. Which the Saxons (now after that the element began to cleare vp) plainelie perceiuing, by commandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Picts here and there dispersed about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murther of them on euerie side where they found them, that pitie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staied till they were gotten into places farre inough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie ioifull to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enimies sword lamentable to sée. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Yorke, leauing those countries betwixt Tine and Tweed in the enimies handes, of purpose ceassing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, alreadie hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

The Saxons close themselues togither.

The Scots and Picts pursue the Britains.

The Saxons assaile the Scots and Picts disordered in pursute of the Britains.

Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of the Britains.

When summer then was well néere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselfe to London, where he counselled Vortigerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enimies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countriemen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onelie to vanquish the Scotishmen and Picts, but also vtterlie to destroy both the nations, or at least wise to driue them forth of the whole countrie. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatlie liked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Vortigerne did not onelie giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also shewed by the maner of his interteinement, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not do vnto him too much honor for such notable seruice as he had done alreadie, and trusted he should do hereafter. According to Hengists aduise also, there was a crue of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of fiue thousand, who shortlie after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made awaie in sundrie skirmishes and incounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Hengist returneth to London.

Hengist offereth to send for more aid into Germanie.

Hengists offers misliked of some of the nobilitie of Britaine.

The honor shewed vnto Hengist by Vortigerne.

Britains sent to defend the borders, are distressed.

Shortlie after was sent thither also an other companie, double in number to the first, to reuenge the deaths of their fellowes; but they finding fortune as froward vnto them as the former had done before, sped much-what a like, for in sundrie conflicts diuers of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselues deliuered captiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiuing in what danger they stood, sithence they might not trust their owne countriemen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogither vnfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of fiue thousand Saxons, with their wiues and children, came ouer into this land, in eightéene hoies, and amongest other came Hengists wife and his daughter the ladie Rowena. Shortlie after king Vortigerne gaue vnto Hengist & his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lindseie, with a castell of great strength called Thongcastre. Some haue written that Hengist required of Vortigerne so much ground as he might compas with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he toke a mightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which toke name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it toke that name, certeine it is by record of all the Scotish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

A new power of Saxons commeth ouer into Britaine

Thwang castell, or Thongcastell.

The Saxons first inhabited in Lindseie.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (appointed them by Vortigerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecast, he toke forth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certeine capteins and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staieng for the comming of the Britains. Vortigerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subiects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne Vortigerne, a yong man of great force and valiancie, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authoritie for the warres he commanded chiefflie to be followed.

Mortimer generall of the Britains.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met togither, Hengist led them ouer the riuers of Humber and Tine, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enimies laie. The Scotish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers togither, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with prouision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuer of Tine, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made streight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so stronglie incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constreined to raise and come forth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some euen ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

The Saxons and Britains against the Scots and Picts.

60000 of Scots and Picts come to met their enimies.

Hengist prolongeth time to giue battell.

Betwixt them also and the armies of the two kings there was a vallie, in the bottome full of mires and marish grounds, which the Scotishmen & Picts must needes passe, yer they could find meanes to do anie notable displeasure to the enimies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagots to make passage ouer those mires. Which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certeine hilles lieng right ouer against the Saxon and British campes, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow or front of an hill so néere to the lodgings of their enimies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they toke no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and vexation.

There was growing in that place, where they were

were thus incamped, herie much of that kind of heath or ling, which the Scotishmen call hadder. Of which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie togither, and binding it in bundels like vnto fagots, in the night season they set the same on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the Saxons laie. The wind in that instant being somewhat aloft, caused these bundels of ling to blase and burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waies forth, droue the flame so streinablie amongest the tents and cabins of the Saxons, that the fire catching in the straw and twigs which they had couched togither vnder them in steed of beds, increased the feare amongst the souldiors wonderfullie, by reason that the blasing bundels of the ling or hadder, still comming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as though the same had fallen from aboue; and euen forth of the heauen it selfe.

A policie of the Scots.

The tumult and feare raised in the campe of the Saxons. *Hyperbole.*

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the whole campe, with such roring of beasts, and running vp and downe both of them and of the horsses which were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone togither, there could not haue béene a more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the souldiors had done what they could to quench the fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some vproars and disorder raised on each side, they got them with their armor and weapons forth into the next field, which Hengist himselfe perceiuing (hauing first done what he could to stay them) inuironed with a companie of his choisest men of warre, he got him vp vnto a little hill nert adioining, and there gaue knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his people should draw thither vnto him. After this, when they were come togither, he disposed them in order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the spring of the daie, to vnderstand more certeinlie the meaning of his enimies.

Hengist calleth his people togither.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enimies to be farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended downe from the hilles, fullie determined to assaile them in their camps: but vpon their approch to the same, perceiuing how the Saxons were gotten forth, and stood readie in good order of battell, minding to defend their ground, both the kings thought it best to tarie till the morning, yer they made anie exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof. In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst his people, exhorting them to remember their worthie elders, and by their example to chuse rather to die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties, than by cowardize to saue a dishonested life, which (if their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe in great thraldome and miserie. The Pictish king also with like words incouraged his men to do valiantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in perswading his Saxons to plaie the men, that obteining the victorie they might deliuer themselues from terror of all enimies from thencefoorth in Britaine.

Congals exhortation to the Scots.

Hengist exhorteth the Saxons to fight manfullie.

The Scots & Picts giue the charge.

Whilest he was thus exhorting his people, the Scots and Picts with great force and violence began to giue the charge vpon him, which whilest the Saxons and Britains went about to defend, they were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on ech side, that the discomfiture had light vpon them forthwith, had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called forth about three thousand fresh men to their succors, which he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readinesse, to come at his call, vpon what danger soeuer happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the backes of the Scots, brought them streight out of all order; for they being occupied with the other Saxons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had vnneath roome for anie aduantage to turne their weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Britains did put them to flight, and chased them out of the field, not ceasling to pursue them in the chase, till they came to a riuer in the which a great number of them were drowned, as they ieoparded to passe ouer the same, and to saue themselues by swimming. On the other side, the Scots being sore handled by the Saxons, both before and behind, were at the length constreined to giue ground and breake forth by flight, & so to escape the cruell hands of the enimies. Manie were slaine in the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue getting away, fled streight to the Picts: but Congall himselfe, through helpe of his houshold seruants escaped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe all wounded as he was.

The Britains put to flight by the Picts.

The Scots forced to flie.

Congall is wounded, but yet escapeth through helpe of his houshold seruants.

The Picts returning from the chase, and vnderstanding how the Saxons had giuen the Scots the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forward to incounter also with them, determined not to abide their comming at that time. And so night approching yer the Saxons had got sight of them, order was giuen by commandement of their king, that all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and fagots, should be placed and piled togither before them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire, which being executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secretlie as they might, and staied not to make awaie, till they were farre inough out of the danger of the Saxons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and perceiuing no enimie abroad to bid him battell, mustered his men, and found that he had lost in this iournie as good as foure thousand of one and other. After this, hée withdraweth to Worke, and leauing his armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where hée was receiued with ioy inough by king Vortigerne.

The policie of the Picts to escape out of danger.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambrose, and Vter, the sonnes of king Constantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Armorike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to them from their father: the Saxons were sent for out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if néed were to resist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after, for a policie, Hengist caused it to be bruited abroad, that the Scots and Picts meant effsoones to inuade the British confines, & therefore was there an other power of Saxons called into the land, and placed in the north parts, to defend the same against the Scots and Picts. Occa the sonne of Hengist had the leading of these Saxons, who brought them ouer, being ten thousand men of warre, in fiftie plaits, and fiftie hoies. They brought with them also their wiues and children, and setled themselues in the north parts betwixt the riuer of Humber and the borders of the Pictish dominions. And euen then it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you would say, the land by north the riuer of Humber, and so it doth continue.

Aurelius Ambrose & Vter, sons to king Constantine.

The Saxons placed in Kent.

A new power of Saxons came ouer with their captein Occa.

Northumberland when it first began to be so called.

Shortlie after, Vortigerne forsaking his lawfull wife, maried the ladie Rorena or Rowen, Hengists daughter, to the high offense of God, and great displeasure of his subiects. And in the meane time, Occa not attempting anie exploit against the Scots and Picts, rather sought to get into his hands all the fortresses betwixt Tine and Humber, euen from the east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he greatlie aduanced, winning castels and fortresses

Vortigerne marieth Hengists daughter.

there

there in those parties, some by force, and some by surrender: and amongst other places of importance, he first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusations against manie of the nobles and gentlemen, surmising that they would betraie the countrie vnto the Scots & Picts, hee put diuerse of them to death, some secretlie, and others openlie, as conuict of such offenses as were forged and laid against them.

Yorke in possession of Hengist.

Herevpon the Britains for the stay of such mischiefe as they saw at hand, deposed Vortigerne from his kinglie seat, and placed his sonne Vortimer in his roome, which being done, ambassadors were sent both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid and support against the cruell oppression of the Saxons; who sought not onelie by craftie meanes and fraudulent waies to attéine the dominion of the whole Ile, but also to extinguish and vtterlie subuert the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion throughout the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the Scotish and Pictish kings, to assist them against such common enimies as had béene called into the realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but onlie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of Vortigerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of the Scots and Picts, as also to represse all commotions of the Britains, which they might happilie raise against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in feare of.

Vortigerne deposed by his subiects.

Vortimer chosen to gouerne the Britains.

The Britains require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

The answer of Congall K. of Scots vnto the British messengers.

The Scotish king Congall (vnto whome first the ambassadors were sent) for answer declared, that he was sorie to vnderstand into what danger the miserable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioine with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that were sufficient cause to inforce him to do the best he could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an ethnike generation, as not onelie vsed the rites and ceremonies of their false religion, and that openlie among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the honor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great horror and terrible offense of the beholders consciences; but also sought by all meanes they could deuise, how to destroie and quench vtterlie the faith of our Sauiour Christ in all places where they might get the vpper hand.

He promised therefore to implote his whole puissance to recouer out of the enimies hands all such countries as laie betwixt the frontiers of his dominion and the riuer of Humber, and further to aid the Britains to driue them quite out of the Ile, if the Britains would assure him, from thencefoorth neuer to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the countries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said riuer of Humber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the same in the hands of the Scotishmen and Picts, to haue hold and inioy for euermore in quiet: which to performe, the ambassadors had (amongest other things) alreadie promised in name of all the British nation, as a recompense or méed to haue the support and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same ambassadors receiued of the Pictish king, and returning therewith vnto Vortimer, declared afore him and his councell how they had sped.

Vpon what conditions Congall couenanted to support the Britains.

Shortlie after, for the more and better assurance of all promises, couenants and articles passed betwixt the Scotishmen, Picts, and Britains, there was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ratified and established, according to the tenor of the ancient league, which had béene concluded in times past betwixt them, with some new conditions of agréement included in the same: all old iniuries being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so that no cause of grudge or displeasure might bée

A league concluded betwixt Scots Picts and Britains.

thought to remaine in remembrance. The first enterprise put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scots against Occa and his Saxons, which (as partlie ye haue heard) had nestled themselues betwixt the riuers of Tine and Humber.

The Scots inuade the borders of Northumberland.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnestlie occupied in ouerthrowing castels and towers, with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense, Occa commeth into the field with an armie readie to incounter with them, but perceiuing the multitude of his enimies to be such, as he doubted least he should not be well able to match with them, he staied a while from giuing the onset: but in the end perceiuing he could not retire backe but to his great disaduantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set vpon their enimies: which they fiercelie executing, it was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victorie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able to sustéine the force of the Scots, ouerpressing them with multitude, began to giue backe: which Occa perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he could do, scarce at length ouercomming regard to their capteins commandement, shame of rebuke was quite set apart, and so they toke them to their feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots pursuing after them amaine.

The Saxons incounter with the Scots.

The Saxons vanquished by the Scots.

Occa yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at length he arriued within the Thames. The slaughter of the Saxons vpon the discomfiture was great, speciallie in the chase, for the Scotishmen calling to remembrance that they had to do with infidels, and with the enimies of the christian faith, were so eger vpon them, that they saued few or none that fell into their hands. About the same time was Vortimer entered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons there, and incountring with them in battell, slue ten thousand of them, and chased the residue forth of that countrie. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains, and the countries beyond Humber northwards vnto the Scots and Picts, according to the tenour of the league before mentioned.

Occa flieth by sea into Kent.

The Saxons vanquished by Britains and expelled out of Kent.

Hengist and his sonne Occa (who a little before this battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with the residue of them that escaped, hasted with all spéed toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in that countrie till they had recouered their strength by some power to be sent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrie: but being repelled with no small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certeine vessels, they passed ouer into Saxonie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as fortune then best serued. Vortimer hauing got the victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same verie cruellie, for taking onelie from the Saxons which were taken prisoners their armor and weapon, he suffered them to depart into their countrie: other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and as it were poore labourers of the ground, he permitted to tarie in the countrie with their wiues & children, as seruants vnto the Britains.

The Saxons flie out of Britaine.

Vortimer dieth the victorie modestlie.

After this, Vortimer gaue order for the reparing of churches, and restoring of the christian religion into the state of the former puritie thereof, as then sore decaied, partlie through the euill example taken by dailie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and partlie also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as then mightilie spred ouer the most part of Britaine. At length the said Vortimer through treason of his stepmother

The heresie of the Pelagians.

ſtepmother Roxena was poiſoned, and died. Then was Uortigerne againe reſtored to the rule of the kingdome, firſt forced by oth to promiſe neuer to aid the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of aid anie forreine people into the realme. Uortigerne then reſtored thus vnto the crowne, ſhewed ſuch diligence in cauſing due adminiſtration of iuſtice without rigor to be executed, and prouiſion made for the reſiſting of all inuaſions that might be attemted by anie forreine power, that his praiſe was great amongſt all his ſubiects, who to ſhew their good willes likewiſe towards him as to their naturall prince, were not ſlacke in honoring him aſwell by gifts and preſents, as by all other maner of waies. He found meanes alſo to renew the league with the Scots and Picts, with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded laſtlie betwixt them and his ſonne Uortimer. But notwithſtanding his politike proceeding, thus to auoid all inconuenience that might happen; ſhortlie after Hengiſt returned, and what by force and ſubtill ſhifts, at length got poſſeſſion of the more part of Britaine, ſo that the Britains were conſtreined to flie into Wales, whither alſo Uortigerne fled, and remained there a certeine time, till at length Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uter, the ſonnes of king Conſtantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and beſieging Uortigerne in a caſtell, burnt him with the houſe and all, when they could not otherwiſe come by him, according to that which Merline the Britiſh ſothſaier had prophecied before. It is foliſhlie ſuppoſed that this Merline was got by a ſpirit of that kind which are called *Incubi*, that is to vnderſtand, ſuch as conueieng mans ſeed from him (and therewith by illuſion taking vpon them the ſhape and figure of man) do lie with women, and vſe them after the maner of carnall copulation.

The league renewed betwixt Britains, Scots and Picts.

Hengiſt returneth.

Uortigerne burnt.

¶ In this place Hector Boetius by the way recites a like tale or two, of ſuch illuſions of ſpirits, wrought not long before his time in Scotland, which ſomwhat abridging the ſame we haue here inſarced. In the yeere 1480, ſaith he, it chanced as a Scotiſh ſhip departed out of the Forth towards Flanders, there roſe a wonderfull great tempeſt of wind and weather, ſo outragious, that the maiſter of the ſhip with other the mariners wondered not a little what the matter ment, to ſee ſuch weather at that time of the yeere, for it was about the middeſt of ſummer. At length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds ſtill increaſed, in ſuch wiſe that all thoſe within the ſhip loked for preſent death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throw hir into the ſea, that all the reſidue by Gods grace might yet be ſaued: and therevpon told them, how ſhe had bene hanted a long time with a ſpirit, dailie comming vnto hir in mans likeneſſe, and that euen as then he was with hir, vſing his filthie pleaſure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ſhip there chanced alſo to be a prieſt, who by the maiſters appointment going downe to this woman, and finding hir like a moſt wretched and deſperate perſon, lamenting hir great miſfortune and miſerable eſtate, vſed ſuch wholſome admonitions and comfortable aduertiſements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at length ſhe ſeeming right penitent for hir greeuous offenſes committed, and fetching ſundrie ſighes euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witneſſe (as ſhould appeare) of the ſame, there iſſued forth of the pumpe of the ſhip a foule and euill fauored blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noiſe, flame, ſmoke and ſtinke, which preſentlie fell into the ſea. And ſuddenlie therevpon the tempeſt ceaſſed, and the ſhip paſſing in great quiet the reſdue of hir iournie, arriued in ſafetie at the place whither ſhe was bound.

Illuſions of ſpirits.

A tale of a woman abuſed with a ſpirit.

About ſaint Barnabees day.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like manner a yong man dwelling in Careoth, within a village there, not paſſing 14 miles from Aberdine, verie faire & comelie of ſhape, who declared by waie of complaint vnto the biſhop of that dioceſſe, how there was a ſpirit which haunted him in ſhape of a woman, ſo faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer ſaw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleaſant intiſements allure him to haue to do with hir, & that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir. The biſhop like a wiſe man aduiſed him to remoue into ſome other countrie, and to giue himſelfe to faſting and prater, ſo to auoid his hands of that wicked ſpirit. The yong man following the biſhops counſell, within a few daies was deliuered from further temptation.

A yong man haunted with a ſpirit.

About the ſame time alſo, there was in the countrie of Mar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refuſing ſundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir father, and other friends. At length ſhe proued with child, and being rigorouſlie compelled by hir parents to tell who was the father, ſhe confeſſed that a certeine yong man vſed nightlie to come vnto hir, and kept hir companie, and ſometimes in the day alſo, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awaie, ſhe was not able to declare. Hir parents not greatlie crediting hir words, laid diligent watch, to vnderſtand what he was that had defiled their houſe: and within three daies after, vpon ſignification giuen by one of the maidens, that the fornicator was at that verie inſtant with their daughter, incontinentlie therevpon, making faſt the doores, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughters armes a foule monſtrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Heere a number comming haſtilie in, to behold this euill fauored ſight, amongſt other there was a prieſt of verie honeſt life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie ſcripture.

This prieſt (all other being afraid) and ſome of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns goſpell, and comming to theſe words, *Verbum caro factum eſt*, ſuddenlie the wicked ſpirit making a verie ſore and terrible roaring noiſe, flue his waies, taking the roofe of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and couerings of the bed being alſo burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preſerued, and within three or foure daies after was deliuered of ſuch a miſhapen thing, as the like before had not beene ſeene, which the midwiues and women, ſuch as were preſent at hir labor, to auoid the diſhonor of hir houſe, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the ſame intent. ¶ Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to proue that all is not feined which is written of the illuſions of diuels and euill ſpirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to returne where I left touching Aurelius Ambroſe. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that he hauing once ſubdued and diſpatched his aduerſarie Uortigerne, determined to make warres againſt Hengiſt and his Saxons, to proue if his chance might be to recouer the realme out of their hands, and ſo to reſtore againe the chriſtian religion. But firſt yer he attempted anie exploit againſt the enimies, he ſent ambaſſadors both vnto Congall the Scotiſh king, and alſo vnto one Loth a towardlie yong gentleman, and of verie comelie perſonage, as then reigning among the Picts, requiring them both to aid him in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe as he had in hand againſt the enimies of Chriſt and his religion. Wherevpon both theſe kings, weieng with themſelues the dutie of all chriſtian princes, in reſpect of the aduancement of

Aurelius Ambroſe purpoſeth to make warres againſt the Saxons.

Ambaſſadors ſent vnto the Scots and Picts to require their aid againſt the Saxons.

The Scots and Picts promiſe to aid the Britains againſt the Saxons.

The league renewed betwixt Britains, Picts, and Scots.

the cauſe of faith, and ſuppreſſing of ethnike idolatrie, promiſed their helpe to the vttermoſt of their powers againſt the Saxons, who had in ſuch tyrannlike ſort ſubuerted and aboliſhed the chriſtian profeſſion within the Britiſh confines. And therefore the old league, according to the articles and couenants afore time concluded betwixt the three nations, was once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by euerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed, for the better expedition of this their attempted voiage.

Aurelius Ambroſe the ſonne of Conſtantine.

First Aurelius Ambroſe, with ſuch power as he brought with him forth of France, & ioining thereunto a great multitude of thoſe Britains which had eſcaped the Saxons hands, either by withdrawing themſelues into Wales, or elſe by conueieng themſelues into the countries of the Scots and Picts, ſetteth forward toward the Scotiſh armie. But first calling together thoſe Britains that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard of them all, he made a long oration by waie of complaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practiſes vſed by Hengiſt, againſt the linage of king Conſtantine, and the whole eſtate of the Britiſh common-wealth: alſo of the horrible perſecution made by him and his people the Saxons, againſt the profeſſors of the chriſtian religion. All which matter he handled in words ſo pithilie, his talke yet ſauoring of the Romane eloquence, that the minds of the ſouldiers being kindled therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not doubting but by his wiſe and politike conduct to atchiue ſome glorious victorie. And to the end all thing might be done in better order, according to his appointment, immediatlie they proclamed him king. Which was by account of the Scotiſh chronicles, in the yeere 498, after that Vortigerne with his ſonne Vortimer had reigned 17 yeeres in the whole.

Aurelius Ambroſe maketh an oration.

Aurelius Ambroſe proclamed king of Britaine.

Aurelius in this wiſe being eſtabliſhed king of Britaine paſſeth forth with his people, and within ſir daies after met with the armies of the Scots and Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the gout, ſo that he could not come himſelfe in perſon. Loth the Pictiſh king was there himſelfe amongſt his people, verie deſirous to ſhew ſome proofe of his manlie proweſſe and manhood. Aurelius Ambroſe ſhewed all the honor that might be deuiſed, as well to the one as to the other of thoſe two nations, promiſing to requite them with as much friendſhip when time and occaſion ſhould craue the like aſſiſtance. Theſe three mightie armies therefore being thus aſſembled, marched forth towards a place called Maheſbell, where they vnderſtood that Hengiſt with his power as then did ſoiorne. Where when both the camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from the other: at the firſt certeine light ſkirmiſhes were procured by both parts betwixt the light horſemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to diſpleaſure, they come into the field with their whole maine battels, verie fiercelie incountring ech other, ſo that (as it appeered) their force was not ſo great, but their mortall hate was euen as much, or rather more, if the hiſtories ſaie right.

Conranus generall of the Scots.

Loth king of the Picts.

Maheſbell.

The Albions and Saxons incounter in battell.

The Armorike Britains

The Armorike Britains with a new kind of order in their fight, ſore troubled the Saxons, in perſing their battels, with their men arraied in certeine wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgewiſe. The Scots alſo & Picts bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in ſuch manner, that the ſtandards of all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains, were at point almoſt to meet, hauing made waie thereunto through the middeſt of their enimies. Wherewith the Saxons (being ſore diſcouraged) began to giue backe; and finallie, notwithſtanding all that Hengiſt could ſaie or do to haue ſtaied them, they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which when he throughlie ſaw, & perceiued that there was no recouerie, he himſelfe (in manner the laſt man that abode) fled likewiſe his waies out of the field, with an ambuſhment of horſſemen about him, but being purſued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was run through the bodie by him with a ſpeare, and ſo was there ſlaine out of hand, in the 488 yeere of Chriſt, and 40 after his comming into this Ile. Howbeit the other of the Saxons conueied his ſonne Octa (being alſo ſore wounded) awaie with them vp into the nert mounteins, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengiſt in the field, to their high reproch, there to be ſpoiled and abuſed of his enimies.

The Saxons diſcomfited.

Hengiſt is ſlaine by Aurelius, as the Scotiſh chronicles ſay.

See more here of in England

Aurelius Ambroſe hauing thus got the vpper hand of his enimies, haſted forth with all ſpeed vnto London, where hauing both the citie and tower deliuered into his hands, he recouered the whole Iland from the poſſeſſion of the Saxons: and ſuch of them as were apt men, able to beare armor, and to ſerue in the warres, he commanded to depart forth of the land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind their fellowes that were thus forced to depart, became ſubiects to the Britains, and couenanted to become chriſtians. ¶ Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambroſe, according to the report of the Scotiſh writers, but more hereof ye may read in the hiſtorie of England, where ye ſhall find this matter ſet forth more at large. For that which we write here, is but to ſhew in what ſort the Scotiſh writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began firſt to ſet foot here in this land.

Aurelius haſteth forth to London.

To our purpoſe then. In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recouered the land out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he could imagine, both vnto Loth the Pictiſh king, and alſo vnto Conranus generall of the Scotiſhmen, acknowledging how that by their aid chieflie he had got the vpper hand of his enimies, and ſo he willed to haue it notified amongſt his ſubiects. Hereto he cauſed the league to be renewed betwixt the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed to remaine vnto the Scotiſhmen and Picts: alſo that the Saxons ſhould be reputed common enimies to all the three nations, and that vpon inuaſion made by anie forren power, the Scots, Picts, and Britains, ſhould aid one another as occaſion ſerued.

By ſupport of Scots and Picts Aurelius confeſſeth he got the victorie of the Saxons.

The league betwixt Scots, Picts, and Britains is renewed.

This league being concluded with theſe articles of couenants, was the more ſtronglie confirmed, by reaſon of ſuch affinitie and alliance as then alſo inſued. For whereas Aurelius had two ſiſters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both; Anne being the elder, was giuen in mariage vnto king Loth, by whome certeine yeares after he had iſſue two ſonnes, Mordred, and Walwan or Galwan, with a daughter called Thametes: Ada being the yonger ſiſter was maried vnto Conranus, generall (as is ſaid) of the Scotiſh armie. Howbeit ſhe liued not paſt two yeares after, but died in trauell of child, which alſo died with the mother: and ſo ended the aliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The Britains being deliuered through the victorie and means afore rehearſed from the cruell hands of the Saxons, inioied ioifull peace certeine yeares after, but in the meane time diuers of thoſe Saxons which were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfeiting to become chriſtians, vſed neuertheleſſe to make ſacrifice vnto idols, according to the maner of the gentiles, whereof their prieſts being accuſed and condemned, ſuffered death by fire for that offenſe.

Anne the daughter of Aurelius giuen in mariage vnto Loth king of Picts.

Ada maried vnto Conranus.

Diuers Saxons idolaters are burned.

ſenſe, accordinglie as the law did then appoint them. Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being worne with long ſickneſſe, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, with all kinglie pompe and accuſtomed ceremonies. He reigned ouer the Scotiſhmen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

The death of Congall.

*Conranus.*

Conranus created king of Scotland. 501. H.B.

AFter his deceaſſe, his brother Conranus with great reioiſing of all the Scotiſh nation was admitted K. in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperour Anaſtaſius. This Conranus otherwiſe called Goranus, being eſtabliſhed king, firſt toke order that the ſonnes of his brother Congall being within age, ſhould be brought vp in the Ile of Man, vnder the gouernance of certeine wiſe inſtructors & ſchoolemaiſters, to be trained in learning and vertuous diſcipline, according to an ancient ordinance thereof made and enacted. Alſo doubting leaſt peace and quietneſſe, now after long warres, ſhould miniſter matter to his people of raiſing ſome commotion, to the diſturbance of all ciuill order & politike gouernement within his realme, he rode as it had beene in circuit round about the ſame, making inquirie of all maner offendors, on whome he cauſed due puniſhment to be executed, without reſpect either of kith or kin.

The earneſt diligence of Conranus for maintenance of good orders among his ſubiects.

And amongeſt other enormities which he vnderſtood to be vſed in maner through all his countries, this (as he thought) was moſt grieuous, that the huſbandmen and other commons of the countrie, being euill intreated and miſuſed at the gentlemens hands, durſt not complaine, nor procure anie redres; by reaſon whereof, when they were oppreſſed, or ſuffered anie maner of wrong or iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the ſame reformed; he ordeined therefore, that the names of all ſuch offendors, with the maner of their offenſes, ſhould be ſecretlie regiſtred in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquiſitours thereto choſen and appointed. And if it chanced that thoſe which were thus accuſed, might afterwards be found guiltie before the kings iuſtices by matter plainelie proued againſt them; they ſhould then be ſure to be puniſhed according to the meaſure of their offenſes.

A godlie ordinance deuiſed by Conranus for reliefe of his commons.

This cuſtome of accuſations, commonlie called inditements, continueth euen vnto theſe our daies.

The king preſent at aſſiſes.

Conranus himſelfe (as is reported) vſed much to be preſent at aſſiſes and ſeſſions to ſee the lawes duelie miniſtred, either elſe to paſſe the time in hunting within ſome forreſt or chaſe, neere to the place where the iuſtices ſat. Now whileſt Conranus king of Scots thus ſtudied for the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambroſe the king of Britaine fell ſicke of a conſumption, which brought him to ſuch weakeneſſe, that all recouerie of health in him was deſpaired; whereof Occa and Paſcentius ſonnes to Hengiſt being aduertiſed, returned with a mightie power of Saxons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius ſaith) they named at that preſent Hengiſts land.

Aurelius Ambroſe fell ſicke of a conſumption.

Occa and Paſcentius returne into Britaine.

Uter the brother of Aurelius late alſo at the ſame time ſore ſicke of a flix in the parties of Wales, ſo that to auoid diſſention that was raiſed among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go againſt the enimies, Aurelius euen ſicke as he was, cauſed himſelfe to be caried forth in a litter; with whoſe preſence his people were ſo incouraged, that incountring with the Saxons they wan the victorie, although with ſuch loſſe on their ſide, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the ſpace of foure moneths, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went into Wincheſter, and ſent ambaſſadours vnto the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings for aid againſt the time when the truce ſhould expire, which was granted, and ſo he prouided for all things readie for the warres againſt the appointed time of their aſſemblie. Occa alſo ſent his brother Paſcentius into Germanie for more aid, but as ſome write, he was driuen by contrarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men togither there, he came backe to his brother with the ſame. But whether he had thoſe men out of Ireland or Germanie, ſure it is that the power of the Saxons was greatlie increaſed therewith.

In the meane time died Aurelius Ambroſe, who was poiſoned by a miſchéeuous monke, a Saxon borne, named Eopa or Copa (as ſome bookes haue) that toke vpon him to be ſkilfull in phyſicke, and a monke by profeſſion. His death was ſore lamented of the Britains: but contrariwiſe, the Saxons reioiſed greatlie thereof, ſo that immediatlie after, Occa with his power inuadeth the Britains, vſing great crueltie in all places whereſoeuer he came.

Aurelius Ambroſe departeth this life.

In the meane time the Scotiſh and Pictiſh armies were come forward towards Aurelius, according to promiſe made vnto his ambaſſadours; but when his death was certeinelie knowen amongeſt them, the capteins and leaders of both thoſe armies, reſolued to returne home againe, and ſo they did, for that they doubted in what ſtate and order things ſhould ſtand amongeſt the Britains now after the deceaſſe of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Ambroſe, his brother Uter was made king of Britaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with him; but alſo to the end he might inioy hir the more freelie, he ceaſſed not to purſue hir huſband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he toke within a caſtell into the which he was fled, & forthwith cauſed him to be executed, ſurmiſing mater againſt him, for that he had forſaken one of the capteins called Nathaliod, in battell againſt the Saxons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had iſſue the great Arthur, and becauſe he had no legitimat ſonne, he appointed that Arthur ſhould ſucceed him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the Pictiſh king was not a little moued, diſdaining that Arthur being a baſtard, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, ſhould be preferred before his ſons the rightfull heires of the Britiſh kingdome: and therefore by ambaſſadours he did what he could to diſſuade Uter from making anie ſuch ordinance. But when he ſaw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought beſt to content himſelfe with ſilence, till the time ſerued better for his purpoſe. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Uter and Occa the Saxon king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioined himſelfe to the Saxons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the preſence of ſaint Germane that holie biſhop of Aurer, as the Scotiſh writers make mention. Which battell as the ſame is ſet forth by Hector Boetius, becauſe it touched the ſtate of the Picts, we haue thought good here to expreſſe.

The Scotiſh armie returne home againe.

Uter begat Arthur.

It was therefore about the feaſt of Eaſter, when the armies came into the field, the Saxons with the Picts on the one ſide, & the Britains on the other, of whom no ſmall number (being either growen to be idolaters through converſation with the Saxons, either els infected with the hereſie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing ſuch good ſermons as ſaint Germane preached amongeſt them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the ſame time the ſacrament of the Lords bodie, togither in companie with other of the faithfull chriſtians. Finallie when both parties were readie to giue battell,

S. Germane. preacheth vnto the campe.

S. Germane leadeth the foze ward. Their crie was Alleluia.

saint Germane toke vpon him to haue the leading of the foze ward, wherein he had all the pzéests and ecclesiasticall ministers, giuing commandement, that when he should crie Alleluia, they should all answere him with one intire voice.

S. Germane beareth the kings standard.

Thus pzocéed they fozth to the battell, saint Germane bearing the kings standard in the foze front, & vpon the approch to the enimies, he with the rest of the pzéests crieng with a lowd voice thzice togither Alleluia, was answered by all the whole host, vttering and crieng the same crie so wholie togither, that the verie sound thereof caused such an eccho on each side by reason of the hollow mounteines and cliffes hard by them, that the Sarons amazed at this doubled noise, and doubting not onelie another power of their enimies to be hidden pzivilie among the hilles which they saw on ech side of them, but also least the verie rocks & mounteins would haue fallen downe vpon their heads togither with the frame of the element, readie (as it séemed to them) to breake in sunder, they toke them to their féet in such dreadfull hast, that their breath was not able to suffice halfe the desire they had to continue their course. Manie of them made such hast, that running to the next riuer in hope to passe the same, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie threw away both weapon and armour, the moze lightlie to make away. Thus through the policie of that blessed man saint Germane, the victozie remained with king Uter and his Britains, without anie bloudshed.

The Sarons miraculouslie discomfited.

Hyperbole.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, assigneth the time to be at the first comming of S. Germane into this land, where as Hector Boetius following Veremond, supposeth it to be at the second time of his comming hither, which was in the daies of king Uter. But at what time soeuer this victozie thus chanced, certeine it is, the Britains waring pzoud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Sarons, noz toke anie héed foz pzouision of further defense; but after that those holie bishops Germane and Seuerus were returned into their countrie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and excesse, in following onelie their sensuall lusts and fleshlie concupiscence: which abuses, the bishops and other godlie men lamenting, ceassed not most earnestlie to repzoue, menacing destruction to the whole countrie, if the people leauing their wicked liuing and most heinous offenses towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and space.

Beda dissenteth from Hector Boetius and his authour Veremond.

The Britains giue themselues vnto all kinds of vice and abhominations.

The threatning of vengeance to succéed vicious liuing.

Neither were they deceiued herein: foz within few yeares after, Occa effsones began to make warres vpon the Britains againe, and gaue them a notable ouerthzow, sleaing of them to the number of fiftéene thousand, with their generall Nathaliod. But yet this victozie was not greatlie pleasant to the Sarons, foz in the chase they lost their king the fozesaid Occa, being aduanced a good way off from the residue of his armie, with fiue hundzed hozsemen and a few footmen, in pursute of his enimies, which was the onelie cause that as then the Sarons attempted no further exploit against the Britains. and yet foz that they would not be without a gouernour, they created an other Occa to be their K. the nephue of the fozmer Occa by his bzother Oiscus: and then turned all their foze to make warres against the Picts, foz that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his oth of credence, had aided the Britains in the last battell, as by certeine pzisoners taken in the same they had perfect vnderstanding.

The Britains receiue a great ouerthzow.

King Occa slaine.

The yonger Occa nephue to the fozmer Occa by his bzother Oiscus.

Loth contrarie to his oth of credence aided the Britains against the Saxons.

Occa therfoze being fierce of nature, to the end to indamage his enimies the moze, sent into Germanie foz one Colgerme oz Colgerne, a man of great estimation and birth amongest the Sarons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, pzomising foz recompense of his trauell and aid against the Picts, to deliuer vnto him all such lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be recouered out of the hands of the Picts, to inioy vnto him and his foz euer. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed shortlie after in Northumberland, putting the whole countrie vnto fire and sword. Which cruell dealing caused a great number of Scots & Picts, which held diuerse castels in that quarter, to come fozth into the field to defend the countrie, and ioining battell with their enimies were discomfited, their slaughter being much increased by the comming of Occa at vnwares vpon them. Foz he first taking truce with Uter king of the Britains, hasted with all speed to ioine his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come on land.

Colgerne landeth in Northumberland.

The king of Scots and Picts raise their powers to resist the Sarons.

These newes being brought by such as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, caused both the kings, Loth and Conranus in most speedie wise to assemble their forces, and with the same to march forthwith towards the Sarons: but being come within sight of them readie to giue battell, great was the feare and terroz of both their hosts, to ioine in fight with such a number of fierce people, as they saw there befoze their faces. Which feare arose first through the Britains, of whome no small number was there, in aid of the Scots and Picts against the Sarons, declaring manie things of the great valure, strength of bodie, and huge forme of lims of the same Sarons, being so fierce and cruell in fight, as they alledged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight euen with their grim lokes and terrible countenances. Whereof such feare and terroz was spzead through both the whole armies, that if shame had not partlie wrought amongest the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies befoze anie battell had béene attempted at all.

The Scots and Picts are put in feare of the Saxons valiancie.

The kings perceiuing such discomfiture amongst their men, caused them to assemble togither, and appointed one such as was thought méet foz the purpose, to declare vnto them on their behalfes, how they could not but maruell to vnderstand such feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, considering there was no cause thereof, they being such a number of able warriours throughlie appointed, and therewithall led by such gouernours and capteins, as there was no reason why to be doubtfull of victozie, befoze they had séene some triall and iust occasion of disaduantage. Foz as touching the Sarons, they were no such men but that they might be ouercome well inough, as it might sufficientlie appeare, both by pzofe of such victozies as Uoztimer the British king had obteined against them; and also Aurelius Ambzose, who had vanquished them in such sozt, that when they durst not effsones incounter with him in battell, they found means by poison to make him awaie.

The kings cause one to make an oration vnto their people to remoue all fears out of their hearts.

Then sith the Britains (whome the Scots & Picts so often had subdued) had at sundzie times vanquished the Sarons, why should they feare in such wise to fight with them in common defense of their countrie, and reuenge of such iniuries as they had latelie receiued at their hands, sith the righteous God (as all good men ought to trust) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was bzuted amongest them, that the Sarons were so huge of stature, and mightie of lims, that no foze was able to withstand them, it was certeinelie knowen, that the Scots & Picts were indued with no lesse mightinesse and strength of bodie than the Sarons; so that if they were not of like stomachs, that rested in their owne slouthfull cowardize, & not in natures wozke, hauing done hir part in bestowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie foze, in such plentious manner,

ner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies ſurmount them.

The Scots through comfortable words of an oration recouer new courages.

Manie other arguments were alledged and laid forth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to incourage them to fight, inſomuch that in the end it appeared the ſame wrought the wiſhed effect, in ſuch wiſe, that they generallie required battell, offering to liue and die at their capteins feet, and to follow them whither ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being ſatiſfied, forth they march towards their enimies, whome they found readie to receiue them, and that with ſuch rigorous violence, that in the end, after great ſlaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Picts were put to flight, the Saxons purſuing in the chaſe till the darke night cauſed them to withdraw & returne into their campe. The nert day following, the Scotiſh king with the reſidue of his armie haſted away with all ſpéed towards Galloway, and the Pictiſh king withdrew into Pictland. The Saxons vſing the victorie moſt cruellie, ſlue all ſuch of the Pictiſh and Scotiſh nations as they met with, in all places betwixt Tine and Twéed. Then did Occa create the forenamed Colgerme duke of Northumberland, who reparing all ſuch caſtels and ſtrong houſes, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed garriſons of ſouldiers in the ſame to defend the countrie againſt all maner of enimies. After this, Occa turned his power againſt the Britains, which in the laſt battell had aided the Scots and Picts, as before is partlie touched. The Britains receiuing a great ouerthrow in battell, Uter the Britiſh king was glad with ſuch as might eſcape the enimies hands, to withdraw into Wales, leauing the reſidue of his countries vnto the Saxons, who thereupon recouered not onelie the citie of London, yéelding it ſelfe vnto them for doubt of ſome long ſiege, but alſo all thoſe countries and prouinces which Hengiſt the firſt of the Saxons that reigned as king within the bounds of Albion at anie time, had holden or inioied, and ceaſſed not after recouerie of the ſame, to vexe and diſquiet the Scots, Britains, and Picts, with continuall incurſions, hoping by ſuch means to kéepe them ſtill occupied. In the midſt of this trouble Uter K. of the Britains departed this world, poiſoned (as ſome haue written) by drinking water taken out of a fonteine which the Saxons had inuenomed. He died in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 521, and in the eighteenth of his owne reigne. After his deceaſſe, Loth king of the Picts ſent his ambaſſadours vnto the lords, and other the ſtates of the Britiſh dominions, requiring them, according to the accuſtomed lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to receiue him as king, ſith he had maried the ſiſter and heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambroſe, and Uter, their two laſt kings, being as then both deceaſſed, without leauing behind them anie lawfull iſſue, by reaſon whereof their eſtate was fallen vnto him, to inioy the ſame during his life, hauing maried (as is ſaid) their owne naturall and lawfull borne ſiſter, and after the deceaſſe of him and his wife the ſaid ſiſter, then it ought by courſe of the lawes of all realmes and countries to deſcend vnto ſuch iſſue as he had begot of hir, which was two ſonnes, the one named Mordred, and the other Walwan, or Gawan, as ſome do call him.

The Scots and Picts are put to flight.

Colgerme creted duke of Northumberland.

The Britains ouerthrowen in battell by the Saxons.

Uter withdraweth into wales.

London recouered by the Saxons.

The death of Uter poiſoned by drinking water of a well.

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Loth requireth the kingdome of Britaine.

Mordred and Gawan.

The Britains refuſe to receiue either Loth or anie of his ſonnes to reigne ouer them.

The Britiſh ambaſſadours being ſent home, and their anſwere reported, the Britains refuſed vtterlie to receiue Loth or anie of his ſonnes to reigne ouer them, but ſent ambaſſadours into Armorike Britaine, to fetch ouer Aldroen the ſonne of Conſtantine, who was brother vnto Aurelius Ambroſe and Uter, and ſo of the bloud royall, to take vpon him the gouernement of the realme. Aldroen vpon their requeſt came ouer, and was ioifullie receiued of the Britains, and ſo crowned king of Britaine. Loth and his ſonnes ſeeing themſelues thus reiected, and Aldroen receiued in their ſtead, they ſtomached not a little the matter, but yet diſſembling their griefe, they ſtudied how to reuenge the ſame by all the waies they might deuiſe. Aldroen after his coronation, aſſembled his power, and inuaded the Saxons, hoping to haue found them vnprouided, but they were readie to receiue him, and ſo ſtrongelie withſtood him, that he was conſtreined to withdraw backe againe, and ſo to ſtand vpon his owne defenſe. Then Hengiſt, who had ſubdued the moſt part of the Britiſh dominions, ſeeing the Britains thus vnited vnder Aldroen, and that he was not able to withſtand them, ſent ouer into Germanie for more aid, promiſing to ſuch as would come ouer, large ſtipends and rewards. Herevpon there arriued a great number of Saxons, Engliſhmen, Iutes, and Frieſons, which ioined with Hengiſt, and ſo ſtrengthened him, that he was able to make head againſt the Britains, and to withſtand their power. Aldroen ſeeing the Saxons ſo ſtrengthened, ſent ouer into Armorike Britaine for more aid, and ſo there arriued a great number of Britains, which ioined with Aldroen, and ſo ſtrengthened him, that he was able to make head againſt the Saxons, and to withſtand their power.

Aldroen inuadeth the Saxons.

The Saxons vanquiſhed, are conſtreined to pay tribute to the Britains.

London is won by the Britains.

Arthur raiſeth a power againſt the Picts.

A league concluded betwixt Loth & Colgerme.

Howell leader of the Armorike Britains

The Picts put to flight:

The Saxons chaſed, made their race towards yorke.

yorke beſieged.

Occa returneth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur raiſeth his ſiege.

Wales, where he appointed the Armorike Britains to ſoiorne for that winter, with other of the meaner ſort of his owne ſouldiers: whileſt he toke the reſidue of his choſen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion ſhould be raiſed among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries neere about. In the beginning of the next ſpring, he gathered his hoſt togither againe, and with the ſame went forth againſt Colgerme and Octa, who being iſſued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the Britiſh confines, ſpoiling and waſting the countrie with their accuſtomed crueltie.

Arthur returneth to London.

Where vpon incountring them twiſe in battell, he obteined the victorie, and then beſieging Yorke, at length he entered into that citie, by meanes of a Britaine, who dwelling amongſt the Saxons there, in the night ſeaſon conueied a ſort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole hoſt. Where Arthur would not ſuffer his men to make any great murther of the enimies, which were content to yéeld themſelues, but vſed them very gently, therby to win more praiſe amongſt all thoſe that heard of his worthie victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Yorke, manie feats of armes were dailie practiſed betwixt them and the Saxons, which held poſſeſſion ſtill of the countrie thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the ſummer and winter following, at length began to take their eaſe, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themſelues to banketting, drinking, plaie, and other kinds of voluptuous pleaſures, ſo that it ſeemed they truſted more to their paſſed victories, than to their preſent force, not fearing ſuch dangers as was like to follow.

Arthur diſcomfiteth the Saxons twiſe in battell & then againe laieth ſiege to Yorke and winneth it.

Arthur vſeth the victorie with gentleneſſe.

The Britains ſoiourning for the winter time within Yorke, giue themſelues vnto banketting & voluptuouſneſſe.

It is thought of ſome, that about the ſame time, Arthur firſt inſtituted, that the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe ſhould be kept with ſuch exceſſe of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banketting and reuell for the ſpace of thirtéene daies togither, according to the cuſtome vſed ſtill through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, reſembling the feaſts which the gentiles vſed to kéepe in the honor of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beaſtlie luſt and ſenſuall voluptuouſnes was put in vre. But whence ſoeuer, or by whome ſoeuer this inſatiable gourmandiſe came vp amongſt vs, ſuerlie a great abuſe it is, to ſée the people at ſuch a ſolemne feaſt, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almightie God, for the ſending downe of his onelie begotten ſonne amongſt vs, to giue themſelues in manner wholie to gluttonie, and exceſſiue filling of their bellies, with ſuch maner of lewd and wanton paſtimes, as though they ſhould rather celebrate the ſame feaſts of Bacchanalia, and thoſe other which the gentiles alſo kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Chriſts natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of ſuch exceſſe.

Chriſtmaſſe bankets reſembling the feaſts Bacchanalia.

But now to my purpoſe. When the nert ſummer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains againſt their enimies, but by reaſon of ſuch eaſe and pleaſure as they had taken whileſt they ſoiourned in Yorke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, ſo that no good was done of certeine yéers after, till finallie Arthur ioined in league with Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were theſe. That Arthur during his naturall life ſhould reigne as king of the Britains, and after his deceaſe, the kingdome to remaine vnto Mordred and his iſſue, if he chanced to haue anie. That the Picts ſhould aid the Britains againſt the Saxons, and haue all ſuch land as might be recouered of them beyond Humber. Alſo the league which was betwixt them and the Scots, they ſhould dailie obſerue. Mordred ſhould marrie the daughter of Gawolan a noble man amongſt the Britains, and of higheſt authoritie next vnto Arthur himſelfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeeres of diſcretion. Gawan the brother of the foreſaid Mordred, ſhould ſerue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large interteinment, and great poſſeſſions to mainteine therewith his eſtate.

The Britains throughreſt and eaſe became vnapt to ſuſteine the paines of warres.

A league concluded betwixt Arthur king of Britains, & Loth king of Picts.

Mordred marrieth the daughter of one Gawolan a Britaine.

Gawan or Gawen in ſeruice with K. Arthur.

Other articles there were compriſed in this league, according as was thought requiſite for the maintenance of ſtable friendſhip betwixt theſe kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and ſtill being deſirous to purge the whole Ile of all miſcreants and enimies of the chriſtian faith, he ſent vnto the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they owght vnto the aduancement of Chriſts religion, to aſſemble their powers, & to méet him at Tinmouth, whither he would repaire to ioine with them, at ſuch day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth againſt the Saxons.

Arthur ſendeth ambaſſadors vnto the kings of Scots and Picts.

Loth king of the Picts, and Conranus king of the Scotiſhmen, failed not in this ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, but agréeable to Arthurs requeſt, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went againſt the Saxons, whom they vnderſtood to be alreadie in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Octa, in purpoſe to ſtop their paſſage. When both the armies were approched nére togither, they prepared to the battell, and firſt Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almoſt euen hard to the face of the Picts, where they ſtood in their order of battell right ſtoutlie, and there vttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promiſed friendſhip to him and his Saxons, declared that he truſted ſhortlie to ſée iuſt puniſhment light vpon them for this falſhood and vntruths ſake, in thus ioining with their former enimies againſt their moſt truſtie friends and ſtedfaſt alies.

Scots, Picts and Britains ioine togither againſt the Saxons.

Colgerme reproueth Loth.

The Pictiſh king not greatlie moued héerewith, commanded his ſtandards to aduance forward, and the Saxons likewiſe haſted apace towards them, ſo that the one being come within danger of ſhot of the other, the Picts let flie their arrowes verie freſhlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing ſet his people in araie, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and ſo ſoone as he perceiued that the fraie was begun by the Picts, he in ſemblable wiſe cõmandeth the Britains to giue the onſet, ſo that immediatlie there inſued a ſore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & ſleaing Cheldrike one of the chiefeſt capteins amongſt the Saxons, quicklie diſcomfited that wing with the which they were firſt matched. Colgerme with his Saxons incountring (as is ſaid) with the Picts, placed in the left wing, ruſhed in amongſt his enimies (vpon an earneſt deſire to be reuenged of his aduerſarie king Loth) with ſuch violence, that at their firſt incounter he ouerthrew the ſame Loth: but immediatlie there vpon two Pictiſh horſſemen running at Colgerme ſidelingwiſe, bare him quite through.

Colgerme is run through by his aduerſaries.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his ſtrong habergion eſcaping without hurt, was relieued by ſuch as ſtood about him, and reſtored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recouered from amongſt the throng of his enimies, his men were ſo diſcomforted therewith, that ſtreightwaies there vpon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Saxons being thus left bare on both ſides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiuing, the more earneſtlie prealled forth vpon them, ſo that in the end Octa being conſtreined to flée,

The Saxons are put to flight.

Occa conſtreined to flée.

flæ, and receiuing a ſoꝛe wound, had much adw to be conueied awaie bꝛ ſome of his hoꝛſſemen, the Bꝛitains purſued ſo fiercelie vpon him. At length being bꝛought vnto the ſea ſide, he got beſſels, and eſcaped ouer into Germanie. This victoꝛie being thus atchiued, conſtreined the Saxons to yéeld vnto king Arthur, ſimplie ſubmitting themſelues vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and gwds, vpon condition they would become chꝛiſtians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make anie warres vpon their neighbꝛs the Bꝛitains, Scots, oꝛ Picts. But if they would not agrée hæreunto, then leauing their gwds, armoꝛ, and weapon behind them, they ſhould auoid the land, & that within 13 daies next inſuing.

Upon what condition Arthur receiueth the Saxons vpon their ſubmiſſion.

Manie of the Saxons that could get paſſage, ſailed ouer into Germanie. Other feining themſelues to become chꝛiſtians, remained in the land, loking one day foꝛ better hap & foꝛtune. Diuerſe that were not able bꝛ meanes of pouertie to get awaie within the time appointed, and yet refuſing to be chꝛiſtened, were put to death, accoꝛding to the pꝛoclamation ſet foꝛth foꝛ the ſame purpoſe, ſo that in compariſon verie few amongſt them receiued the chꝛiſtian faith ſincerelie, and with a true meaning mind. Things being thus quieted in Noꝛthumberland, Arthur toke oꝛder foꝛ the reparing of churches abꝛoad in the countrie, which the Saxons had ouerthꝛowne oꝛ defaced; & namelie in the citie of Yoꝛke he beſtowed great coſt, where the cruell infidels had dwne much hurt vpon churches, and other religious houſes.

Arthur cauſed churches to be repared.

In the yéere following, Arthur had newes how the Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, ioining with the Kentiſh Saxons, had dwne great diſpleaſures vnto the Bꝛitains, on that ſide of the Thames, killing & fleaing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewith being ſoꝛe mwued, he dꝛew towards London with his armie, purpoſing vtterlie to deſtroie all the eaſt & ſouth Saxons, ſince otherwiſe he could not pꝛouide foꝛ the ſuertie of his ſubiects, being ſtill in danger to be murthered and robbed, ſo long as anie of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained hære amongſt them.

Arthur purpoſeth to deſtroie the whole race of the Saxons in Albion.

By meanes alſo of the league, he had with him in this iournie ten thouſand Picts, & as manie Scots: Eugenius nephue to king Conran bꝛ his bꝛother Congall being generall ouer the Scots, and Moꝛdꝛed the ſonne of king Loth bꝛ his wife Anne, gouerning the Picts, a luſtie yꝛng gentleman, verie wittie and towardlie in all his dwings. Furthermoꝛe, Arthur vnderſtanding what hurt reſt and eaſe had dwne amongſt his men of warre, cauſed them to kéepe the field in all this iournie, and paſſing bꝛ London, lodged them a little beſide the riuer of Thames. But he himſelfe with ſome of his nobles, entred into the citie, cauſing ſupplications to be made vnto almightie God thꝛée daies togither, foꝛ gwd ſucceſſe to follow againſt the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine ſeruice celebꝛated bꝛ the biſhop of London, and cauſing a ſermon to be made in the market place, he committed himſelfe and his whole armie vnto the tuition of Chꝛiſt, and his mother the virgine, whoſe image in ſtéed of a badge he bare in his ſhield continuallie from that day foꝛward, as diuerſe héeretofoꝛe haue wꝛitten. After this, iſſuing foꝛth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of gwd comfoꝛt, as they that fought in a iuſt quarell againſt Pagans, and enimies of the faith. Moꝛdꝛed and his father in law Gawolane paſſed on befoꝛe the battels with fiue thouſand hoꝛſſemen, and being come within fiue miles of the Saxons, who likewiſe were aſſembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur ambaſſadoꝛs, requiring him to ſtaie his iournie, foꝛ they were readie (if they might haue libertie ſo to dw) to depart out of the land with their gwds and ſubſtance, without further moleſting the Bꝛitains, either bꝛ one meanes oꝛ other.

Arthurs badge.

Arthurs exhoꝛtation to his people.

In offer made bꝛ the Saxons vnto king Arthur.

Arthur would neither conſent hæreunto, noꝛ yet grant a truce foꝛ thꝛée daies, foꝛ the which they made earneſt ſute, but bad them depart foꝛ that time, onelie aſſuring them that he would not come paſſing two miles foꝛwards foꝛ that day, ſo that if they thought gwd, they might returne to him in the moꝛning, and haue anſwer what the chiefeſt gouernoꝛs of his hoſt thought touching their requeſt, bꝛ whome he would haue the matter moꝛe thꝛoughlie debated. In the meane time, whileſt the Bꝛitains were buſied with hearing of theſe ambaſſadoꝛs, and taking adꝛiſe what was beſt to dw touching their demand, the Saxons marched foꝛth with all ſpéed, and comming vpon Moꝛdꝛed and Gawolan at vnwares, they gaue the onſet freſhlie vpon them, and that verie much to the diſaduantage of the Bꝛitains and Picts, who notwithſtanding, thꝛough the earneſt exhoꝛtation of their capteins, receiued their enimies verie fiercelie, in dwing that which was poſſible foꝛ ſo ſmall a number to dw, howbeit in the end oppꝛeſſed with multitude, they were foꝛced to flée, and ſo did, not reſting till they came in ſight of the whole armie. In which ſight, Moꝛdꝛed and Gawolan bꝛ helpe of their ſouldiers, being mounted vpon their hoꝛſſes, eſcaped without hurt, though they loſt no ſmall number of their companie, as well in the fight as in the chaſe.

The Saxons comming vpon Moꝛdꝛed and Gawolan put them with their people to the wꝛoꝛſe.

The Saxons ambaſſadoꝛs being not yet departed out of the Bꝛitiſh campe, were hérevpon ſtaied till the next moꝛning, and then had anſwer giuen them, that from thencefoꝛth the Bꝛitains were not minded to heare anie meſſengers of the Saxons comming to intreat of peace, ſince it was manifeſt enough, they ment nothing but falſhwd, as well appéered in that they had againſt the law of armes, whileſt their ambaſſadoꝛs were in communication, diſtreſſed part of the Bꝛitiſh armie, and therefoꝛe they ſhould aſſure themſelues, to haue at Arthurs hands nothing but cruell war to the vttermoſt of his poꝛwer, in reuenge of ſuch their great vntruths and cloked dealings. They had ſcarſe receiued their anſwer, but that there came from the Saxons foꝛtie other ambaſſadoꝛs, being men of great authoꝛitie amongſt them, to excuſe that which had happened ouer night, in laieng the fault vpon a ſoꝛt of vndiſcréet perſons, nothing pꝛiuie vnto that which the gouernoꝛs of the armie had dwne, touching the ſending of their ambaſſadoꝛs, and thereupon had without their aduiſe made that ſkirmiſh.

what anſwer the Saxons ambaſſadoꝛs had at Arthurs hands.

The excuſe of the Saxons.

But Arthur iudging that there was ſome new ſubtill pꝛactiſe in hand, vnder pꝛetenſe of this new ambaſſage, commanded as well theſe that came laſt, as the other which came firſt, to be kept in the marſhals tent, that in no wiſe they ſhould eſcape, whileſt he himſelfe in the ſecond watch of the night departed out of his campe, with all his puiſſance, which he diuided into thꝛée battels, and hauing marched thꝛée miles foꝛward, he was vpon his enimies ere they vnderſtood anie thing of his comming, inſomuch that the Bꝛitains had ſlaine and chaſed the watch of the Saxons campe, befoꝛe it was certeinlie knowne what the matter ment. Héereof alſo inſued ſuch a tumult and noiſe amongſt the Saxons, running vp and dowwne, calling and crieng one to another, as it happeneth in ſuch caſes of extreme feare, that the beſt aduiſed amongeſt them wiſt not well what to dw. Whereupon Moꝛdꝛed deſirous to reuenge his laſt ouerthꝛowe, bꝛake in alſo vpon his enimies verie fiercelie.

The ſudden inuaſion made bꝛ the Bꝛitains vpon the Saxons.

The great tumult in the Saxons campe.

Moꝛdꝛed deſirous to be reuenged.

But ſome of them hauing gotten them into their armoꝛ, ſtood at their defenſe awhile amongſt their carts and carriages, and ſo reſiſted the Bꝛitains on that

that ſide for a ſeaſon: other of the Saxons hauing no leaſure to arme themſelues, nor to draw into anie order of battell, by reaſon of the ſudden impreſſion of the Britains, brake forth of the campe on the contrarie ſide, & fled ſo faſt as their feet might beare them. But being purſued by the Britiſh horſſemen, and beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the next riuer, and there were drowned, chooſing rather that kind of death, than ſo cruellie to be murthered by the aduerſaries hands: verelie the Britains ſhewed no mercie that day, for ſo manie as came within their danger, died without redemption. And this bloudie battell made an end of ſuch an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they ſhould neuer haue recouered againe anie puiſſance able to haue indamaged the Britains in anie manner of wiſe.

The Saxons are put to the flight.

The crueltie of the Britains in fleaing the Saxons.

Arthur hauing thus vanquiſhed his enimies, gaue licence vnto thoſe nobles which he had deteined (as is ſaid) in his campe, being ſent vnto him as ambaſſadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the reſidue of ſuch Saxons as were men of no defenſe, to remaine ſtill in the land, yéelding a yéerelie tribute vnto the Britains, and alſo with condition that they ſhould become chriſtians. The Scotiſhmen and Picts which had aided the Britains in this iournie, ſoiorned a while after at London, where Arthur feaſted & banketted them in moſt roiall wiſe, ſhewing them all the honor that might be deuiſed, and afterwards ſent them home verie princelie rewarded with manie great gifts and rich preſents. Whileſt ſuch buſineſſe as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the eſtate of the Scotiſh common-wealth was gouerned by great wiſedome and policie, without anie notable trouble or diſorder. But finallie, when king Conrane began to waxe aged, and that ſuch as had the chiefe doings vnder him, ſought not the execution of iuſtice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practiſe a conſpiracie with diuerſe of the nobles againſt Conrane, and thoſe which ruled by his appointment.

Arthurs munificence.

A conſpiracie practiſed againſt Conrane.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of baſe birth, aſſigned by the kings commiſſion to be chiefe iuſtice, or as it were chancelor for the adminiſtration of the lawes in Murrey land, a perſon paſſing full of rigorous crueltie, eſpeciallie in iudgements of life and death, and in gathering vp of all manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did onelie to purchaſe fauor of the king, by the inriching of his coffers, in reſpect whereof he had ſmall regard either of right or wrong, ſo that there were hope of ſomewhat to be gotten. Amongeſt other the violent doings of this Concet, he cauſed diuerſe merchantmen of the towne of Fores in Murrey land (as then the chiefeſt towne of all that countrie) to be accuſed of treaſon by a light information, and in the end executed without anie apparant matter, onelie vpon a couetous deſire to haue their goods and riches, bicauſe they were men of great wealth and ſubſtance. Diuerſe noble men of the countrie there abouts, and namelie of the towne of Fores, being partlie of kin vnto thoſe merchants, were ſore offended with this act, and hereupon they firſt came vnto Concet, and reuiled him with manie high reprochfull words, and afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudgement where he ſat as then in his iudgement ſeate, & there murthered him, getting them forthwith vp into the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they knew vnpoſſible for them to eſcape, if they ſhould happen to be taken while Conrane ſhould be liuing.

An euill officer.

A preſumptuous act.

After this, they deuiſed how they might increaſe their heinous déed and bold enterpriſe with an other farre more horrible and notable, which was to ſlea the king himſelfe, as the originall cauſe of all ſuch miſchiefe that then reigned in the realme through the vntowardie gouernment of his vniuſt miniſters and couetous magiſtrats, hoping withall to obteine the fauor of ſome of the noble men, whome they knew to maligne the king and his councell moſt extremelie, and thereby in ſhort time to be aſſured of their pardon. Shortlie after it chanced that one Donald alſo gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and truſt with the king, had vnderſtanding what theſe outlawes intended, and thereupon practiſed with them by priuie meſſengers, that they ſhould come in ſecret manner vnto Enuerlochtée, where the king ſoiorned, promiſing them by moſt aſſured meanes of oths and bowes, that they ſhould haue all the furtherance he could deuiſe towards the atchiuing of their enterpriſe.

The outlawes diſpatch the king alſo.

Donald gouernor of Athol conſpireth with the outlawes to murther the king.

Hereupon theſe outlawes, according to their inſtructions, came in ſecret wiſe vnto Enuerlochtée, and were cloſelie conueied into Conrans bedchamber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himſelfe quickelie out of the waie when he ſaw them once entered within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king perceiuing how he was betraied, and that his enimies were got into his chamber readie to murther him, ſkept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon his knées beſought them to take pitie of his age, and not to defile their hands in the bloud of their naturall lord and king, conſidering the fault was not his, if they had béene anie waies wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but leaſt he ſhould eſcape their hands, ſtreightwaies diſpatched him out of life, and withall made haſte awaie. This was the end of king Conranus, in the 20 yéere of his reigne, being the 16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the firſt of the emperor Juſtinianus, and in the yeere after the birth of our Sauior 531. But his corps was buried in the abbeie of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, with ſuch funerall pompe and exequies, as in thoſe daies were vſed.

The outlawes enter into the kings bedchamber.

Conrane is murthered within his bedchamber by traitorous meanes.

35. H.B.
20. H.B.
535. H.B.

*Eugenius.*

After him ſucceéded his nephue Eugenius, the ſonne of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius (as aboue is ſaid) was with Arthur in the laſt mentioned iournie againſt the Saxons. There were that counſelled him in the beginning of his reigne (which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he ſhould ſée in anie wiſe the authors of his vncles death dulie puniſhed, to the example of others, that they ſhould not attempt the like héereafter againſt their liege lord and crowned king: but he contrariwiſe did not onelie forgiue the offenſe, but alſo receiued the forenamed Donald with other the murtherers into his ſeruice, and made them of his priuie councell, which cauſed manie men to ſuſpect, leaſt he himſelfe had béene of councell with them in committing that murther. The talke whereof was ſo common in all mens mouths, namelie amongſt the common people, that the quæne Dowager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not onelie the ſuertie of hir owne life, but alſo of hir two ſons (which ſhe had by the ſaid Conrane, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Ireland, where within few yeeres after, ſhe died with the one of hir ſonnes, that is to ſay, Reginan: the other Aidan was honorablie brought vp by the king of that countrie, according to his birth and degrée.

Eugenius is inueſted king of Scotland.

Regicides or kingquellers ought chiefliе aboue all others to be puniſhed.

Eugenius is ſuſpected of his predeceſſors death.

The queene Dowager fled with hir two ſonnes into Ireland.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himſelfe moſt gentlie in all his procédings, doing nothing that taſted in anie part of crueltie. He would oftentimes ſit amongſt the iudges himſelfe, and if he ſuſpected leaſt anie man had wrong, he would licence them to plead

The humanitie and fauourable friendſhip

The determination of the murtherers to

ſhip of king Eugenius towards his people.

plead their caſe anew. And ſuch as he perceiued were not of abilitie to follow their ſute in anie cauſe of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treaſuris. He ordeined alſo, that no orphane ſhould be compelled to anſwer anie action, or otherwiſe be vexed by ſute of law. Moreouer, that no widow ſhould be conſtreined to come paſt a mile forth of hir owne dores for anie matter in controuerſie betwixt hir and anie other perſon, to be heard afore anie iudges or publike officers. Robbers, théeues, and their receiuers he cauſed to be dulie puniſhed, to refraine other from attempting the like offenſes. And alſo he had a ſpeciall regard for the obſeruing of the league betwixt his ſubiects and the Picts, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the ſame.

Commendable ordinances.

About this ſeaſon ſhould it be alſo that Arthur did atchiue all thoſe worthie victories, which are aſcribed vnto him againſt the Scots, Iriſhmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreouer it is written by ſome authors, that he ſhould ſubdue the moſt part of Germanie with the low countries, Britaine, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the eaſt: but the credit héereof reſteth with the ſame authors. Onelie it is certeine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the daies of Juſtinianus the emperor, about which time the Gotthes, Vandals, Burgonions, & Frenchmen did inuade ſundrie parts of the Romane empire, pitifullie waſting and ſpoiling the ſame, where yet ſuch writers as haue ſet forth thoſe warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. ¶ Therefore letting all doubtfull things paſſe, I will proceed with mine author, and declare what he hath found written in ſuch Scotiſh chronicles as he followeth touching the Britiſh Arthur, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namelie Geffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it worthie to be noted héere, to the end that euerie man maie iudge thereof as to him ſéemeth beſt.

The victorious conqueſts aſcribed to Arthur.

This cauſeth no ſmall doubt to anſe of the great victories aſcribed vnto Arthur.

Geffrey of Monmouth.

To the purpoſe then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietneſſe they began to wax wealthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Picts, ſpeciallie for that they could not in anie wiſe be contented to haue anie ſtranger to reigne amongſt them, and héere vpon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, ſith he himſelfe had no iſſue to ſucceed him, that it might pleaſe him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his deceaſſe. Arthur not gainſaieng their requeſt, willed them (ſith their pleaſure was ſuch, in no wiſe to haue a ſtranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themſelues, being deſcended of the bloud roiall, and ſuch a one as in whome they had perceiued ſome towardlie proofe of wiſedome and valiancie: and he for his part promiſed to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioiſing of the people drawing together to conſult for the choiſe of ſuch a one, as might be acceptable to all the Britiſh nation, at length agréed vpon Conſtantinus, the ſonne of Cador duke of Cornwall, a goodlie yong gentleman, both for his perſon and other his worthie qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the péeres of the realme into the councell chamber, and there preſented vnto king Arthur, as one moſt méet to ſucceed him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and cauſed the ſame Conſtantine forthwith to be proclamed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Britaine, which notified him to be ſucceſſor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Conſtantine being in ſuch wiſe preferred, behaued himſelfe ſo honorablie, and with ſuch a ſhew of gentle demeanor, that he wan him much praiſe, with an opinion of high worthineſſe amongſt all the Britiſh nation.

The Britains repent themſelues of the league concluded with the Picts.

The requeſt of the Britains to haue one of their owne nation appointed to ſucceed king Arthur.

Conſtantine proclamed heire apparant & prince of Britaine.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Picts deceaſſed, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Pictland, the which euer ſince as a remembrance of his worthineſſe, hath béene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his ſonne Modred, ſucceéding him in gouernement of the Pictiſh kingdome, and hearing that Conſtantine was proclamed heire apparant of Britaine, was ſore moued therewith, and immediatlie ſending his ambaſſadours vnto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie eſtate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agréed amongeſt other things, that there ſhould none ſucceéd in the kingdome of Britaine, after Arthurs deceaſſe, but the children begot betwixt K. Loth and his wife quéene Anne, or ſuch as deſcended of them; where contrariwiſe it was notified vnto the Pictiſh people, that Conſtantine the ſonne of Cadore was elected prince, and thereby inabled as heire apparant to the crowne.

Lothian taketh the name of Loth the Pictiſh king.

Modred ſucceedeth Loth in the kingdome of Pictland.

Modred complaineth vnto king Arthur, for that Conſtantine was created his heire apparant.

They required him therefore to call himſelfe to remembrance, and not ſo lightlie to agrée vnto the flattering perſuaſions of the Britains, adviſing him vnto that thing which was méerelie repugnant to reaſon, and againſt both gods lawes and mans, admoniſhing him withall to obſerue the league, according to the oth, which he had ſolemnelie taken vpon him, and to moue his ſubiects to do the like, leaſt for the contrarie, they ſhould prouoke the wrath of almightie God againſt them, who is the iuſt reuenger of all ſuch as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Herevnto anſwere was made by conſent of the nobles of Britaine, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to ceaſſe by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to anie pact or promiſe made, but according to the dutie of a prince that tendered the weale of his ſubiects, had prouided them one to ſucceed him of their owne nation, for doubt leaſt the realme after his deceaſſe ſhould fall into the hands of ſtrangers, which in no wiſe ought of right to be ſuffered. Therefore if the Picts loued the ſuertie of their owne eſtate, it ſhould be good for them to hold themſelues contented with their owne bounds, leaſt if they ſought for other mens liuings, they might happilie within ſhort time perceiue, what doth inſue oftentimes vpon ſuch raſh and vnaduiſed attempts.

The anſwere made to the Pictiſh ambaſſadours.

The Pictiſh ambaſſadors returning home with this anſwer, cauſed the whole nation to take ſuch diſdaine therewith, that immediatlie they reſolued to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but firſt they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scotiſhmen to take part with them, in reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had in like maner latelie receiued at the Britains hands. Moreouer, repenting themſelues, that they had in times paſt aided the Britains againſt the Saxons, they purpoſe to trie if they might now moue the ſame Saxons eftſoones to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to maiuteine their owne quarrell againſt them. Firſt, ſuch ambaſſadours as were ſent from Modred vnto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their requeſts, and the ſooner, for that ſuch Scotiſh rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but alſo mainteined to make rodes and incurſions into the Scotiſh borders.

The Picts purpoſe to be reuenged on the Britains by open war.

The Picts ſolicit both Scots and Saxons to make warre vpon the Britains.

Eugenius the Scotiſh king agreeable to the requeſt of the Picts.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuiſes of his enimies (the warres being firſt proclamed) he furniſhed all the ſea-coaſts with notable numbers of men,

Arthur ſet teth forward toward the Scots and Picts.

men, to withſtand the landing of the Saxons, if they ſhould fortune to attempt anie inuaſion. That done, he paſſed forth with the reſidue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were alreadie aſſembled in campe, and were come as farre as the riuer of Humber, neere to the bankes whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatall for the Britains to be vanquiſhed in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in ſight of the other, there were certeine biſhops of thoſe three nations that toke great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, conſidering what miſchiefe and great bloudſhed ſhould inſue, if vpon wilfullneſſe they would ſeeke to trie that by dint of ſword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendlie agréement. Againe, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enimies to chriſtian religion, than if by their incountring togither in battell, they ſhould ſo infeeble their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie means and occaſion offered to execute their gréedie deſires to conquere the whole Ile. Mordred and Eugenius were perſuaded by this earneſt trauell of the biſhops, to put their matter in compromiſe, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might haue aſſurance that the league made with king Loth ſhould in euerie point be obſerued. Arthur likewiſe at the ſute of the ſame biſhops, would haue béene contented for his part to haue agréed hereunto; but other of the Britains, namelie thoſe that were of kin and aliance vnto Conſtantine their prince, could in no wiſe be perſuaded thereunto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the biſhops for their vntimelie ſute, ſeeing the enimies readie ranged in battell at point to giue the onſet, ſo that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, vnleſſe they went about to betraie the armie, vnder pretenſe of a cloked treatie for an vnprofitable agréement. These or ſuch like words were vneth ended, when ſuddenlie the noiſe being raiſed on both ſides, the battels ruſhed togither right fiercelie. The Britains had the diſaduantage of the place, being ſo incumbred with mires, bogs, and moſſes, that they could not well aid themſelues, nor handle their weapons to anie purpoſe. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the deſtruction of ſuch numbers of men; that the riuer Humber (néere vnto the which this field was fought) was ſo mingled with bloud, that the water thereof being all coloured red, caried no ſmall number of dead bodies downe into the ſea. In the middeſt of the fight, there was one with lowd voice in the Britiſh tong cried out to the Britains (of purpoſe prompted thereunto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his ſide were ſlaine, and therefore it were but follie to truſt anie longer vpon victorie, but rather were it wiſdome for euerie man by flight to prouide for his owne ſafetie.

Biſhops trauell betwixt the parties to bring them to communication for a peace.

Mordred and Eugenius were perſuaded vnto peace.

The Britains would not conſent to haue ante peace talked vpon.

The battell is begun.

A cruell battell.

A craftie policie.

This was one of the Picts.

This voice wonderfullie incouraged the Scotiſhmen and Picts, but the Britains were put in ſuch feare therewith, that the moſt part of them immediatlie hereupon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but ſome craftie and ſubtill practiſe of the enimies deuiſed of purpoſe, as it was in déed, to diſcomfort them with, abode by it ſtill: manfullie continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and ſlaine in maner euerie mothers ſonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, coſt more mens liues than anie other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being vanquiſhers, there died in that mortall battell aboue 20000 men, togither with Mordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations. Of the Britains and ſuch other as were with them in aid, there were ſlaine, what in battell and what in chaſe, at the point of 30000, among whome was Arthur himſelfe, with Gawan or Galuan (as ſome bookes haue) brother vnto Mordred, who bare ſuch good will and intire loue vnto his lord and maiſter the ſaid Arthur, that he fought that day moſt earneſtlie on his ſide againſt his owne naturall brother the ſaid Mordred. Also there were killed Caime and Gawolan, with the moſt part of all the reſidue of the Britiſh nobilitie, and manie priſoners taken, by reaſon that Humber kept them in from flieng anie way forth on the one ſide, which priſoners alſo were afterwards ſlaine, the gentlemen onelie excepted.

Twentie thouſand of Scots and Picts ſlaine. Mordred is ſlaine.

Arthur with 30000 Britains ſlaine. Gawan is ſlaine.

Caime and Gawolan are ſlaine.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongſt other rich ſpoiles there was found quéene Guainore Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole ſpoile of the campe and field being equallie diuided by lots betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certeine faire charets laden with rich ſtuffe and iewels, alſo horſſes and armours, beſide ſundrie noble men, whom they had to their priſoners. Unto the Picts fell for their portion quéene Guainore, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, beſides a great quantitie of other rich preie and bootes. These priſoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a caſtell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great ſtrength in thoſe daies, though at this preſent there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines therof. In which caſtell they were deteined vnder ſure ward, during the reſidue of their naturall liues. In witneſſe wherof there be remaining vnto this day, the graue and monuments where manie of theſe captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countrie called Wegill, not paſt 10 miles from Dundée: but amongeſt the reſidue, that of Guainore is moſt famous.

Quéene Guainore taken.

The ſpoile of the Britains camp diuided.

Dunbarre in Angus, not that in Louthian.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an aſſured trueth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they ſhall remaine barren without bringing forth anie iſſue more than the ſaid Guainore did. But whether this be true or not, certeine it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come néere that graue, not onelie eſchuing it themſelues, but alſo commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened ſo much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former ſtates and dignities. The yeare alſo that theſe three nations incountred thus cruellie togither, was after the birth of our Sauiour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scotiſhmen.

The fable of quéene Guainores graue buried in Angus.

542.
8. H.B.

In the ſame yere before the battell, were ſéene manie ſtrange ſights in Albion. Graſſe and hearbs in Yorkeſhire appeared to bée all ſtained with bloud. Néere vnto Camelon, a cow brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The ſunne appeared about noone daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright ſtarres to euerie mans ſight continuallie for the ſpace of two daies togither. In Wales there was a battell betweene crowes and pies on the one ſide, and rauens on the other, with ſuch a ſlaughter of them, as before that time had not béene heard of.

Strange and vnketh wonders.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to thoſe that had eſcaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The ſonnes and néereſt kinſfolke of ſuch as were ſlaine

Eugenius rewardeth his ſouldiers.

ſlaine, he alſo aduanced to ſundrie preferments of lands & liuings, that they inioieng the ſame, might be a witneſſe in time to come of the good ſeruice of their anceſtors, ſhewed in defenſe of their king and countrie, and alſo of his princelie liberalitie, in rewarding the ſame vpon their iſſue and progenie. By which noble beneuolence, he wan him ſuch loue amongſt his people, that afterwards it ſéemed how he gouerned the ſtate of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by ante rigour of lawes. The Britains immediatlie vpon knowledge had that Arthur was ſlaine, crowned Conſtantine his ſucceſſor in the Britiſh kingdome, and for that there ſhould remaine none amongſt them aliue to make ante claime to the ſame kingdome, other than he with his iſſue, or ſuch as he ſhould appoint to ſucceed him, they cruellie murthered Mordreds children, in moſt pitifull wiſe running vnto their mothers lap, beſéeching hir to ſaue their liues, according to hir motherlie dutie. They were brought vp in Gawolane their fathers grandfathers houſe, and being thus made awaie, the familie and linage of their father the foreſaid Mordred was vtterlie thereby extinguiſhed.

Eugenius gouerneth his people with clemencie.

Conſtantine crowned king of Britaine.

The cruelitie of the Britains in murthering the innocent children of Mordred.

The linage of Mordred clearlyextinct.

The Saxons at the ſame time hauing aduertiſement what loſſe the Britains had ſuſteined, not onlie by the death of their moſt valiant king and chiefteine Arthur, but alſo for the ſlaughter of ſuch a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepare a mightie nauie of ſhips, and paſſe ouer the ſame into England, where being landed, they eaſilie beat downe the Britains, and driue them with their K. Conſtantine into Wales, ſo recouering all that part of the land which Hengiſt ſomtimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. ¶ Some haue written, how that after king Conſtantine had reigned certeine yéeres in Wales, his wife and children died, wherupon waxing wearie of this world, he forſoke his earthlie kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and ſecretlie departed into Ireland, where applieng himſelfe for a time in miniſtring to the poore, at length being knowne, by the perſuaſion of a monke he became one of his cote and profeſſion.

The Saxons returne into England, and driue the Britains into Wales.

Conſtantine forſaketh his earthlie kingdome in hope of the heauenlie kingdome.

Conſtantine entereth into religion.

Afterwards being ſent by the biſhop of the diocelle ouer into Scotland, to inſtruct the people of that countrie in the true faith and articles of the chriſtian religion, he there ſuffered martyrdome by the hands of moſt wicked and godleſſe perſons, and was at length (but manie yéeres after his death) canonized a ſaint, and ſundrie churches (as are to be ſéene euen vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the biſhops there. At the ſame time that the ſaid Conſtantine was driuen into Wales, there reigned among the Engliſhmen one Iurmirike the fift (as Beda ſaith) from Hengiſt. The ſame Iurmirike though he were not chriſtened himſelfe, yet he permitted the chriſtian faith to be preached amongſt his people, and concluding a league with the Scotiſhmen and Picts, kept the ſame inuiolate during his life time moſt ſincerlie. The Scotiſh king Eugenius alſo liued in peace the reſidue of his life, without anie trouble either by forren enimies, or inteſtine ſedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauiour 569.

Conſtantine ſent forth of Ireland into Scotland is there murthered.

Iurmirike or Iurmirike king of the Engliſhmen.

Iurmirike concludeth a peace with the Scotiſhmen and Picts.

Eugenius the Scotiſh king dieth. 568. H.B.

## *Conuall.*

Conuall elected king of Scotland.

After his funerall obſequies finiſhed in Colmekill, where he lieth buried amongeſt his anceſtors, his brother Conuall was choſen to ſucceed him in adminiſtration of the kingdome, a prince of ſuch inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may iuſtlie wonder thereat. He bare ſuch zealous deuotion towards the worſhipping of the croſſe (a thing to put men in remembrance of Chriſts paſſion as he tooke it) that which way ſoeuer he rode (as it is reported) hée had the ſame borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horſſe, he with all the multitude of people ſtanding about him, would worſhip it, kneeling downe, & reuerentlie kiſſing it. This croſſe was of ſiluer with a crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate faſtened to the ſtaffe, conteining these two words: *Chriſtianorum gloria.* He commanded alſo that the ſigne of the croſſe ſhould be ſet vpon the tops of ſteeples, and on the higheſt towers of the gates of caſtels & townes. Moreouer he forbad the croſſe to be grauen or painted vpon ante pauement, leaſt ante man ſhould vnreuerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had prieſts and other religious men in ſuch honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenths of all thoſe fruits which the earth yéelded. Sundrie ordinances he made alſo, for the grieuous puniſhment of all ſuch as in anie wiſe miſuſed a prieſt, or other religious perſon: as he that gaue any of them a blow, ſhould loſe his hand for it: and hée that ſlue one of them, ſhould forfeit his goods, and bée burned quicke. Againe, he beſtowed manie rich iewels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches, prouiding the miniſters of ſufficient liuings, and appointed that they ſhould haue their houſes néere vnto their churches, to be readie to execute that which apperteined vnto their offices, when anie néed required.

Croſſes ſet vpon the tops of ſteeples.

Connals deuotion towards church men.

Connals liberalitie toward churches.

The king being thus vertuouſlie diſpoſed, cauſed the whole number of his ſubiects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the aduancement of religion. The report and fame whereof moued that holie man ſaint Colme or Colombe, to come ouer forth of Ireland (where he had the gouernance of ſundrie houſes of monks) with twelue other vertuous perſons into Albion, and there gathering together a great number of monks, being here and there diſperſed abroad in the countrie, he placed them orderlie in ſuch houſes, as king Conuall had builded and founded for that purpoſe, appointing amongſt them rulers & miniſters, ſuch as he thought moſt conuenient. But ſaint Colme himſelfe, and the other twelue, which he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themſelues to inhabit in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, tooke great paines to inſtruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Saint Colme commeth ouer forth of Ireland into Scotland.

Amongſt the Picts at the ſame time the hereſie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane that diuerſe of that nation hauing dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countrie, brought that peſtilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, paſſed into Louthian vnto Brudeus as then king of the Picts, earneſtlie trauelling to inſtruct both him and his people in the right beliefe, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erronious opinions of that damnable ſect of the Pelagians lore. At the ſame time, that bleſſed man Kentigerne, otherwiſe called Mungo, gouerned the church of Glaſcow, as biſhop of the ſame, who reſorting into the companie of this ſaint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

The hereſie of Pelagius in Pictland.

Kentigerne biſhop of Glaſcow, otherwiſe called Mungo biſhop of Aſcea.

This Kentigerne was deſcended of the blood roiall of the Pictiſh kings, as ſon vnto that vertuous woman Thametes or Thamew, daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whome a yong luſtie gentleman, or (as ſome haue written) the laſt mentioned Eugenius the Scotiſh king raviſhed by force, and begot of hir the ſaid Kentigerne. He was greatlie in fauour with the foreſaid Brudeus the Pictiſh king, as one that was néere of his blood. For the ſame Brudeus was nephue vnto the foreſaid Loth by his brother called Meleſhon, and therefore ſucceeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Mordred was ſlaine,

Thamew or Thametes raviſhed by Eugenius king of Scotland, of which raviſhment ſhe bare the foreſaid Kentigerne.

slaine, as before is expressed. Kentigerne went with saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise called Dounkeld, where they remained six moneths in a monasterie there, builded by king Connall, teaching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Calidon, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto them, to heare their godlie instructions. There is in the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood, a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire square stone, being at this day a bishops see, commonlie called Dounkeld, indowed with manie faire reuennes and great possessions, for the maintenance of the bishop and his canons.

The castell of Calidon now Dounkeld.

The bishops see of Dounkeld.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous persons taking their leaue each of other, not without shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kentigerne returning into Glascow, and saint Colme into Ireland, where reporting manie things, touching the great vertue and holines of king Connall, and with what deuotion he had béene receiued both of him and his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere following, saint Colme prepared to returne into Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by commandement of king Connall, which Aidan (as ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugenius, fled ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to bée made away by the same Eugenius. Saint Colme taking the sea with this Aidan, and comming on land on the coasts of Scotland, was no soner there arriued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the king was dead, being the yeere of his reigne the 10, and after the birth of our Sauiour 579.

Saint Colme returneth into Ireland.

Saint Colme cõmeth againe into Scotland, bringing with him Aidan sonne to king Conran.

The death of Connall.

578. H.B.

Saint Colme then being throughlie certified of his death, and that the corps was forward on the way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, hée thought it a péece of his dutie to go thither to be at the funerall, and so doing, was as one of the chiefest there in executing of the obsequies. Which being ended, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Connall was inthronized king in Argile, by the frée election of all the estates, he neuertheless kept on his former purposed iournie, and came vnto Kinnatill, bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Connall to haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if he had liued) they were both receiued with all benenolence of the said Kinnatill cõtrarie to most mens expectation: insomuch that imbracing Aidan, he bad him be of good cheere, for it should shortlie come to passe, that he should atteine to the possession of his grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scotish common-wealth.

Saint Colme present at the buriall of king Connall.

Kinnatill elected king of Scotland.

Saint Colme and Aidan receiued by Kinnatill.

The prophesy of Kinnatill.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttred these words, it is vncerteine, but sure it is that his purpose was to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the kingdome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a right therevnto. Notwithstanding being preuented by death, he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for within twentie daies after his coronation, being surprised with a grieuous disease of a catarrhike rheume, and the squinancie, he was constreined to keepe his chamber, committing the publike administration of the realme vnto Aidan. Hereupon followed a feuer through increasing of a flegmatike humor bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint Colme, being present with him at the houre of his death, he rendred in most deuout wise into the hands of his redéemer; appointing his kingdome as it were by deliuerie of seisin, euen there vpon his death bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

The death of Kinnatill. Kinnatill lieng vpon his death bed, surrendereth his kingdome into Aidans hands.

## *Aidan.*

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was interred, according to the maner, in Colmekill, Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble stone, after the custome in those daies vsed, by the hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon the kings head, and in his left hand holding his crosier staffe, made a briefe exhortation, as well to the king as to his people, admonishing them of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all things to remember to walke in the waies of the Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with all other good graces, whereas otherwise, if either the people forgot their duties towards God, or that the king regarded not dulie to execute or fulfill his office, in giuing God thanks for his bountious liberalitie and high benefits bestowed vpon him, it should come to passe, that intestine seditions, conspiracies, and other mischiefes should rise among them, to the irrecouerable losse of the realme, by bringing the same into danger to be ouerrun with some forrein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to God for his fauour, that it might please him to reduce them againe into the right path of his lawes & ordinances, whensoeuer they should so fall from the same. When saint Colme had made an end of these or the like his wholsome aduertisements, all the people reioising thereat, promised with one voice, and therewith vowed to follow the same, and to be euer readie to obeie the commandement of their prince, and the holie instructions of their bishops and other the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and there deliuered the countrie of certeine British robbers that had inuaded it. After this, studieng to mainteine good orders and quiet rule through his dominions, he appointed an assemblie of the chiefest péeres of his realme, to be holden yéerelie in three seuerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Louchquhaber, and Cathnesse, there to heare and determine all suites and quarels of his subiects, & to giue order for the administration of the lawes and all publike affaires, as they should see cause and occasion. He required also S. Colme to be present euer with them, that matters touching religion might be the better prouided for, and that the people might take all things done in those publike sessions in right good part, bicause such an holie and vertuous father of the church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefest authoritie.

Aidan receiueth his inuesture of the kingdome at the hands of saint Colme.

S. Colmes exhortation to the king and the people.

The promise of the people.

The kings iournie into Galloway.

Aidan appointeth sessions to bée kept yéerlie in three parts of his realme.

Saint Colme present at assises and sessions.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for certeine yeeres togither, till it chanced that diuers of the nobles being togither on hunting, fell at variance, and thereupon making a fraie, sundrie of them were slaine. The beginners and such as were most culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to haue béene had to ward, but they in disobeieng the arrest, stroke and beat the officers verie sore, and immediatlie therewith fled vnto Brudeus king of the Picts, so by wilfull exile to safe gard their liues. King Aidan according to the maner in such cases accustomed, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto him, that he might do iustice vpon them accordinglie as they had deserued. Brudeus taking pitie of the young gentlemen, alledged manie things in their excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length hee procured warre to himselfe and his countrie. For Aidan the Scotish king, offended in that hee might not haue those rebels and publike offendors restored vnto him, caused a number of his people, first to fetch a great bootie of cattell and prisoners out

A fray among the nobles being a hunting.

King Aidan requireth to haue certeine Scotish outlawes deliuered at the hands of Brudeus king of Picts.

Brudeus by denieng to deliuer the Scotish outlawes, procureth warres to him selfe and his countrie.

out of Angus.

The breach of peace betwixt the Scots and Picts.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vnto a field, which was foughten in Mentieth, not farre from Calidon caſtell otherwiſe called Dounkeld, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but loſing Arthurnus the ſonne of Aidan their king, they reioiſed not greatlie at the gaine. That holie man ſaint Colme troubled with ſuch newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grieuouſlie he had offended almightie God, in procuring ſuch miſchiefe as had inſued of this warre, and reciting in particular the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto ſuch repentance for his treſpaſſe, that he wholie ſubmitted himſelfe vnto ſaint Colmes chaſtiſement, who being about to depart in ſemblance ſore offended, the king got him by the ſleeue, and would in no wiſe ſuffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him ſome comfortable meanes how to redreſſe the matter, for the quieting of his conſcience. At length ſaint Colme lamenting the kings caſe, ſuffered himſelfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired vnto Brudeus the Pictiſh king, mouing him by way of diuerſe godlie aduertiſements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did ſo much by trauelling ſundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought them vnto agrément, for all matters depending in controuerſie betwixt them and their ſubiects.

Saint Colme reproueth K. Aidan.

The repentance of king Aidan.

Saint Colme goeth vnto the king of the Picts.

An agrément betwixt the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings by the ſute of ſaint Colme.

Thus ſaint Colme hauing accompliſhed that which he came for, returned againe into the weſterne Iles vnto his wonted home, where he did by wholeſome documents and vertuous examples inſtruct the ſeruants of God in the way of his lawes and commandements. In this meane time the Saxons hauing driuen and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the reſidue of their lands and countries, they diuided the ſame into ſeuen parts, ordeining ſeuen ſeuerall kings to gouerne the ſame as kingdomes. Ouer that of Northumberland, adioining nert vnto the Picts, one Edelfred reigned, a man of exceeding deſire to inlarge his dominion. He went by all meanes he could deuiſe, to perſuade Brudeus the Pictiſh king to renew the warres with the Scots, promiſing him all the aid he could make againſt them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots to haue beene euer enimies vnto the Saxons, but alſo for that he himſelfe was deſcended of the nation called Agathyrſes, of the which the Picts (as was thought) were alſo come. But the cauſe why he wiſhed that there might be warres raiſed betwixt the Scots and Picts, was not for anie good will he bare to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power being weakened through the ſame, he might haue a more eaſie prete of their countrie, the which he purpoſed vpon occaſion to inuade, and ioine vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberland.

England diuided into ſeuen ſeuer all kingdoms.

Edelfred K. of Northumberland.

Edelfreds purpoſe.

Brudeus at the firſt gaue no eare vnto his earneſt motions and large offers, but at length through the counſell and procurement of ſome of his nobles, corrupted by bribes receiued at Edelfreds hands, and ſtill putting into the kings head ſundrie forged informations of the Scotiſhmens dailie attempts againſt the Pictiſh nation; he determined to ioine with the Saxons againſt them, and cauſed thereupon warre to be proclamed againſt the Scots, as thoſe that had ſpoiled and robbed his ſubiects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendſhip and former amitie betwixt them. The Scotiſh king Aidan perceiuing the practiſe of the Saxons, and together therwith the vntruth of the Picts, the better to be able to reſiſt their malice, ioineth in league with the Britains: this article being the chiefeſt in the whole couenant: that if the enimies firſt inuaded the Britains, then an armie of Scots ſhould be ſent with all ſpeed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the countrie againſt ſuch inuaſions: but if the Scots were firſt inuaded, then ſhould the Britains in ſemblable maner come ouer to their aid.

A league concluded betwixt the Scots & Britains, with the articles of the ſame.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appointment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots forth of their countrie, and ſo to haue them at more aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them: and ſo both their powers being vnited together, entred into the Britiſh confines. Aidan according to the couenant came ſtreight vnto the aid of the Britains. Edelfred and Brudeus refuſed to fight for certeine daies, as it were of purpoſe, therby to wearie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Alſo they looked dailie to haue Ceuline king of the Weſtſaxons to come vnto their aid: but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge therof, firſt thought it beſt to incounter with him, before he ſhould ioine with the other, and thus vnderſtanding that their onelie refuge remained in their armor and weapons, gaue the onſet ſo fiercelie vpon thoſe Saxons, that at the firſt, ſleaing Cutha Ceulines ſonne, with a great number of other, they eaſilie diſtreſſed and put the reſidue to flight.

The Picts & Saxons enter into the land of the Britains.

Ceuline or Ceolin.

Aidan would not ſuffer his men to purſue too far in the chaſe, but called them backe by the ſound of a trumpet, who being aſſembled herewith about their ſtandards, made ſuch ioy and triumph, as greater could not be deuiſed, what with danſing, ſinging, and plaieng on pipes and other inſtruments, according to the manner in thoſe daies. But as they were thus in the middeſt of their chiefeſt mirth, ſuddenlie appeered the Saxons and Picts, which were with Edelfred and Brudeus, approching towards them in good order of battell, with whome were alſo the reſidue of the Weſtſaxons, that had eſcaped from the late bickering. Whereupon the Scots and Britains amazed with the ſight hereof, were ſuddenlie ſtricken out of countenance, inſomuch that Aidan went amongſt them, and with a bold countenance exhorted them to remember how valiantlie they had alreadie put to flight the other of their enimies, ſo that there was great hope for aſſured victorie of theſe likewiſe, if they would now ſhew the like manlie courage againſt them, as they had ſhewed before in aſſailing the other. Manie other words he vſed in admoniſhing them to fight manfullie, till the onſet giuen by the enimies cauſed him to make an end.

The Scots and Britains put the Saxons to flight, and ſlue Cutha the ſonne of Ceuline king of the Weſtſaxons.

The triumphant ioy made by the Scots and Britains vpon their new victorie.

The Saxons and Picts.

The Saxons laid about them ſo ſtoutlie in the beginning, that they forced their aduerſaries, with whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither did Edelfred faile in that occaſion to incourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Brudeus with his Picts likewiſe made great ſlaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he incountred; ſo that finallie the ſame Scots perceiuing the Britains beaten downe and ſore diſtreſſed on their ſide, fell through diſcomfort thereof to running awaie. There were ſlaine in this battell on the Scotiſhmens ſide, Brennius lieutenant or (as they termed him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungar the kings third ſonne, and no ſmall number of other gentlemen beſide. The king himſelfe ſcaped by helpe of his ſonne, who ſtaieng to get his father out of the preaſſe, was ſlaine (as is ſaid) amongſt the reſidue. On the Saxons ſide, there was ſlaine Theobald Edelfreds brother, and Cutha the king of Weſtſaxons his ſonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Edelfred himſelfe loſt one of his eies. Brudeus the Pictiſh king was hurt in the thigh, and beſides this, he loſt a great multitude of his people.

The ſudden feare of the Scots and Picts, after all their great ioy & triumphing.

Aidan exhorted his men to manfulneſſe.

The Saxons fight ſtoutlie.

Edelfred.

Brudeus K. of the Picts maketh ſlaughter of the Scots.

The Scots run awaie.

Edelfred loſt one of his eies.

Brudeus hurt in the thigh.

Thus Edelfred hauing got ſuch a notable victorie

Degiaſtone the place wher this battell was fought.

at Degiaſtone in Britaine, he could not be ſo contented, but eftſones aſſembling his people, and ioining againe with Brudeus and his Picts, the nert ſummer after inuaded Galloway, and began to rob and ſpoile that countrie, to the end he might either inforce the inhabitants, with other the countries nert thereunto adioining, to yeeld vnto him; either els to bring them into extreme pouertie in waſting all afore him. But Aidan being aduertiſed hereof, ſent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and comming forward with his owne people which he had aſſembled together, ouerthrew certeine companies of his enimies, as he found them diſperſed abroad in ſeeking for preies: then paſſing by their maine armie, he commeth into Anandale, where he ioineth with the Britains, being come ſo farre forward on their waie to meet him. The Saxons and Picts hauing knowledge of their enimies doings, wan ſuch a place of aduantage, as they thought it an eaſie matter for them in keeping the ſame, to diſtreſſe both the Scots and Britains through ſtopping vp the paſſages, by the which they muſt of force paſſe, if they minded to come forth on that day. Theſe paſſages laie through certeine quickſands, and by a riuer which had but few fords paſſable.

Galloway inuaded by Edelfred.

Certeine companies of Saxons ouerthrowne.

Paſſages thorough Dullerway ſands.

The Scots and Britains, perceiuing how they were thus incloſed, with all ſpeed trenched their campe about, raiſing certeine bulworks and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had ment ſtill there to haue continued. Aidan himſelfe toke ſuch paines in ſeeing euerie thing done in due order, that his people moued more through his example than by anie exhortation, were moſt diligent in their duties, deſirous of nothing ſo much as to haue occaſion miniſtred, to ſhew ſome proofe of their worthie valiancies. At length, when the enimies were moſt at quiet, and (as was ſuppoſed) nothing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the Scots and Britains in the night ſeaſon, leauing a great number of fires in their campe, they ſuddenlie diſlodged, and paſſing the water by ſecret fords, they entred into Cumberland, and ſo after paſſing into Northumberland, they waſted and deſtroied with fire and ſword all that came within their reach: the report of which their doings brought Edelfred and Brudeus backe into that countrie to reſiſt their inuaſion, neither reſting day nor night, till they had got ſight of their enimies.

The diligence of king Aidan in prouiding to reſiſt his enimies.

The Scots and Britains diſlodge.

The Scots and Britains enter into Northumberland.

The nert day, the ſouldiers on both ſides requiring battell, together they go with great noiſe and din both of men and inſtruments. Too much hardineſſe in the Saxons cauſed no ſmall number of them to be ſlaine, rather chooſing to die with reputation of manhood, than to giue backe neuer ſo little ground to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a ſpace, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scotiſhmens ſide, there were foure chiefe rulers amongſt them, beſide Aidan himſelfe, as Conſtantius and Alencrinus Britains, Callan and Mordacke Scotiſhmen. Ech of theſe taking a ſeuerall charge vpon him, did earneſtlie applie their vttermoſt indeuors therin, incouraging their bands to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to ſticke to their tackle, ſince by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beſide ſuertie of life, and aduancement to the common-wealth of their countrie; where otherwiſe they might looke for nothing, but the contrarie miſhaps, as ſhame, rebuke, and importable ſeruitude. So that the Scotiſhmen and Britains incouraged hereewith, preaſſed vpon the enimies ſo fiercelie, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine running awaie: the Scots following ſo egerlie in the chaſe, that more of their enimies were thought to die in the flight, than before there had done in the battell.

The fight betwixt Scots and Britains on the one ſide, and Saxons and Picts on the other.

The Saxons and Picts diſcomfited and chaſed.

S. Colme as yet being aliue, and within his monaſterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by diuine inſpiration (as the Scotiſh chronicles make mention) of all theſe matters how they went: and at the verie time that the battels were in fight together, he had aſſembled a companie of verie vertuous and godlie diſpoſed perſons, making interceſſion for the proſperous ſpeed of their king the foreſaid Aidan: and at the verie inſtant (as it was knowne after) that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the ouerthrow) that holie old father ſhewed great token of ioy and gladneſſe, declaring vnto his brethren by the ſpirit of ſecret knowledge or prophesie, how Aidan had the better, and that his enimies were diſcomfited, willing them thereupon to giue vnto God thanks for the ſame. There was an huge multitude ſlaine in this conflict, but namelie the death of Ceuline king of the Weſtſaxons, with other two worthie capteins of that nation, made the ſlaughter more ſorowfull on that ſide, the one of them was called Cialine, and the other Quhitelline.

S. Colme indued with the ſpirit of ſecret knowledge.

Ceuline king of weſtſaxons ſlaine.

Quhitelline or Whiteine.

The day nert after the battell, the ſpoile of the field being gathered together, all that which was knowne to haue beene taken out of Galloway, and other countries of the Scots, was reſtored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The reſidue which remained was diuided amongſt the ſouldiers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was diſtributed vnto prieſts & curats, to beſtow the ſame vpon ornaments for their churches. The banners and ſtandards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie other rich offerings, king Aidan ſent vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of ſo notable a victorie. The yeere nert inſuing, that holie father S. Colme now almoſt waſted through age, and hereto alſo ſore troubled with a rheumatike humor, fell ſicke and died. Some ſaie he ended his life in his houſe amongſt his brethren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill; but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Iland called Heu; where againe the Iriſh writers affirme, that he deceaſſed in a towne in Ireland called Dume, & that his tome is there in verie great veneration of the people: vpon the which are theſe Latine verſes ingrauen for the lokers on to read, if they liſt:

The diuiſion of the ſpoile.

S. Colme departed out of this life.

*Hitres in Dune, tumulo tumulantur in vno,*
*Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.*

which verſes Bellenden tranſlateth.

Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure,
Thir three in Dune lies in ane ſepulture.

Aidan king of the Scotiſhmen, departeth this world.

Neither did Aidan the Scotiſh king liue long time after, for hearing (as is ſaid) that ſaint Colme was dead, ſhortlie therevpon, more through griefe than by force of ſickeneſſe, he departed this world, after he had reigned 37 yeares in gouernement ouer the Scotiſhmen, he died about the yeare of our Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was ſent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongeſt whome were Auguſtinus and Mellitus) to inſtruct the Engliſh people in the faith of Chriſt, which as yet they had not receiued. By the earneſt trauell and exhortation of theſe inſtructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentiſh Saxons was baptiſed with all his people. The Britiſh prieſts nor their doctrine the Saxons could in no wiſe abide, becauſe (as is ſuppoſed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, ſtill ſought the deſtruction of the other. The South and Eaſtſaxons moued with the example of the Kentiſh Saxons, ſhortlie after alſo renounced their old ſuperſtitious idolatrie, and likewiſe receiued the chriſtian faith. Edelfred king of Northumberland moued vnto diſpleaſure herewith, ſent word vnto theſe Saxons of the ſouth parts (as then

606.

Auguſtinus and Mellitus ſent into Albion.

Ethelbert is baptiſed.

The Saxons hatred toward the Britiſh prieſtes.

Suſſex and Eſſex receiue the chriſtian faith.

Edelfred his diſpleaſure.

then all of them generallie knowen by the name of Engliſhmen) that ſith they had forſaken the old inſtitutions & ancient religion of their forefathers, he would ſuerlie from thenceforth be no leſſe enimie vnto them than vnto the Scots and Britains.

Ealdred otherwiſe called Baldred doctor of the Picts.

There liued in theſe daies that holie man Ealdred a Scotiſh man borne, but dwelling amongeſt the Picts, whome he inſtructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Baſſe, lieng about two miles off from the maine land within the ſea, where the Forth hath entrie betwixt the ſame Ile, and an other called the Paie. There were three pariſhes fell at contention for his bodie, as Aldham, Tiningham, and Preſton, ſo far forth, that they were at point to haue fought about it, but that by counſell of ſome diſcréet perſons amongeſt them, it was ordeined that they ſhould continue in praier for that night, and in the nert morning ſtand to th'order of the biſhop of the dioces, who was come thither the ſame time to be preſent at the buriall. The nert day in the morning there was found three beires with three bodies decentlie couered with clothes, ſo like in all reſemblance, that no man might perceiue anie difference. Then by commandement of the biſhop, and with great ioy of all the people, the ſaid ſeuerall bodies were caried ſeuerallie vnto the ſaid three ſeuerall churches, and in the ſame buried in moſt ſolemne wiſe, where they remaine vnto this day, in much honor with the common people of the countries nére adioining.

Miracle if it be true.

*Kenethus Keir.*

Kenethus Keir crowned king of Scots

After that the corps of king Aidan was buried in Colmekill, the nobles of the realme aſſembled togither in Argile, about the election of a new king. There, by the generall voices of them all, Kenethus Keir the ſonne of Conwall (ſometime king of the Scotiſhmen, as before is mentioned) was now proclamed king, and crowned according to the maner; but he liued not paſt foure moneths after, but died of a catarrhike rheume falling down into the windpipe, and ſo ſtopping vp his lights and lungs. He deliuered as it were the poſſeſſion of his kingdome, by way of ſurrendring the ſame, into the hands of Eugenius ſonne to king Aidan, by conſent of all the nobles, a little before he died, for that it was knowen he had a right therevnto after the deceaſſe of Kenethus.

Kenethus Keir dieth of the cough of the lungs.

Eugenius the fourth of that name.

*Eugenius.*

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name, which had ruled ouer the Scotiſhmen. As it is ſaid, ſaint Colme prophecied that he ſhould be king long before his fathers death, for when all the ſonnes of king Aidan were brought before him, and that Aidan demanded of him which of them ſhould reigne after him, he ouerpaſſing the reſidue (which he vnderſtood by ſecret knowledge ſhould die in the wars) appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by ſome alſo Brudus, declaring that it ſhould be onelie he. This Eugenius then being placed in the kinglie ſeat, forgot not ſuch holſome leſſons and vertuous precepts, as the foreſaid ſaint Colme had taught him in his youth, ſo that ſtudieng how to defend rather that which was his owne in peace and quietneſſe, than to ſéke anie waies or means how to inlarge it, by wrongfull incroching vpon other mens poſſeſſions, he grew into ſuch fauour with all good men, as greater could not be deuiſed. Vnto all offendors he was a ſharpe iuſticer, not ſparing anie tranſgreſſour of his lawes, neither in reſpect of nobilitie or otherwiſe, but rather thoſe gentlemen which miſuſed themſelues in breach of good orders, he chiefelie gaue order to ſée them puniſhed; where if they behaued themſelues worthilie, and according to their calling, there was no prince more glad than he to aduance them vnto honor.

S. Colmes prophecie of Eugenius the fourth.

A louer of peace and quietneſſe.

A ſharpe iuſticer.

By theſe and the like his princelie dooings, he was both beloued of his people and alſo feared. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being ethniks, perſiſted in their infidelitie, and the other called not by all maner of means to ſupport them; but yet taking a truce with them both, he firmelie cauſed the ſame to be obſerued. In the tenth yeare of his reigne Cinigell king of Weſtſaxons & Elfred king of Northumberland, with aid of the Picts, vanquiſhed Cadwallo king of Britains, and chaſed him into Scotland, where he remained not long, ſailing from thence into Britaine in France, and purchaſing aid of the king there named Cadoall, returned into Wales, where vanquiſhing his enimies the Saxons, and ſleaing manie thouſands of them, he was reſtored againe vnto his kingdome. About the ſame time was Edelfred king of Northumberland ſlaine in battell, at a place called Wintringham, not far from the riuer of Humber, by Redwald and Ethelbreth, the one being king of the eaſt Angles, and the other of the middle Angles; in reuenge of ſuch iniuries as the ſame Edelfred had done vnto the Saxons of the countrie called Mercia, conteining (as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainelie may appeare) all thoſe ſhires from the riuer of Thames vnto the riuer of Merſé in Lancaſhire. Then was one Edwine a right chriſtian prince appointed to reigne in his place, by the aſſignement of the two foreſaid kings Redwald and Ethelbreth.

Cadwall vanquiſhed.

Cadwall is reſtored vnto his kingdome.

Sée more herof in England.

King Edelfred ſlaine.

Edwine.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, there were ſeuen ſonnes of the aforeſaid Edelfred, that deteſting the vntrue dealing of the Picts, which refuſed to aid their father in his neceſſitie, and doubting to fall into the hands of Edwine, got them to Eugenius the Scotiſh king for more ſuertie of their liues. Their names were Eufreid, Oſwald, Oſlaws, Oſwin, Offas, Oſmond, and Oſike. Ebba the onelie daughter of Edelfred being taken amongeſt other priſoners, and eſcaping from hir taker, miraculouſlie got a bote in the riuer of Humber, and with the ſame taking the ſea alone, without all humane helpe (as hath béene reported) ſhe ſailed forth, & at length ſafelie arriued at the point of land which ſtretched forth into the ſea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euen vnto this day after hir name, ſaint Ebbes head, where being receiued by the biſhop of that dioceſſe, ſhe was profeſſed a nun, and after continuing in great perfectneſſe of obſeruing that profeſſion, ſhe was inſtituted abbeſſe of hir houſe, ſhewing ſtill in trade of life an orderlie example for hir flocke to follow.

S. Ebbes head.

Eugenius the Scotiſh king did louinglie receiue the ſonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer béene a cruell enimie againſt the Scotiſh nation; and within a while after their comming into Scotland, hearing oftentimes the godlie ſermons and preachings of the biſhops and monks (who in thoſe daies continuallie gaue themſelues vnto that exerciſe) they finallie abhorred their ſuperſtitious idolatrie, and receiued baptiſme, that ſalutiferous ſigne and ſacrament of our chriſtian religion. Thoſe churches alſo, which the Saxons in time of the warres had ouerthrowen and deſtroied in Galloway and other countries thereabouts, Eugenius cauſed to be repared; moreouer alſo he reedified ſundrie caſtels in thoſe marches, and placed in them gariſons of ſouldiers, to defend them againſt all inuaſions that might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the ſpace of fifteene yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace, to the great aduancement of the commonwealth of his ſubiects, he laſtlie died in the yeare 620, and was buried amongeſt his elders in the Ile of Iona, within the monaſterie of Colmekill.

620

Bonifacius a godlie preacher.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Quirinus came forth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning vp the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Sauinianus, it is not certeinlie knowne; but certeine it is, as the Scotish writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arriued in the water of Taie, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which diuideth the countrie of Gowrie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongest the Scots euen vnto this day, for that he trauelled through the most part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almightie God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came on land, an other at a village called Tulline, not passing three miles from Dundée, and the third at Restennoth, where afterwards an house of chanons of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Rosse, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Rossemarken.

Molocke a preacher.

There was also at the same time amongest the Scots an ancient godlie man named Molocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend abbat, he ceassed not to exhort the people of Mar and Argile (in which countries he was most resident) to flée and forsake their vicious liuing, and to indeuour themselues to imbrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Molocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finallie died also in Rosse, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his relikes rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name.

Monks were preachers in those daies.

*Ferquhard.*

Ferquhard king of Scotland.

After the decease of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succéeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald. These being appointed by their father to be brought vp with Connane bishop of Sodore (that is, the bishop of Man) in vertuous discipline, did not altogither follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladlie gaue eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much apperteine vnto their birth and degrée: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents déepelie in his heart, determined to forsake all worldlie pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more frélie without let or interruption of his friends or kinsfolke. Thus being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where séeking a solitarie place, Pharao the bishop of Meaux gaue vnto him a péece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

Fiacre giueth himselfe for to liue a solitarie life in France

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if anie do, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of wits, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scotish commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet inough, & without trouble of outward enimies; but his subiects among themselues fell at such diuision, that euerie part of the realme was full of murther, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any suertie either of life or goods: all the which misorders sprong, were nourished and mainteined through the kings owne diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus readie one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongest them, than take order for to appease it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongest them, so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agréement, all matters in controuersie were taken vp & ended betwixt them, the king not once made priuie therevnto.

Ferquhard maintained ciuill discord.

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behauiours, was also infected with the erronious opinions of the Pelagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he vsed to haue sundrie British priests in his companie: the which nation had béene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a councell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled togither, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe, and winning the place, got him into their hands, and immediatlie therevpon committed him to safe kéeping. This done, they consult togither for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agréement, to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

King Ferquhard infected with the Pelagian error.

The king is summoned by an herald.

He is taken prisoner.

Ambassadors sent into France to Fiacre.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scotish nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his praiers desired feruentlie of almightie God, that it might please him so to worke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godlie men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the heremitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusall to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldlie preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answere, sith his infirmitie (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anie publike gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sira, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in hir purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigne in France, where she with hir fellowes remained in great holinesse of life, leauing in those parties a worthie memorie not forgotten amongest them there till this day.

Fiacre his praier.

The foresaid ambassadours returning forth of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had séene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scotish nobilitie herevpon assembling togither, chose forth foure of the ancientest peeres amongest them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise prouided. These were named by that age,

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as seemed them good in all points. In the meane time Ferquhard remaining still in prison, and vexed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such miseries, slue himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne; and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which had béene the occasion of the losse of so manie other mens liues in time of the ciuill discord, that he had euer nourished. After this wretched end of Ferquhard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632, the lords of the land assembled themselues togither in Argile, about the chosing of a new king, where by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan out of the Ile of Man, was inuested king with great ioy and triumph.

The desperat end of king Ferquhard.

632

*Donwald.*

Donwald K. of Scotland.

This Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall administration, transforming himselfe into his fathers maners, restored againe into the former estate such things as apperteined vnto the common wealth, and had béene anie wise decaied and misgouerned by the slouthfull negligence of his predecessor Ferquhard, by means whereof he quicklie grew into great fauor of his subiects. In the meane time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part of England ancientlie called Mercia, ioining their powers togither against Edwin king of Northumberland, depriued him both of life and kingdome. After this, passing through the whole countrie, and entring into the confines of Pictland, they tooke a great part of the same by force of arms from Brudens king of the Picts, who in vaine had sued for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntruth had béene notified more than inough in times past. But Donwald being certified of Edwins death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of the Britains by his ambassadours, that Eufred the son of Edelfred might be restored vnto his fathers kingdome, which Edwin had wrongfullie vsurped.

King Edwin is slaine.

This being granted, Eufred leauing his brethren still in Scotland, came into Northumberland, where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was inuested king of Bernicia, that is, of the countrie which is now called the marches. For at the same time they had diuided the kingdome of Northumberland into two kingdomes, appointing Eufred (as is said) to reigne ouer the one called Bernicia, and one Osrike ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickednesse, as by his workes most plainelie appeared. For certeine yeares after his aduancement to that dignitie, he found means to marie one of his daughters vnto the foresaid Eufred, persuading the same Eufred to consent with him in restoring againe the heathenish religion throughout their whole dominion, & vtterlie to renounce the christian faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline. But they inioied not long felicitie after so wicked and most diuelish a purpose, for the princes of Albion vnder the leading of Cadwallo K. of the Britains, and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie assembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entring into Northumberland, and incountring in battell with Osrike and Eufred, discomfited their power, and tooke them prisoners, who being put into a common prison, slue each other to auoid sharper tortures, which by due execution they dailie looked for.

Eufred.

Osrike an infidell.

Then was the kingdome of Northumberland giuen vnto Oswald brother to Eufred, both in respect of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale which he bare to the aduancement of Christes religion, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an earnest enimie to his brother Eufred, and all his partakers, in so much that in the day of the battell, he was one of the forwardest capteins against them. Vnto this Oswald was sent a Scotishman called Corman, to instruct the Northumberland men in faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie ye may read more at large: finallie he was slaine by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of Donwald the Scotish king, who sore lamented the same, as of that prince whome he loued right intirelie. Neither liued the said king Donwald anie long time after the death of his deere friend; for that in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a bote to fish in the water called Lochtaie for his recreation, his chance was to be drowned, by reason the bote sanke vnder him. Certeine daies after, his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare of our Lord 647.

12. H.B.

Donwald the Scotish king drowned 645. H.B.

About the same time there liued in France three brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto Philtan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wife Gaighetes, descended of the linage of the kings in Scotland. The names of which three brethren were as followeth, Furseus, Foilanus, and Ultanus. Furseus professing himselfe a monke of saint Benets order, passed ouer into France, there to set forth and inlarge that profession, and being receiued of king Clowis, began the foundation of a monasterie there called Latinie, in the which he placed monks of that order, and began to sow in those parties the séeds of the gospell, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as Iohn Bale saith in the 14 centurie of the British writers. His two brethren Foilan and Ultan followed him ouer into France, and both by word and example instructed the Frenchmen to imbrace the faith of Christ, and to renounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it séemeth as yet, such as professed themselues to be monks, and men of religion (as they were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords vineyard, spending their time in reading the scriptures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise prayer and thanksgiuing: so as no small number by their wholesome doctrine and good example were conuerted to the christian faith. Foilan at length was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded in France called Fosse. About the same time there was also a contention amongst them in Albion for keeping of the Easter day, the Scotish bishops and some of the Britains varieng in their account from all other prelats of the west: but at length through persuasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that feast according to the account of other nations. These things chanced in the daies of king Donwald.

Anno 854. Sigebertus. Fossense monasterium.

Strife about the celebrating of the feast of Easter

After the decease of Donwald, his nephue Ferquhard the sonne of his brother, the other Ferquhard, succéeded in gouernement of the realme, a man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuertheless rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie after he had atteined the crowne, insomuch as it was commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and most gentle humane person, he was suddenlie changed into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Before he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond measure. There was no gentleman that wanted monie, either to redéeme his lands ingaged, or to bestow in dower for the marriage of his daughter, but if he had wherewith to helpe him, he might account himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other deuout persons, speciallie such as were poore and in anie necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieued

*Ferquhard.*

Ferquhard the second of that name created king of Scotland.

Ferquhard being king was couetous before he was king, he shewed liberalitie.

to their great ease and comfort. To be briefe, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthie of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all vnlawfull affections. That which before time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most vncourteouslie demanded to be to him restored, alledging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now & then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as hee vnderstood to be wealthie, he rested not till he had piked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

Gifts are required as a loane.

Lo, what a pretense couetousnes hath.

For their goods sake prelats are troubled.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiuing such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie sundrie times for the same: and at length bicause they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forrests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Neither were such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He vsed also, contrarie to the custome of his countrie, to eat three meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not beene vsed at anie time before those daies in that realme: and all to serue his greedie appetite, together with theirs that followed his companie.

The king is excommunicated.

The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

Of wines & other strong drinks he would participate abundantlie at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being exceedinglie giuen vnto most beastlie drunkennesse. He customablie vsed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, hauing his banketting dishes and cuppes to come in one after another, till he were so mistempered, that being laid to sleepe, he would streight vomit out such beastie gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous wise receiued. Herevnto he was so drowned in the filthie lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dissuade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certeine yeares, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would haue deuised a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop Colman had not forbidden them that practise, prophesieng as it were by diuine inspiration, that Ferquhard sore detesting his owne wicked doings, should shortlie be punished by the hands of almightie God, according to his deseruings.

A drunkard he was also.

A prophesie.

And sure his words proued true: for within a moneth after, as the same Ferquhard followed in chase of a wolfe, the beast being all inraged by the pursute of the hounds, flue backe vpon the king, and snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore in one of his sides, immediatlie whereupon, whether through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasion, he fell into a most filthie disease: for a venemous humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and waste his members and limbs, that a lothsome sight it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet, and priuie parts, there issued filthie corruption and matter, with so vile a sauour, that vneth might any creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though he had beene infected with the dropsie, and therto was it verie hard withall. Finallie lice bred so abundantlie in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid of cleansed of them.

The king is sicke.

At length, when he had beene vexed in this sort for the space of two yeares together, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to consider how this punishment was worthilie fallen vpon him for his sinnes, and therevpon causing bishop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reioising hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced against him; but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almightie God, who was readie to receiue all such sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiuenesse of his sinnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon him: and humblie receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of heare and sackecloth. Then causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, hee there yelded vp the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to commit himselfe wholie to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to atteine the same. Thus Ferquhard ended his life, in the 18 yeare after he began his reigne ouer the Scotishmen, and in the yeare of Grace 664.

He sent for his confessor.

The king being excommunicated is released.

Ferquhard yeldeth vp the ghost.

664

In this Ferquhards daies bishop Aidan departed this world, and then was Finnan sent for forth of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Northumberland as then had their see. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renowmed for his vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died anon after the deceasse of Ferquhard, and then was Colman remoued vnto that see of Lindesferne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of holie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And amongst other was Penda sonne to the former Penda, king of Mercia. There be that write how Penda the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman trauelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the word of life amongest the people, purchasing him great fame for his worthie merits. He came to the church of Lindesferne in the daies of Baldwin that succeeded the last mentioned Ferquhard.

Finnan bishop.

Holie Iland.

Bishop Colman conuerted the Saxons.

Penda king of Mercia.

*Maldwin*

THis Baldwin was the sonne of king Donewald: and after that Ferquhard was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which function he right sufficientlie discharged, studieng to mainteine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to be followed of his subiects. Hereto he had a speciall care for the administration of the lawes in due forme and order, causing offendors to be punished, that other harmelesse persons might liue in quiet, so that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennor and Argile: for first through brawling among the heardmen, their maisters made a fraie, whereof rose such deadlie

Baldwin inuested king of Scots.

A louer of peace & iustice

Lennor and Argile are at variance.

deadlie enimitis betwixt the parties, by reaſon that the inhabitants of the weſterne Iles aided them of Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into thoſe parties to appeaſe the buſineſſe, and to haue puniſhed the offendors, there had inſued much manſlaughter, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of thoſe countries.

The weſterne Iles take part with Argile, Galoway with Lennox.

The king at his arriuall amongſt them minded not to purſue the people that followed their capteins, but rather the capteins and authors of this tumult themſelues. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attonement togither, being inforced thereto of neceſſitie, ſo to auoid the prepared puniſhment deuiſed by the king againſt them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Iles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings diſpleaſure, would not conſent to ſuccour them, but contrariwiſe toke them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whereupon they were ſafelie conueied to the places where they were borne, and there ſuffered their deſerued execution. Thus that commotion vnaduiſedlie begun, was ſpéedilie appeaſed, and the name of Maldwin by reaſon héereof ſo feared amongſt his ſubiects, that during his reigne no ſuch trouble chanced in anie part of all his dominions.

Maldwin went about for to punith the author of this commotion.

The capteins becam friends togither, and fled into the Iles.

The Ilandmen apprehend the capteins of the rebels.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceiuing the abbeie church, wherein his anceſtors had their ſepultures, to be in decaie, he cauſed it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forthwith ſet in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne proper coſtes and charges. Such ſpéed alſo was vſed about this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the ſame was finiſhed, and dedicated vnto our Sauior Chriſt, and ſaint Colme. About the ſame time there reigned throughout the moſt part of the world a ſore and gréeuous peſtilence, conſuming a greater number of men (before it ceaſſed) than there were left aliue: for it continued the whole ſpace of thrée yeeres togither. At length, through common prater, faſtings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous works, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, ſo that ſuch great mortalitie by his mercifull appointment did ſtaie and giue ouer.

He buildeth the church of the abbeie of Colmekill.

A great peſtilence & death vpon earth.

The Scotiſhmen were frée from that infection as well at that time, as alſo for manie yéeres after. Neither were they in manner troubled with anie ſharpe feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and wholeſome ſparenеſſe of diet, which their fathers in times paſt had vſed, they fell vnto riotous banketting and exceſſiue féeding, whereby they became ſubiect vnto all kinds of diſeaſes, through malicious humors growing thervpon. Colman biſhop of Lindeſferne ſéeing wonderfull numbers of Engliſhmen periſh dailie of that contagious ſickneſſe, by licence of the king, to auoid the preſent danger of death, which by tarieng there he ſaw no meanes how to eſcape, returned into Scotland with his diſciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the weſterne Iles, he erected a monaſterie there, wherein he remained during the reſidue of his life.

Scotland was frée of the peſtilence and plague.

Riotouſneſſe the mother of ſickneſſes.

Colman erected a monaſterie.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that countrie ioining with the Picts, made ſundrie roads into the Scotiſh borders: which iniurie when Maldwine reuenged with more diſpleaſure done to them of Northumberland, than the Scotiſhmen had receiued, it cauſed the Picts and Northumbers to prepare themſelues with all ſpéed to haue made ſharpe warres againſt the Scots: but in the meane time Maldwin died, being ſtrangled in his bed one night by his owne wife, vpon ſuſpicion of geloufie, for his vnlawfull companie kéeping with an other woman. The next day after ſhe was apprehended with thoſe that were priuie to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, according as ſhe had moſt iuſtlie deſerued. Maldwin was thus murthered in the yéere after the birth of our Sauior 684, and in the 20 yéere of his owne reigne.

Maldwin the Scotiſh king ſtrangled in his bed.

*Eugenius.*

Eugenius the fift.

After him ſucceéded Eugenius the fift of that name, nephue to Maldwin, as ſonne to his brother Dongard. About the ſame time Eugenius king of Scots ſent with all diligence his ambaſſadors vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambaſſadors which were thus ſent, feined as though he had béene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scots, ſo ſone as his proviſion ſhould be once readie, and héerevpon granted to them a truce for the ſpace of 11 moneths, in which meane time he might make his preparation. Eugenius hauing ſome ſecret knowledge of Egfreds purpoſe, prouided likewiſe for the warres on his part: but for that he would not ſéeme to giue the occaſion, he ſtreictlie commanded that none of his ſubiects ſhould be ſo hardie, as to attempt anie thing ſounding to the breach of the truce.

Egfred king of Northumberland.

A truce granted.

Eugenius his commandement.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, ſent a companie of his men of war into the Scotiſh borders, to fetch ſome bootie, whereby the peace might be broken. Thoſe that were thus ſent, fetched not onelie from thence a great number of cattell, but alſo ſlue diuers of the borderers that went about to reſcue their beaſts and cattell. Immediatlie herevpon were ſent ambaſſadors from Eugenius to demand reſtitution: but they not without much adoo, after certeine daies attendance, got audience, and boldlie declaring vnto Egfred their meſſage, receiued for anſwer a plaine publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scots, ſince the truce was granted, had ſundrie times fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deſerued farre more damage than as yet they had receiued, whereupon he minded not to continue friendſhip with them that knew not how to kéepe their hands from robbing and ſtealing from their neighbours: ſo that he commanded them to declare vnto their king, that within eight daies after, he ſhould looke for open warre at the hands of him and other his alies.

The truce broken.

Ambaſſadors ſent by Eugenius vnto Egfred for reſtitution.

Egfreds anſwer.

Eugenius receiuing this anſwer from Egfred, beſought God, ſith the other onelie ſought to violate the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occaſion. Herewith gathering his power togither, he repaired into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge that his enimies would firſt enter. But before he could get thither, a great armie of Engliſhmen were come alreadie into that countrie, and had beſieged a ſtrong caſtell called Downſke, the chiefeſt fortreſſe in thoſe daies of all Galloway. And yet Egfred might winne the ſame, he was conſtreined to raiſe his ſiege, and to march forth to incounter with Eugenius, who haſted faſt towards him. They met néere to the banks of the water of Lewis, as then being verie déepe, by reaſon it was raiſed with abundance of raine which latelie before had fallen, where they fought a verie ſore and bloudie battell: for the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the enimies, ſo long as anie life remained in their breaſts.

Eugenius gathereth an armie.

The caſtell of Downſke beſieged.

At the firſt there was no great aduantage perceiued on either ſide, the kings, according to the duties of valiant capteins, exhorting their people to ſticke to it manfullie: but in the meane time, certeine bands of Egfreds part getting themſelues to the ſide of an hill, gaue the looking on, without comming downe at all to aid their friends: which manner the reſidue of his people perceiuing, doubted of

ſome

ſome treaſon deuiſed againſt them, and therevpon began to ſhrinke backe. Egfred aduiſed therof, came amongſt the foremoſt ranks of his battell, deſiring the Engliſhmen in no wiſe to giue place to their enimies: and for that daies ſeruice he promiſed them high rewards, and all the pleaſure that afterward he might be anie waies able to ſhew or do them. But whileſt he was thus buſilie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight ſtoutlie, he himſelf chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow ſo ſore, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Engliſhmen diſcouraged with this miſchance, were quicklie therevpon put to flight and chaſed, a great number of them tooke the riuer ſo to eſcape the enimies hands, of whome the more part being preſſed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the flood, the reſidue by caſting from them their armors and clothes, eſcaped by ſwimming ouer to the other ſide, but thoſe that made their courſe by land, being cumbred in mires and moſſes, alſo amongſt ſtreicts, rocks, mounteins and cliffes, were ouertaken by the Scots and ſlaine. Few of that number eſcaped awaie in ſafetie, ſo that there died in the fight and chaſe at the point of twentie thouſand Saxons with their king the foreſaid Egfred: of the Scots were ſlaine, beſides thoſe that were hurt and wounded, not manie aboue ſix thouſand. By this ouerthrow the force of thoſe Saxons or Engliſhmen of Northumberland was not onelie ſore diminiſhed, but alſo of ſuch other Saxons, the which in no ſmall number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him againſt the Scots in that iournie.

King Egfred ſlaine.

Hée more héereof in England.

Twentie thouſand Saxons ſlaine.

Brudeus the Pictiſh king hauing knowledge of this ſlaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots, was nothing ſorie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiuing that the Northumberland men were ſo weakened, that they were not able to reſiſt an inuaſion, he entred with his whole power which he had raiſed, into Northumberland, ſore afflicting th' inhabitants, inſomuch that he had vndoubtedlie either ſubdued that countrie wholie vnto his dominion, either els vtterlie deſtroied it, had not the deuout praiers of S. Cutbert (who then held the ſée of Lindeſferne) preſerued the people from that preſent deſolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongſt themſelues for parting of the ſpoile, and buckling togither by the eares, there was an huge ſlaughter made amongſt them. And this was the cauſe, that contenting themſelues with thoſe countries about Berwike, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abſteined from all the reſidue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus ſcourged, able to recouer their former forces againe, of manie yéeres after inſuing.

Brudeus king of the Picts.

Inuaſion into Northumberland.

Cutbert biſhop.

A ſlaughter amongſt the Picts.

Yéere is to be noted, that whereas the Scotiſh writers aſcribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was ſlaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were thoſe that fought with him and ſlue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4 yéere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the ſixt, ſucceeded Eugenius the ſirt, who was the ſonne of Ferquhard, and by perſuaſion of biſhop Adamnan (with whome he was brought vp) & of S. Cutbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithſtanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he ſaw the ſame oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his ſubiects, he cauſed the warre to be proclamed, and ſent them his

Egfred ſlaine by Picts and not by Scots.

Eugenius the ſixt died.
688

Eugenius the ſirt ſucceédeth Eugenius the ſixt.

A league betweéne the Scots and Northumberland men.

Truce taken with the Picts.

deſiance by an herald. Howbeit, through the earneſt praiers (as is ſuppoſed) of the two biſhops, Cutbert and Adamnan (who had laboured earneſtlie to haue brought thoſe people to a quietneſſe) this warre continued without anie notable incounter, ſaue onelie by light incurſions (wherein no great bloudſhed chanced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yéere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried togither with the other Eugenius, that laſtlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongſt their predeceſſors.

Warre without anie notable incounter.

The death of Eugenius the ſixt.
697

Manie wonderfull viſions were ſéene that yéere in Albion, as the Scotiſh chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appéered in the ſight of a great multitude of men, a number of ſhips vnder ſaile, as though they had béene furniſhed forth for the warres. In the church at Camelon there was heard a noiſe, as it had béene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into bloud in diuers places in Pictland, and chéeſe conuerted into a bloudie maſſe or cake. Corne as it was gathered in the harueſt time appeered bloudie. In the furthermoſt parts of Scotland, it rained bloud. Theſe ſights being ſéene of ſome, & declared to other, cauſed a wonderfull feare in the peoples harts, imagining ſome great alteration to inſue.

Wonderfull viſions ſéene.

Ambirkeleth the nephue, or (as ſome ſay) the ſon of Eugenius the ſixt, ſucceéded Eugenius the ſirt in the gouernment of the realme; who after his atteining to the crowne, ſhortlie changed therewith his manners and good diſpoſition: for where before he ſhewed himſelfe to be an earneſt defendor of the poore and ſimple, that all men iudged that he would haue proued a patrone of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became ſuddenlie a paterne of all vices and couetouſneſſe, delighting in nothing but in following his ſenſuall luſts, as in taking exceſſe of meats and drinks, and wallowing in fleſhlie concupiſcence of lecherous luſt. To be briefe, when he tooke nothing in hand worthie of his eſtate and degrée, it was thought that of neceſſitie the forme of the publike gouernement muſt néedes thorough his negligent ſlouthfulneſſe fall into decaie and ruine: wherevpon Garnard king of the Picts, ſuppoſing he had conuenient time to reuenge all former iniuries receiued at the Scotiſhmens hands, gathered a great hoſt of men, and with the ſame entring into the Scotiſh confines, made verie pitifull ſlaughter of the inhabitants.

*Ambirkeleth.*

Ambirkeleth ſucceédeth Eugenius the ſixt.

The king turned from vertue vnto all licentiouſneſſe.

Garnard king of the Picts inuadeth Scotland.

At length Ambirkeleth (being ſore blamed of his his nobles for his negligence, in ſuffering his ſubiects thus to be deſtroied) gathered an armie togither, & with no ſmall feare to ſhew his head amongſt his people (as thoſe princes which through their owne default haue their people in miſtruſt, do euer ſtand in doubt of their owne ſafeties, and namelie when anie preſent danger beginneth to appéere) forth he goeth without anie great good order (God wot) for what might be looked for at his hands, which was ſo ouerwhelmed with all kind of exceſſiue gluttonie, immoderate ſurfeting, inſatiable lecherie, and deliting altogither in ſlouthfull eaſe, and ſluggiſh idleneſſe, the root from whence all ſuch filthie vices taking their beginnings, are nouriſhed & mainteined.

Ambirkeleth gathered an armie againſt the Picts.

Idleneſſe the breéder and nouriſher of ſenſuall luſts.

To conclude, he liued as one that tooke no maner of regard to that which chieflie apperteined to his calling: whereby now when he ſhould come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practiſe to take paines to ſée things done as was behourfull, of himſelfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the ſame ought to be done. Neuertheleſſe marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and neere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had ſupped, he was occaſioned

to

to go forth of his lodging to doo the neceſſities of nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of his ſeruants that were grooms of his chamber, he was ſuddenlie ſhot through the head with an arrow, but from whence it came, or who ſhot it, there was neuer ante knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yéeres. He was buried in Colmekill amongſt his noble anceſtors.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

*Eugenius.*

THe lords and peeres of the land not greatlie lamenting the death of ſuch a monſtrous perſon, bicauſe the armie for want of a gouernor ſhould not fall into ante danger, they elected Eugenius the ſeuenth, being the brother of the late foreſaid Ambirkeleth, to ſucceed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of verie comelie port & perſonage, neither deſtitute of honorable qualities and good diſpoſition of mind. Being once proclamed king, he cauſed generall muſters to be taken of the whole armie, and perceiuing by ſuruete thereof, that he was not able to match with his enimies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Pictiſh king, pledges being deliuered on either ſide, for redreſſe to be had of all wrongs and iniuries that had beene committed betwixt them. The Picts returning home, and the Scotiſh armie diſſolued, Eugenius with the moſt part of the nobilitie went into Argile, where he receiued his inueſture of the kingdome, ſitting vpon the ſtone of marble, according to the cuſtome and maner.

Eugenius the ſeuenth is elected king of Scots.

A peace concluded.

The king is crowned.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more ſtronglie confirmed by meanes of aliance, Spontana the daughter of king Garnard being coupled in mariage with Eugenius: ſhe in the yéere following being great with child, was murthered one night within the kings bed-chamber, in ſtéed of the king himſelfe, by two brethren of the countrie of Athole, who moued to diſpleaſure for their fathers death, had conſpired to murther the king, and had ſlaine him in deed, had he not through his good hap laien forth of his owne chamber the ſame night. Eugenius being ſuſpected of the murther, and euill ſpoken of for the ſame amongſt his ſubiects, was at length with great danger of life and honor inforced to make anſwer by waie of arraignment for clearing of himſelfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that caſe: ſo greatlie beloued was Spontana amongſt all the degrées of the Scotiſh nation. But in the end being found gilteleſſe of the crime (for at the time that iudgement ſhould haue paſſed, the offendors were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioiſing of all honeſt men. Thoſe that had done the déed, were condemned and hanged vp naked on gibbets by the héeles, togither with certeine cruell maſtiue dogs, the which might ſo deuoure them.

The quéene ſlaine in ſtéed of hir husband

The king is ſuſpected of the murther.

The murtherers are hanged.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former ſuſpicion, minded to haue béene reuenged on thoſe that had falſlie accuſed him. Howbeit through the godlie admoniſhments of that reuerend father Adamnan, he qualified his diſpleaſure. After this, giuing his mind to the aduancement of religion and politike gouernement of his ſubiects, he ordeined that the hiſtories of his anceſtors ſhould be written in bookes and volumes, that poſteritie might haue to read the ſame for example ſake. Theſe monuments he alſo appointed to be kept and reſerued in the abbeie of Iona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and ſuch as ſhould write the ſame, to remaine and haue liuings there in the abbeie. Moreouer, ſuch ſpirituall promotions as he perceiued to be too meane and ſlender for the maintenance of the miniſter that ſhould ſerue the cure, he cauſed to be augmented in ſuch wiſe as was thought ſufficient. He concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, and obſerued the ſame during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yéeres, whereof the laſt fell in the yéere after the incarnation of our Sauior 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons; as they that intierlie loued him for his noble and moſt princelie qualities.

An example of a good prince.

The king cauſeth his anceſtors hiſtories to be written.

Eugenius the ſeuenth departeth out of this life.

716. H.B.

*Mordack.*

A Little before his death, he betooke the poſſeſſion of his kingdome vnto Mordacke that ſucceeded him. This Mordacke was the nephue of Eugenius the ſeuenth, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meeke, and liberall nature, before his aduancement to the crowne; ſo he ſhewed himſelfe to be the verie ſame man during the whole courſe of all his naturall life, after he had attained to the ſame. Aboue all things he wiſhed a generall peace to continue amongſt all the princes of Albion, and therevpon for his part eſtabliſhing a peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the Engliſh kings, he firmelie kept euerie article therein contained. In thoſe daies (as S. Beda doth teſtifie) foure ſeuerall people liued in peace and quietneſſe within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome he called Engliſhmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. His words are theſe that follow.

Mordacke ſucceedeth Eugenius the ſeuenth.

A louer of peace.

Peace thorough out all the land of Albion.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league with the Engliſhmen, and gladlie is partaker of the vniuerſall peace and veritie with the catholike church. Thoſe Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themſelues with their owne bounds, go about to practiſe no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent deuiſes againſt the Engliſhmen. The Britains, though for the moſt part through a familiar hatred do impugne the Engliſh nation, and the ſtate of the whole catholike church, obſeruing not rightlie the feaſt of Eaſter, beſides other naughtie vſages, yet both the diuine power and humane force vtterlie reſiſting them, they are not able in neither behalfe to atteine vnto their purpoſed intentions; as they which though partlie free, yet in ſome behalfe are thrall and mancipat to the ſubiection of the Engliſhmen: which Engliſhmen now in acceptable peace and quietneſſe of time, manie amongeſt them of Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other, laieng away armour and weapon, applie themſelues to the reading of holie ſcripture, more deſirous to be in houſes of vertuous converſation, than to exerciſe feats of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth ſhall perceiue and behold. ¶ With theſe words doth Beda end his hiſtorie, continued till the yeare 734, in the which yeare Mordacke the Scotiſh king ended his life.

The teſtimonie of Beda.

734.

Mordack ended his life the ſame yeare that ſaint Beda made an end of his hiſtorie.

He repared ſundrie churches and religious houſes, which being defaced with violence of the enimies inuaſions in time of warre, had not béene redified by his anceſtors. But amongeſt other, he beſtowed much coſt vpon the church where the bodie of S. Ninian lieth, in the towne anciently called Candida Caſa, & now Whitterne or Quhitterne. Saint Beda calleth that place Pictiminia, and the biſhop which at the ſame time held the church there, he nameth Acta, auouching how he was the firſt that was biſhop thereof after the daies of ſaint Ninian. Which if it be true, it muſt néeds be that afterwards ſome vacation happened in that ſée for a time, ſith it is notified in the Scotiſh hiſtories, that the weſterne Iles, Galloway, and other regions nére adioining, were ſubiect vnto the biſhop of Sodor (whoſe ſée is in the Ile of Man) vnto the daies of Malcolme the third, who reſtored rather than ordeined the biſhops ſée in Candida Caſa againe, after ſuch vacation as before is ſpecified.

Candida Caſa now called whitterne.

But

*Ethſine.*

Ethſine ſucceedeth Mordake.

BUt now to returne touching the gouernement of the Scotiſh kingdome, I find that after the deceaſſe of Mordake laſt remembred, his nephue named Ethſine, the ſonne of the ſeuenth Eugenius, ſucceeded in the ſtate; a man naturallie inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iuſtice. The league which his predeceſſors Eugenius and Mordake had kept with their neighbors the Britains, Engliſhmen and Picts, he duelie likewiſe obſerued. His chiefe ſtudie was to purge his realme of all ſuch as were knowen to be open barrettors and offendors in anie wiſe, againſt the peace and common quiet of his ſubiects; ſo that cauſing ſundrie notable examples of iuſtice to be executed vpon ſuch euill doers, he was had in ſuch reuerend dread amongeſt his ſubiects, that none of them durſt once whiſper anie euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cauſe ſo to do, while he loked to the adminiſtration himſelfe.

A peaceable prince.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appointed foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe gouernance vnder him; as Donald the treaſuror of Argile, Collane of Athole, and Mordake of Galloway his lieutenants, and Conrath the thane of Murrey land. Theſe hauing the procuration of all things touching the gouernement of the realme, vſed not themſelues ſo vprightlie in manie points as they ought to haue done; but winked now and then at faults & treſpaſſes committed by their kinſfolks and alies, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to their old accuſtomed maner of licentious libertie, to the ſmall eaſe or commoditie of the other inferiour ſtates. Donald of the weſterne Iles, a man of goodlie perſonage, but of diſpoſition inclined to all naughtineſſe, maintained a great number of robbers and ſpoilers of the countrie, liuing onelie vpon rauine. For loke what they wanted, they would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place abroad where they might laie hands on it: ſo that all the huſbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which countrie they moſt haunted, were brought into wonderfull thraldome and miſerie.

Foure gouernors vnder the king.

Vntuſt gouernement.

Donald of the Iles maintaineth robbers.

The oppreſſion of the commons of Galloway.

Neither did Mordake the kings lieutenant there, go about to chaſtiſe ſuch inſolent miſdemenors, either for that he was of Donalds aliance, either elſe priuie to his doings, and partaker of the ſpoile. The people hereby vered with continuall iniuries, brought manie pitifull complaints before Mordake, who nothing regarded their lamentable ſutes and ſupplications, but the more they complained, the worſe they were handled. Neither was there anie hope of redreſſe or amendment, till Eugenius the eight was admitted to the kinglie adminiſtration after the death of king Ethſine, who in the latter end of his daies continuallie being ſicke and diſeaſed, could not attend to take order for the publike gouernement, by reaſon whereof ſuch wilfull miſorders inſued. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, after he had continued his reigne ouer the Scotiſhmen the ſpace of thirtie yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obſequies.

Mordake the kings lieutenant beareth with offendors.

The deceaſſe of Ethſine, 762. H.B.

*Eugenius.*

Eugenius the eight inueſted king of Scots.

Donald of the Iles apprehended.

HIs ſucceſſor, the foreſaid Eugenius the eight that was the ſonne of king Mordake, was inueſted king in Argile with ſuch pompe and ceremonies as in that caſe apperteined, and immediatlie therevpon he haſted forth to catch Donald of the Iles, not reſting till at length he had caught him, though that came not to paſſe without ſome loſſe of his people. After he had taken both him and his chiefeſt complices, he put them openlie to death; neither ſo ſatiſfied, he cauſed Mordake to be arraigned, who confeſſing himſelfe partlie guiltie of ſuch things as were laid to his charge for mainteining of the foreſaid Donald, he likewiſe ſuffered death, and his goods being valued and diuided into parts, were beſtowed amongeſt the commons of Galloway, in recompenſe of ſuch loſſes, as through his contriued falſhood they had ſuſteined. Alſo he did put Donald, Collan, and Conrath to their fines, for that they did ſuffer Donald to rob & ſpoile without chaſtiſement.

Donald and his complices put to death.

Mordake lieutenant of Galloway is put to death.

The commons recompenſed.

THrough which cauſing of iuſtice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he wan him wonderfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but alſo through out all his realme; and therewith were offendors put in ſuch feare, that they durſt in no place commit anie ſuch miſorders againſt the ſimple and meaner people. And for the more increaſe of his ſubiects wealth, he alſo continued the league with the Picts, Britains, and Engliſhmen, accordinglie as his late predeceſſor had done. But yet, as the nature of man through licentious libertie is euer readie to offend in one point or other, ſo it came to paſſe by this worthie prince Eugenius, who in ſuch wiſe as is before expreſſed, reigning in peace and quietneſſe amongeſt his louing ſubiects, yet fell into moſt vile luſt to accompliſh his inſatiable fleſhlie concupiſcence, ſeeking all meanes he could deuiſe to defloure yong virgins and honeſt matrons, and that as well thoſe of the nobilitie as other. And ſuch companions as could beſt further his purpoſe in that behalfe, and deuiſe new means and waies of fleſhlie companie, thoſe he ſet by, and greatlie made of, deliting altogither to haue them in his companie.

A righteous king.

Offendors put in feare.

Eugenius is peruerted with ſenſuall luſt and concupiſcence.

A filthie delight.

Thus being drowned in lecherous luſt, and filthie concupiſcence, he fell dailie in more greeuous vices, as into exceſſiue couetouſneſſe and beaſtlie crueltie, conſenting to make awaie his wealthie ſubiects, to the end he might inioy their goods. This wickednes remained not long vnpuniſhed, for the lords and peeres of his realme, perceiuing how he proceeded dailie in his abhominable and tyrannicall doings, not once giuing eare to the wholeſome aduertiſements either of God or man, they ſlue him one day amongeſt them as he ſat in iudgement about to haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accuſed. They cauſed alſo a great companie of thoſe mates to be apprehended, which had beene of his councell, and prouokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hanged, as they had well deſerued. And ſuch was the end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the kingdome about three yeares: his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongeſt his anceſtors, though the people thought it little worthie of that honor, which had miſuſed it ſelfe ſo inordinatlie in this preſent life.

Couetouſneſſe linked with crueltie.

Eugenius is murthered.

The end of Eugenius the eight.

*Ferguſe.* 767.

AFter him came th adminiſtration of the realme vnto Ferguſe the third, the ſonne of king Ethſine, in the yeare 767, who being eſtabliſhed in the ſame, began freelie to practiſe all kinds of vices, which moſt abundantlie reigned in him, howbeit till that day wonderfullie diſſembled and kept couert. He ſeemed to ſtriue how to paſſe his predeceſſor in all points of wickedneſſe. He toke no regard at all to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himſelfe to exceſſiue gluttonie, in deuouring of deliſcate meats and drinks, and therewith kept ſuch a number of vile ſtrumpets in houſe with him, whome hee vſed as concubines, that his wife was no better eſteemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchenmaid. Who being a woman of great modeſtie, and ſober aduiſednelle, could not yet but take ſore greefe and indignation hereat: and therefore ſundrie times aſſaied by way of wholeſome perſuaſions, to turne his mind from ſuch ſinfull vſages and filthie trade of liuing.

Ferguſe the third created king.

A wicked prince.

FInallie, when ſhe ſaw there was no hope to conuert his depraued mind, nor by anie meanes to reforme him, but that the more ſhe laboured to do good

vpon

vpon him, the woꝛſe he was, through verie diſpleaſure of ſuch iniuries as ſhe dailie ſuſteined at the hands of his concubines, ſhée found meanes to ſtrangle him ſecretlie one night as he lay in bed, chooſing rather to be without a huſband, than to haue one that ſhould deceiue hir of the right and dutie of mariage; and that in ſuch ſoꝛt, as ſhe muſt be faine to ſuffer the repꝛoch dailie beforе hir face, being miſvſed of them whom he kept as paramours in moſt deſpitefull maner. The day after ſhe wꝛought this feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in funerall wiſe, and bꝛought foꝛth vnto the place of iudgement, where inquiſition was ſtreictlie made what they were that had done ſo heinous a déed. Foꝛ though there were but few that lamented his death, yet ſome of his friends were verie earneſt to haue the matter tried foꝛth, that ſuch as had committed the murther might ſuffer due puniſhment.

K. Fergus the third ſtrangled by his wife.

Suſpicions perſons are racked.

Manie were appꝛehended and had to the racke, but yet could none be found that would confeſſe it. The quéene was void of all ſuſpicion, as ſhe that had béene taken foꝛ a woman at all times of great temperancie. But yet, when ſhe heard that a number of innocent perſons were toꝛmented without deſert, ſoꝛe lamenting (as ſhould appeare) their miſerable caſe, ſhe came haſtilie into the iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft vpon the bench, there, in the pꝛeſence of all the companie, ſhe had theſe oꝛ the like woꝛds vnto the whole aſſemblie. I know not (good people) I know not what god moueth me, oꝛ what diuine reuengement vexeth mée with ſundꝛie thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and moꝛning pꝛeceding, I haue had neither reſt in bodie noꝛ mind. And verelie when I heard that certeine guiltleſſe perſons were cruellie toꝛmented here in your pꝛeſence; had not wꝛath giuen place, partlie vnto modeſtie, whereof I muſt confeſſe there is left but a ſmall poꝛtion in me, I had foꝛthwith rid my ſelfe out of the way. The kings death was mine act. Conſcience conſtreineth me (ſetting apart mine owne ſafegard) to confeſſe the truth, leaſt the guiltleſſe ſhould wꝛongfullie periſh: therfoꝛe vnderſtand ye foꝛ truth, that none of them whom ye haue examined are pꝛiuie to the offenſe. I verelie am ſhe, that with theſe wicked hands haue ſtrangled this night laſt paſt Fergus, about whoſe death I ſée you in trouble, moued ſo to doo with two as ſharpe pꝛicks as may reſt in a woman, to wit, impatient foꝛbearing of carnall luſt, & irefull wꝛath. Fergus by his continuall vſing of concubines, kept from me the due debt that the huſband oweth to the wife: whereꝛpon when there was no hope to reconcile him with often aduertiſements, vehement foꝛce of anger riſing in my hart, dꝛoue me to doo ſo wicked a déed. I thought rather therefoꝛe to diſpatch the adulterer, than (being deſtitute of my huſband, & defrauded of all quéenelie honoꝛ) to liue ſtill ſubiect to the perpetuall iniuries of ſuch lewd women as he kept & vſed in my ſtead. Loſe yée therefoꝛe thoſe that be accuſed of the kings death, & as foꝛ me ye ſhall not néed to pꝛoceéd againſt me as guiltie of the crime by oꝛder of law: foꝛ I that was ſo bold to commit ſo heinous an act, will accoꝛdingly doo execution vpon my ſelfe euen here incontinentlie in pꝛeſence of you all: what honoꝛ is due to the dead, looke you to that. ¶ Hauing thus made an end of hir tale, ſhe plucked foꝛth a knife which ſhe had hid vnder hir gowne, and ſtroke hirſelfe to the heart with the ſame, falling dead vpon it downe to the ground. All ſuch as were pꝛeſent wondered greatlie at hir ſtout and hardie ſtomach, ſpeaking diuerſlie thereof, as ſome in pꝛaiſe, and ſome in diſpꝛaiſe of theſe hir monſtruous doings. The bodie of Fergus was carted foꝛth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buried in the third yéere after his entring into the gouernement, and in the yéere of our Lord 769. The quéens coꝛps was not buried in ſacred ground, foꝛ that ſhe ſlue hirſelfe.

The queéne confeſſed the murther.

She giueth hir owne ſentence.

The queéne taketh execution of hir ſelf.

*Soluathius.*

Soluathius the ſonne of Eugenius the eight, was admitted to the rule of the Scotiſh eſtate next after the death of Fergus: a pꝛince ſuerlie boꝛne to the accompliſhment of high enterpꝛiſes, if through hap of frowaꝛd deſtinie he had not béene hindered. Foꝛ in the third yéere of his reigne he began to bée vexed extréemelie with the gout, which ingendered by cold in lieng abꝛoad in hunting; and ſo continuing with him during his life, ſtaied him from manie wꝛithie exerciſes, as well in peace at home, as abꝛoad in time of warres. Thus he being in maner impotent & lame of his limbs, there were ſome commotions and miſoꝛders the moꝛe boldly attempted: and firſt amongſt them of the out Ilés. Foꝛ Bane Makedonald, gouernoꝛ by the kings appointment of the Iland called Tire, got all the caſtels and foꝛtreſſes of the Iles into his owne hands, & ſtrengthened with a rout of vnrulie and miſchefous youthfull perſons, toke poſſeſſion of all the ſaid Iles, cauſing himſelfe to be pꝛoclamed king of the ſame.

Soluathius admitted king of Scotland.

Soluathius an impotent man.

A rebellion.

Makedonald pꝛoclamed king of the Iles.

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ſhips togither, wherein tranſpoꝛting himſelfe with a great armie ouer into Loꝛne and Cantire, made great waſte and ſpoile of thoſe countries, till Duthquhall gouernoꝛ of Athole, and Culane of Argile, being ſent with a choſen power from the king to defend the countrie, chanced to incounter with him, and putting him with his people vnto flight, chaſed them to ſuch a ſtreict, as where there was no way to get foꝛth, ſaue onlie that by which they entered. This place is in Loꝛne, with a ſtreict paſſage to enter into it: but when ye are within it, the ſame is verie large and bꝛoad, inuironed about with craggie mounteins, chained togither with a continuall ridge, a déepe riuer compaſſing them in beneath in the bottome, with ſuch ſtéepe & ſidelong banks, that there is no way to paſſe foꝛth of the ſame, but by that through which ye muſt enter into it. The ſaid Bane with his folks being entred at vnwares into ſuch a ſtreict, and perceiuing there was no way to iſſue foꝛth, but by the ſame where he entred, he returned backe thither, and finding the paſſage cloſed from him by his enimies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not knowing what ſhift to make to eſcape. Finallie, falling to counſell with the chiefeſt of his armie vpon the danger pꝛeſent, and ſo continuing foꝛ the ſpace of two daies without anie concluſion auailable, on the third day diuern of neceſſitie through hunger, they requiꝛed of their enimies to be receiued as yéelded men vpon what conditions they would pꝛeſcribe, onelie hauing their liues aſſured. But when this would not be granted, in the euening tide they ruſhed foꝛth vpon their enimies, to trie if by foꝛce they might haue paſſed through them. But ſuch was their hap, that there they died euerie mothers ſon: foꝛ ſo had Duthquhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other rebels might take exampꝛle by ſuch their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

He inuadeth Loꝛne and Cantire.

A power from the king is ſent againſt him.

The kings capteins after this paſſing ouer into the Iles, bꝛought all things there into the foꝛmer ſtate of quietneſſe. Yet after the appeaſing of this tumult, there chanced a new buſineſſe in Galloway: foꝛ Gillequhalme, ſonne to that Donald, which (as ye haue heard) was executed by commandement of Eugenius the eight, gathered togither a great number of vngratious ſcape-thꝛifts, & did much hurt and miſchéefe in the countrie. But ſhoꝛtlie after, being vanquiſhed by the ſame capteins that had ſuppꝛeſſed the other rebels of the Iles, the countrie was rid of that trouble, and the ring-leaders puniſhed by death foꝛ their offenſes. In this meane while, the Engliſhmen

The kings power paſſeth ouer into the Iles.

Gillequhalme the ſonne of Donald.

men (Welſh Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each againſt other, had no leaſure to attempt anie enterpriſe againſt ſtrangers. Neither were the Picts free of ſome ſecret diſpleaſures, which one part of them had conceiued againſt another, ſo that the Scotiſhmen were not troubled at all by anie forreine enimies. And ſo Soluathius hauing continued his reigne the ſpace of 20 yéeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yéere of our ſaluation 788.

Soluathius departeth this life. 788.

*Achaius.*

Achaius created king of Scotland.

When after Soluathius was once buried in Colmekill amongſt his anceſtors, Achaius the ſon of king Ethfine (a man highlie renowmed for his earneſt zeale to iuſtice and vpright dealing) was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuerſation amongſt the nobilitie, he perfectlie vnderſtood what grudge and ſecret hatred remained in their harts, one wiſhing anothers deſtruction; he foreſaw what danger the common-wealth ſtood in, if the ſame were not by ſome good meanes qualified: and therevpon calling them togither, he handled the matter with ſuch wiſedome and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former diſpleaſures being vtterlie extirped and auoided, they were made friends on ech ſide, and promiſed in his preſence ſo to continue. Thus hauing laid the foundation of a quiet ſtate amongſt his ſubiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, hée was at point to haue had no ſmall warres with the Iriſhmen: for a number of them being arriued in Cantire, were there ſlaine by them of the weſterne Iles, which vpon requeſt of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them againſt thoſe Iriſhmen.

He maketh the nobilitie to agrée.

Iriſhmen take a preie in Ila.

This loſſe the rulers of the Iriſh nation purpoſed in all haſt to reuenge vpon them of the Iles. But Achaius hearing thereof, ſent ouer an ambaſſage vnto them, to haue the matter taken vp before anie further force were vſed: alledging how there was no cauſe wherfore warres ſhould be moued for ſuch a matter, where the occaſion had béene giuen but by a ſort of rouers on either ſide, without commandement or warrant obteined from anie of their ſuperiors. Howbeit the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongeſt them at that time as it chanced) moued altogither with indignation for the ſlaughter of their countrimen, made a direct anſwer, that they would ſuerlie be reuenged of the reproch which they had receiued, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whileſt the Scotiſh ambaſſadors returned out of Ireland with this anſwer, a great number of them in ſhips and craiers paſſed ouer into Ila, where getting togither a great preie, and ſtraughting their veſſels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were ſonke by force of tempeſt, ſo that neither ſhip nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had ſped in Scotland.

The ſtout ſtomachs of the Iriſh lords and rulers being well qualified with this miſchance, they were glad to ſéeke for peace ſhortlie after vnto Achaius. Thoſe alſo that were ſent ouer to treat of the ſame, found him at Enuerlochthée; where hauing declared there meſſage, & confeſſed how iuſtlie they had béene puniſhed by the righteous iudgement of almightie God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres againſt them that had not deſerued it: Achaius anſwered, how the Iriſh nation was ſo ſtubborne, that they knew not how to vſe reaſon, except they were throughlie ſcourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken iuſt reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mouing warres againſt them that had ſo earneſtlie ſought for peace. Neuertheleſſe, letting apart all iniuries paſt, as well new as old, to ſhew himſelfe to be the follower of Chriſt, who in ſo manie paſſages had praiſed, commended, and ſet forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they ſued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scotiſh and Iriſh nations, to the no leſſe comfort of the Scots themſelues, than of the Iriſhmen, as thoſe that had learned now by experience and triall (hauing inioied peace a good ſeaſon) how much the ſame was to be preferred before cruell warres.

The Iriſhmen will reuenge.

Iriſhmen doo ſéeke peace.

In this meane time, Charles ſurnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and vnderſtanding how the Engliſhmen did not onelie by dailie rouing diſquiet the ſeas, to the great danger of all ſuch merchants and other as trauelled alongſt the coaſts of France and Germanie; but alſo now and then comming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable diſpleaſures to his ſubiects: he thought good by the aduiſe of his péeres, to conclude a league (if it were poſſible) with the Scots and Picts, with this article amongſt the reſidue: That ſo oft as the Engliſhmen ſhould attempt any enterpriſe or inuaſion into France, the Scots and Picts ſhould be readie ſtreightwaies to inuade them here at home; and when they ſhould make anie warres againſt the Scots or Picts, then the Frenchmen ſhould take vpon them to inuade the weſt parts of England.

Carolus Magnus in league with the Scots.

There were ſent therefore from Charles vnto Achaius certeine ambaſſadors to bring this matter to paſſe, who arriuing in Scotland, and comming to the kings preſence, declared effectuallie the ſumme of their meſſage, ſhewing that the concluſion of ſuch a league ſhould bee no leſſe to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (conſidering Engliſhmen to be a people moſt deſirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and poſſeſſions) for thereby they might be ſomewhat reſtreined from ſuch bold and iniurious enterpriſes, as they dailie toke in hand againſt their chriſtian neighbors: but it ſhould make moſt of all (ſay they) for the aduancement of the whole chriſtian common-wealth, whereas otherwiſe through their inſolent doings, ſuch force as was alreadie prepared againſt the Saracens (the common enimies of the chriſtians) ſhould be called backe, therewith to keepe off the ſaid Engliſhmen, to the great danger of thoſe parts of chriſtendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Scotland.

This meſſage being heard with good deliberation by ſuch as were preſent, the ambaſſadors themſelues being honorable perſonages, and graue of countenance, were receiued moſt louinglie of the king, and lodged in his owne palace, hauing all the cheere and honorable interteinment that might be deuiſed: but touching their meſſage, there were ſundrie diſputations amongſt the nobles, whether the concluding of ſuch a league as they required, were expedient for the Scotiſh common-wealth or not. And for that the matter ſeemed to be doutfull, the king thought it neceſſarie to haue the aduiſe of his councell: and therevpon calling them togither, and appointing diuerſe of them to go with the ambaſſadors on hunting, to ſhew them ſome ſport, whileſt he conſulted with the reſidue (becauſe he would not haue them preſent) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Mar (a man of great authoritie amongſt the Scotiſhmen for his approued wiſedome) to ſay firſt his mind touching the requeſt of thoſe French ambaſſadors, who therevpon ſtanding forth, began as followeth.

The ambaſſadors are honorablie interteined.

"No man ought to marueil, I perceiue, king Achaius, if manie of this our nation be deſirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are perſuaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleaſant

" pleasant to almightie God, than to ioine in league and friendship with a nation of greatest power and " wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scotish name be highlie renowmed and spoken of through the whole world. But trulie these considerations contenting so well at the first, are not so much to be regarded as the euils which hereafter may grow thereupon: for suerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of this determination shall euidentlie teach vs (though too late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of reason in establishing this league, if we once consent to conclude the same. Is it anie other thing (I beseech you) to make a league, and to ioine in societie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expedient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a nære and in maner a domesticall enimie at hand, whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and large sea, at whose plesure also we must make wars against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safegards, putting our bodies in hazard of death and wounding for their cause, which dwell nothing nére vs; yea & in their quarell to commit our kingdome, goods and liues vnto extreme perill of vtter destruction: I would thinke it good therefore to take better aduisement and deliberation herein, least whilest we séeke for vaine glorie and counterfeit honor, we do not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much trauell by our elders, for the which they so often fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and finallie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more pernicious vnto a frée nation, and people borne in libertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and pleasure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were) into bondage: For the auoiding whereof, not onelie men, but also all other liuing things are readie to fight, euen to the vttermost. If the Frenchmen in the chiefest heat and most earnest brunt of the warre (which we shall take in hand for their sake, according to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league with our enimies, leauing vs in all the whole danger; shall we haue anie iudge afore whome we maie bring them to answer for their default, and by whose authoritie they may be constreined to sæ vs satisfied for such losse and iniuries as we shall happily susteine at the Englishmens hands? Are we of that force and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after we are vanquished and in maner brought to vtter confusion by those warres which we shall enter into for their cause? If euer we be brought vnto that point (as God forbid we should) that through want of substance, and decaie of force, the Frenchmen shall also vtterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall not bée able to resist the English puissance: afore whome (I beseech you) shall we accuse them for breaking of this league? We shall dailie haue to do with our enimies after the conclusion of the league (if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with our friends. In the midst of our enimies we shall be still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to our friends, in case anie need shall inforce vs thereunto: commodities are brought vs out of Spaine, France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but onelie such as the Englishmen do permit. Againe, when our merchants shall passe into France, what hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such as vse sailing? Either must they perish and be cast away through rage of seas, either else fall into the hands of our enimies togither, with all their goods and fraught. What discommodities hereof shall rise, your grace (most prudent prince) and you right circumspect councellors, do well inough perceiue. I therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should continue in the former peace concluded with the Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the custome of our late predecessors, who saw well inough what was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Scotish nation, and not to couet a new amitie with an vnknowne people, hauing deserued little or nothing as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue in suspicion, sith they séeke for amitie so farre off) except we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to implote and ieopard both life and libertie for the safegard of the French, without regard of our owne.

Due considerations.

In enimie at hand.

Friends farre off.

¶ Manie in that assemblie shewed themselues sore offended with Colmans words, supposing the league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable and necessarie.

Colmans counsell is misliked.

Then one Albian, a man of great nobilitie (whome the king had latelie before instituted his lieutenant in the Iles) spake in this manner. If it were possible that there might be one sure and inuiolable consent amongst those foure people, which at this daie haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion, or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we would not denie but that those considerations and aduises which Colman hath héere vttered, ought to be followed; bicause that then there should be no occasion at all, why we should conclude anie league with anie forren nation. But forsomuch as there was neuer man that found more vntruth and breach of promise in anie nation, than hath béene found in these Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and Britains haue by triall sufficientlie proued; I suppose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against the Englishmen, readie to assaile vs both with open force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with such alies and confederats, as by their support we maie be the better able to withstand the malice of such vnfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I praie you? The Saxons in times past being requested of the Britains to aid them against their enimies, were most louinglie receiued, and highlie rewarded for their seruice: but they contrarilie in recompense of such kindnesse, shewed themselues in stéed of aiders, enimies; in stéed of defenders, destroiers: turning their weapons points against the Britains, by whome they had béene so sent for to their aid; and now haue not onelie destroied a great number of them by fire and sword, but also they haue spoiled them of their kingdome & libertie. What league or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either they saw occasion to ver their neighbors, or hoped to gaine anie thing by falsifieng their faiths, as they that haue neuer béene ashamed so to do, where hope to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie hand béene offered. Into what sundrie and most miserable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons brought the sillie Britains? How oftentimes haue they broken the peace established with vs, and also with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon anie such thing? Yea and that more is, amongst themselues at this season the Englishmen warre one against another, more with craftie traines than with open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so manie kings, and so manie noble men haue béene traitorouslie murthered and made awaie, that scarse

Albian his oration.

The English Saxons breakers of promise.

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the aduantage of casuall haps, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

"may there be anie found that will take vpon him the supreme gouernement of that countrie. It is not manie yeeres ago, since Oswin king of that countrie was rid out of the waie through treason of Oswie that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was after deprriued both of life and kingdome by Osrike, whome Egbert destrous to reigne in his place, found meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert was slaine by Mollo, and Mollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in the end, for now of late betraied by his owne subiects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murthered. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and deuises do the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other godlie men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting forth of Gods word hath beene committed, wearie of and abhorring this wood madnesse, rage and wicked misdemeanor of that nation, haue left their bishoprikes, abbeies, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue remoued into forren regions. Therefore where the Englishmen do absteine at this present from making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reuerence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto such ciuill sedition and discord, as now doth reigne amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, notwithstanding all leagues or couenants of peace confirmed to the contrarie. To represse therefore and abate their subtill practises, I can find no readier meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a league with that people, which being ioined with vs, may chastise such outragious furie of this wicked nation, as cause and opportunitie shall require. Fortune hath offred vnto vs a conuenient meane and occasion hereunto. For here be at this present the French kings ambassadors, offering that vnto vs, which (being so great a benefit) we might scarse wish for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in league against the Englishmen, with their king, whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Germanie do acknowledge for their souereigne. Ought this to be despised of men that haue their perfect senses? Ought the societie of the French nation to be refused of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermost parts of the earth, the same being freelie offered by them, vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God and man, the large empire of the world is granted? So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most notable benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, and all those nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and souereigne lord. Hereupon also free passage for merchants shall be open, to passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchandize and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that euerie one of you (so that he weie the thing with himselfe throughlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship and societie of the Frenchmen (verie puissant both by sea and land) and thereto of approued faith and stedfastnesse in promise, ought more to be esteemed, and is more beneficiall to the Scotish commonwealth, than the vnstedfast promises and great disloialtie of the Saxons. To which of you is it vnknowne that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they do the Welshmen, if their force might answer directlie to their wils? Therefore if we desire to auoid the violent power of most cruell enimies, if we meane to auoid their craftie practises, if we regard the christian religion, for the which the Frenchmen are continuallie in armor, if we set more by vertue and constancie than by vnfaithfulnesse and breach of couenants and promises, if we labor for the glorie and honor of our nation, if we couet to aduance our countrie, our owne rest, and quietnesse; and to be briefe, if we passe vpon life and libertie, the most deerest things that may happen to man, let vs with ioifull harts establish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmelie continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confidence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowme to vs, both for the safegard of our realme, & restreint of the Englishmens vnlawfull attempts and wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either shall or may at any time enterprise against vs." By this oration Albian drew the multitude easilie vnto his purpose.

The French men in those daies possessed not onelie that part of Gallia, which we now call France, but also the most part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, namelie on this side the riuer Rhene.

Then Achaius vnderstanding how the minds of all his subiects were in manner wholie inclined to the league, commanded all the companie to be there in the same place againe the next day. And so breaking vp their assemblie for that time, the king made the French ambassadors that night a costlie supper with a banket, and after hauing conference with his nobles and lords of the councell, it was agreed by generall consent amongst them, that for the solemne ratifieng of this league with king Charles, according as he had required, there should go with his ambassadors at their returne the lord William the brother of king Achaius, with foure other honorable and learned personages, being men of perfect knowledge and skill, and such as were esteemed most meet for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure thousand men ouer with them to serue against the infidels and enimies of the christian religion, where and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

The league with the Frenchmen agreed vpon.

Hereupon the next day going first to church, and there making their common supplications vnto almightie God, according to the rites and ancient customes, they after resorted vnto the councell chamber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the French ambassadors all that was concluded by him, and other the estates of his realme, touching the message which they had brought from king Charles. Who reioising (as should appeere) greatlie hereat, gaue most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue for their beneuolent wils herein shewed towards king Charles their maister, and all the French nation. After this, remaining certeine daies with Achaius, who made them all the cheere that might be imagined, they departed towards Hungus king of the Picts, vnto whome at their comming to his presence they made the like request on their maisters behalfe, which they had made before vnto Achaius.

The league is concluded.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most hartie thanks for their good wils, but yet he would not grant to conclude anie league with them at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importance, required no small time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution therein. The ambassadors hereupon returned vnto Achaius without speed of their purpose with Hungus, and the second moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the passage of those that should go with them, the lord William the kings brother, togither with the same ambassadors, & such foure persons as the king had chosen forth amongst all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and also hauing with him those foure thousand men of war, which were at the first appointed to go with him, passed forth towards France, where he with all the whole companie landed within few daies after in safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At their

Hungus king of the Picts.

Hungus refuseth to conclude anie league with the Frenchmen.

The French ambassadors returne home.

Claudius, Clement, John Marlbell, Raban, Alcuine.

The Scotiſhmen are honorablie receiued of Carolus the French king.

their comming into France Charles the emperor receiued them in moſt gladſome wiſe, doing them all the honor that might be deuiſed, and the ſouldiers which were come to ſerue him vnder the leading of the foreſaid William, he reteined in wages, vſing them after the ſame ſort and rate as he did his owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

The league is publiſhed by heralds.

Shortlie after alſo at the requeſt of the Scotiſh orators, according to the charter ſigned by Achaius, and confirmed by conſent of king Charles, the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was ſolemnelie publiſhed by heralds at armes, according to the maner in thoſe daies vſed, the ſame to indure betwixt thoſe two nations and their poſterities for euer. The chiefeſt articles compriſed in this league were as followeth. [The amitie and confederation betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme, to indure betwixt them and the poſterities of both nations for euer. The iniuries and warres which the Engliſhmen ſhould attempt againſt either nation, ſhould be accounted as common to them both. The Frenchmen being aſſailed by warres of the Engliſhmen, the Scots ſhould ſend their aid of ſouldiers, hauing their charges borne by the Frenchmen as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things neceſſarie. The Frenchmen ſhould contrariwiſe aid the Scots in time of wars againſt the Engliſhmen at their owne proper coſts and charges. Whatſoeuer he were, priuat perſon or publike of theſe two confederat nations, that againſt either of them ſhould aid the Engliſhmen with armour, counſell, vittels, or in anie other maner of wiſe; the ſame ſhould be reputed for a traitor vnto both their princes and countries. Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the conſent of the other. Theſe were the principall articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and faire ingroſſed in parchment, and reſerued as a monument in both realmes, for a witneſſe vnto ſuch as ſhould come after of this friendſhip thus begun, as the Scotiſh chronicles affirme.] And for further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace ſeamed with floure delices, ſignifieng thereby, that the lion from thence forth ſhould be defended by the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scotiſh kings ſhould valiantlie fight in defenſe of their countrie, liberties, religion, and innocencie, which are repreſented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds do interpret it. The lord Willam, the ſaid Clement, and John, remained ſtill with king Charles, but Rabane & Alcuine returned into their countrie. In all ſuch warres and iournies as Charles afterwards made againſt anie of his enimies, the ſaid lord William was a chiefe doer in the ſame, ſo that his fame and authoritie dailie grew in all places where he came. His ſeruice ſtood king Charles in notable ſtead in his expeditions againſt the Saxons, Hungarians, and other; but namelie his eſtimation in Italie was moſt highlie aduanced, at what time the ſaid Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appointing this William to be his lieutenant in Tuſcan, and to haue the chiefe charge for the reſtoring of the ſaid citie, which he with ſuch diligence applied, that within ſhort time the ſame was not onelie fortified with new wals, repared and repleniſhed with great numbers of houſes, churches, and other beautifull buildings, but alſo peopled and furniſhed with citizens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie citie and towne thereabouts for that purpoſe.

The articles of the league.

The armes of Scotland.

The valiantnes of William.

Florence is reedified.

William lieutenant of Tuſcane.

The citie being thus reſtored to hir former eſtate and dignitie, through the bountifous benefit of king Charles, and the diligent adminiſtration of his lieutenant the foreſaid William, the citizens to ſhew themſelues thankefull, deuiſed for a perpetuall memorie to beare in their armes a red lillie, reſembling one of thoſe which the kings of France giue, ſaue that it differed in colour, to teſtifie thereby, that their citie (after the deſtruction therof by the Goths) was reedified and reſtored to the former dignitie, by the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did inſtitute publike plaies to be vſed and celebrated euerie yeere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies they crowne a lion. And further that there ſhould be kept vpon the charges of the treaſurie within the citie certeine lions (for the foreſaid lord William gaue a lion for his cogniſance) and thereupon as the Scotiſh chronicles affirme, thoſe beaſts grew to be had in ſuch honor amongeſt the Florentines. Thus this valiant capteine, the foreſaid lord William, paſſing his time in notable exerciſes, and worthie feats of chiualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of thoſe twelue martiall warriours, which are called commonlie by the Scotiſhmen, Scoteſgilmore.

The armes of Florence.

A lion crowned.

Lions kept at Florence.

Scoteſgilmore.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in warres, he was neuer maried, whereupon growing in age, and purpoſing to make Chriſt his heire, he builded diuers abbies and monaſteries both in Italie and Germanie, richlie indowing the ſame with lands and rents, ſufficient for the finding of ſuch number of monks, as he appointed to be in the ſaid abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according to the ancient ordinance by him deuiſed, except he were a Scotiſhman borne. In witneſſe of which ordinance, there are ſundrie of theſe houſes remaining in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing changed from the firſt order or inſtitution. Before the accompliſhment of theſe things, by the foreſaid lord William, brother (as is ſaid) to the Scotiſh king Achaius, I find that the vniuerſities of Paris and Pauia were inſtituted by king Charles, chiefelie by the helpe and means of theſe two fore-remembred Scotiſhmen, John and Clement, inſomuch that Clement was appointed chiefe preſident of all the ſtudents at Paris, and John of the other at Pauia.

William vnmaried maketh Chriſt his heire.

Monaſteries of Scotiſhmen in Germanie.

The vniuerſitie of Paris and Pauia.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achaius, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that about the ſame time, or not much differing from the ſame, Adelſtane the ſonne of Ethelwolfe king of Weſtſaxons, taking vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eaſtſaxon, Mercia, and Northumberland (which Egbert his grandfather had receiued into his gouernement) deſirous now to inlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Pictiſh dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira, and conteined the marches about Berwike, alledging how the ſame apperteined to his kingdome of Northumberland, and had béene fraudulentlie taken from his anceſtors by the Picts: but forſomuch as there was a commotion raiſed the ſame time in Mercia, he was called backe to appeaſe it, and hereupon putting all to the fire and ſword in Deira, ſauing ſuch priſoners as he brought away with him, he returned. Hungus the Pictiſh king ſore ſtomaching this iniurious enterpriſe of the Engliſhmen, determined to reuenge the ſame in all poſſible haſt, and therefore made inſtant ſute vnto Achaius (who had maried his ſiſter) to haue his aid againſt them.

Adelſtane entereth into Deira.

Deira waſted by fire and ſword.

Hungus aided with Scotiſhmen inuadeth Northumberland.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to do the Engliſhmen a diſpleaſure, ſent forthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thouſand men. With which, and with his owne power, king Hungus inuaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great bootie of goods and priſoners; but yet he forbare ſlaughter of men, and burning of

He warred without ſlaughter and burning.

houses, for a reuerence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iournie into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawen into their countrie, he followed them so nére at the héeles, that verie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs where they lodged by a brooke side, not passing two miles from Haddington, before they had ante knowledge of his approch. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enimies according to his wished desire, and herewith comming vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

Athelstane pursueth Hungus.

Athelstane his cruell proclamation.

The Picts are amazed.

The Picts enter the campe.

Athelstane doth chalenge his enimies.

The Picts prepare themselues vnto battell.

The Englishmen are put to flight.

Athelstane is slaine.

Athelstans ford.

A dreame.

The crosse of saint Andrew.

The Picts thus séeing their enimies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wonderfullie amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to doo. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifieng of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceiued how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enimies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their prouision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Herevpon manie reasons were put forth amongest them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was doone; the Picts kéeping themselues still within their campe.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongest them, it was agréed by generall consent, that the nert day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so herevpon preparing themselues for the purpose, euen vpon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enimies with fierce willes, specíallie incouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approch and onset of the Picts, were not long able to sustéine their fore impression; so that beginning somewhat to swarue, at length they were forced to flée vnto the place, where ye heard how they toke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellowes, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than anie of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vnneth escaped fiue hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstans ford. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sléepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enimies on the day nert following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awaked, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: whereupon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sléepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, sith there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from aboue against their cruell enimies.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie séene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patrone and protector of the Scotish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of ioining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obteined, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the relickes of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout praier after the accustomed maner. They vowed there also at the verie same time (as the fame goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognisance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgaruie, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his iniurious enterprise.

Saint Andrew the Scotishmens patrone.

Saint Reule.

Why Scotishmen vse saint Andrews crosse in warfare.

Athelstan his buriall.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie afore said, not onelie augmented his church with new buildings & needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreouer, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and siluer, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the relickes of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualtie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme: and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answere before ante temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongest the Picts after Hungus, toke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuileges, that they should answere for secular crimes afore secular magistrats; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of warre should inioy the other which Hungus, had so frælie bestowed vpon them.

Hungus repareth saint Andrews church.

Images of gold and siluer.

Tenths to be giuen to the cleargie.

Feredeth taketh from the cleargie their priuileges. And why not.

Priests to be tried afore secular iudges.

The nobles of the land mainteined Feredeth in his doings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortlie after followed. There be some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogither

about

about this ſeaſon, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in moſt of his accounts, as the author whom he taketh to be moſt certeine, as well for the account of the time as in the courſe of the whole hiſtorie. And for that we meane not to preſume wholie to derogat the ſame Boetius his credit, we haue not much diſſented from him, but rather followed him in moſt places, leauing ſuch doubts as may be worthilie put forth of that which he writeth, vnto the conſideration of the diligent reader, ſith it is not our purpoſe to impugne, but rather to report what we find written by others, except now and then by the way to admoniſh the reader of ſome vnlikelihoods (as the ſame doth ſéeme to vs and others) and happilie not without iuſt occaſion.

But now to our purpoſe. As well Hungus king of Picts, as Achaius king of Scots, after the ouerthrow and death of Athelſtane, liued with their people in good quiet and reſt: for the Engliſhmen attempted nothing againſt the Scots and Picts afterwards, during the time of their reignes. At length Achaius, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was about the ſixt yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, according to the maner of kings amongeſt his predeceſſors. In the dais of this Achaius (beſide Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) liued biſhop Geruadius a notable preacher in Murrey land, alſo biſhop Glacian with Modan and Pedan two brethren, all doctors and men of ſingular knowledge, in reſpect whereof they were had in great credit and eſtimation with the people.

Achaius departeth out of this life. 819.

*Conuall.*

Conuall ſucceéeth Achaius. Loue and amitie.

AFter the deceaſſe of Achaius, Conuall that was his vncles ſonne Dongall, the brother of king Ethſine, ſucceéded in gouernement of the Scotiſh kingdome. Betwixt this Conuall and Hungus the Pictiſh king, there was wonderfull loue and amitie ſhewed, both of them ſtudieng by all means how to mainteine the ancient league and alliance betwixt their people, whereupon inſued great wealth and quietneſſe vnto both their kingdoms. Finallie Hungus waſted with a continuall conſumption deceaſſed, deliuering vp his kingdome into the hands of his ſonne Dorſtolorgus, and that in the preſence of king Conuall, who likewiſe liued not long after him, for in the fift yeare of his reigne he likewiſe departed out of this world, by force of naturall ſickneſſe.

Hungus falleth in a conſumption. Conuall deceaſſeth alſo. 802. Io. Ma.

*Dongall.*

Dongall ſucceéeth after Conuall.

A ſeuere puniſher of malefactors.

DOngall the ſonne of king Soluathius was receiued to ſucceéd by the common conſent of the eſtates of all the realme, a man of ſingular wiſdome and great knowledge. But for that he was ſomewhat ſeuere in puniſhing the miſordered behauiours of the nobilitie, & miſgouerned youth of his realme, diuers of the nobles conſpired againſt him, forcing one Alpine the ſonne of Achaius to make claime to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie, but either to follow their minds, or elſe to be murthered amongeſt them, conſented to go with them into Argile, where they purpoſed to crowne him king ſitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to the manner. Howbeit, at his comming into that countrie, he found means to conuey himſelfe from amongeſt them, leaſt through his means the quiet eſtate of his countrie ſhould be brought into trouble: and forthwith being eſcaped out of their hands with a few other that were priuie to his intention, he maketh all the haſt he could, till he came to the preſence of Dongall, who receiued him in moſt ioifull wiſe, promiſing that if it ſhould be thought neceſſarie by the eſtates of the realme, he would gladlie reſigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, deſirous of nothing more than to ſée the aduancement of the houſe of Achaius. Such (ſaith he) were the merits of that famous prince towards the preſeruation of the Scotiſh common wealth, that it were too much wickedneſſe to go about to defraud his iſſue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine his excuſe vnto Dongall.

Alpine giuing the king moſt hartie thanks, beſought him to continue in the adminiſtration, drawing God and the world to witneſſe, that he minded nothing leſſe than to be about to claime the gouernement of the kingdome ſo long as he liued. For as touching his offenſe, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the ſame into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conſpirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue ſlaine him, if he had not conſented vnto their deſires. Within three yeares after, there came meſſengers from the rebels to excuſe themſelues alſo, & to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing ſmall credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh ſuch ſpéed towards the place where he vnderſtood the ſaid rebels were aſſembled togither, that he was vpon them yer they had anie knowledge of his ſetting forwards. So that before they could make anie ſhift to eſcape out of danger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other preſumptuous perſons in feare, ſo that the ſtate of the realme remained afterward a great deale more in quiet.

Dongall maketh an armie againſt the rebels.

Eganus murdereth his brother.

WHileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, Eganus the ſecond ſonne of Hungus the Pictiſh king, found means to murder his brother Dorſtolorgus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and through ſupport of ſome of the nobilitie he atteined to his purpoſe. And for that he would aſſure himſelfe the more firmelie in the eſtate, he frankelie beſtowed his fathers treaſure amongeſt his lords and chiefeſt pæers of his realme, and toke to wife Bremia the king of Mercia his daughter, whom his brother the forenamed Dorſtolorgus had maried, that thereby he might aſſwage the ſaid king of Mercia his diſpleaſure, which otherwiſe he ſhould happilie haue conceiued for the death of his other ſonne in law the ſame Dorſtolorgus. His feare was great on ech ſide, and therefore had ſmall affiance in anie perſon, doubting leſt one or other ſhould ſéeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durſt neuer go anie waies forth abroad without a gard of men of warre about him, whome he had wone & made his faſt friends by his paſſing great largeſſe and bountifull liberalitie. At length yet, his wife to reuenge hir former huſbands death, found means to ſtrangle him as he lay one night faſt aſléepe, hauing drunke a little too much in the euening before, and in this ſort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the ſpace of two yeares.

Eganus liueth in feare.

Eganus is ſtrangled of his queene.

Thus both Eganus & Dorſtolorgus being made away, without leauing anie iſſue behind them, forſomuch as now there remained none of the poſteritie of Hungus to ſucceéd in gouernement of the Pictiſh kingdome, Alpine nephue to the ſaid Hungus, by his ſiſter Fergusiana, with the aduiſe of king Dongall, made claime thereunto, and thervpon ſent his meſſengers vnto the lords and péeres of the Pictiſh dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well vnderſtood: and that if they throughlie conſidered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the proviſion of almightie God, that for want of lawfull ſucceſſion lineallie deſcended from Hungus, now to ſucceéd in the eſtate of the Pictiſh kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts ſhould be ioined in one, to the aboliſhing of all ſuch mortall

An ambaſſador ſent vnto the Picts.



Alpine vnwilling to receiue the crowne fled.

Alpine was ioifullie receiued of Dongall.

warres, as by diſcord and contention might ariſe betwirt thoſe two people, in like ſort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their vtter ruines.

The Picts chooſe Feredeth to be king.

The Picticſh nobilitie, hauing knowledge that theſe meſſengers with ſuch kind of meſſage ſhould ſhortlie come from Alpine, with generall conſent and whole agreement, chooſe one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongſt them, ſuppoſing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he ſhould ſeeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelon the Scotiſh ambaſſadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that preſent were aſſembled: they being admitted therefore to declare their meſſage, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdome of the Picts, the people would not ſuffer them to proceed anie further therein, but began to make ſuch an vproare, that to appeaſe the noiſe, Feredeth himſelfe tooke vpon him to make anſwer vnto the ambaſſadors: and thervpon commanding ſilence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit anie ſtranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of moſt high authoritie, that in caſe of neceſſitie they might tranſpoſe the crowne from houſe to houſe: and further, that by the ſame law there was an ordenance decreed, that if anie man were once made and created king, he might not be depoſed during his naturall life. And therfore though it were ſo, that Alpine were the nephue of Hungus by his ſiſter Fergusiana: yet bicauſe he was a ſtranger borne, and conſidering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had tranſlated the regall adminiſtration vnto an other houſe, of the which one was alredie proclamed and inueſted king, there was no reaſon now, why Alpine ſhould make anie further claime or demand vnto the kingdome.

The Scots willingly giue themſelues vnto the war.

Vpon the meſſengers returne home with this anſwer, Dongall ſhewed himſelfe to be in no ſmall chafe, that the Picts ſhould thus go about by ſuch ſubtill arguments and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And therevpon the ſecond time he ſent his ambaſſadors vnto them, requiring them either to doo him reaſon without anie further ſurmiſed cauillations; either elſe within three monethes ſpace after to looke for open warres at the Scotiſhmens hands. Theſe ambaſſadors paſſing forth on their iourneie, at their approching vnto Camelon, certeine ſergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: alſo they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies ſpace, vpon paine of death.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Picts.

The ambaſſadors being terrefied with ſuch maner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commiſſion, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring thoſe that thus came to meet them, to giue ſignification therof vnto their maiſter Feredeth, and to the whole Picticſh nation; and ſo returned home the ſame way they came. Then did the Scotiſh lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the ſame time laie in Carrike caſtell, and there taking counſell for the maintenance of theſe warres, not one was found amongeſt them which offered not to ſpend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iuſt quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both ſides for the warre, the Scots minding to ſet Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a ſtrange nation to reigne ouer them. But whileſt Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readie for his enterpriſe, he chanced to be drowned in the riuer of Speie, as he was about to paſſe the ſame in a bote. This miſhap chanced him in the firſt yeere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauiour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all funerall obſequies. 930.

*Alpine.*

Alpine crowned king of Scotland.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whoſe chiefeſt ſtudie was vpon his firſt entring into the eſtate, to follow his ſute touching his title to the Picticſh kingdome: and herevpon with all diligence preparing a mightie hoſt and all other things (which were thought requiſite for the furthering of his enterpriſe) he paſſed forth towards Angus, not ſtaieng till he came to the caſtell of Forfair, which he beſieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Picticſh king with a great armie of his ſubiects aranged in good order of battell, came and preſented himſelfe in ſight of the Scots, whervpon immediatlie neere vnto the towne of Keſſennoth they met, and ioining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the firſt encounter the right wing of the Scotiſh armie was neere hand ouerthrowne; but Fenedocht lieutenant of Athole came ſpeedilie to the ſuccors with 400 of his countriemen, and reſtored the battell on the Scotiſh ſide: whereby inſued a right ſore bickering with great ſlaughter, and no ſigne of ſhrinking on either part, by meanes whereof it ſeemed doubtfull for a long ſpace vnto whether ſide the victorie would incline.

Alpine with an armie inuadeth Pictland.

Fenedocht the thane of Athole.

At length Feredeth perceiuing the middle ward of his battell a litle to ſhrinke, ſpeedilie preaſſed forth to ſuccor the ſame with a choſen companie of ſuch as he had appointed to attend him: but entring thus with great violence amongſt the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, he was cloſed in on each ſide, and excluded ſo from the reſidue of his owne people, that hee could neither returne the ſame way he entered, neither yet by anie other, ſo that he with thoſe that were with him, perceiuing their liues to be in preſent danger, did caſt themſelues into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, whervpon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquiſhed, or with any feare oppreſſed, they were ſlaine all the whole number of them, togither with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts giue ouer the battell, ſo long as anie daie light was on the ſkie. So that the night in the end parted them in ſunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with ſmall ioy or triumph, by reaſon of the great ſlaughter which had beene made on both ſides.

Feredeth is ſlaine.

The night parted the armies.

The Picts fled by night.

The capteins of the Picts weieng with themſelues the loſſe of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not beſt to abide any longer in the field: wherefore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the ſame night, ſome into one place, & ſome into another, where they thought beſt for their owne wealth and ſafetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewiſe, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the ſame. Whervpon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certeine horſſemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field, thereby to vnderſtand whether the Picts ment anie deceit by their departure, as by laieng of ſome ambuſhments, or otherwiſe: but vpon the returne of thoſe horſſemen, when it was once knowne how there was no ſuch matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioiſing thereat, fell to and gathered the ſpoile of the field, diuiding the ſame amongſt themſelues according to their accuſtomed order.

The Scots diuide the ſpoile.

Alpine

Alpine himſelfe commanded the bodie of his enimie Feredeth to be laid in chriſtian buriall not farre from Forfair. After this cauſing the muſters of his people to be taken, he found that he had loſt the third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battell, and therevpon brake vp his campe for that time, licencing thoſe that were left aliue to returne vnto their homes. This battell being fought in the firſt yéere of the reignes of the two foreſaid kings, weakned the forces of both nations, ſo farre forth that the Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of vtter ruine (if they ſhould commit their whole puiſſance eftſoones to the hazard of another foughten field) determined to purſue the warre by making of incurſions and inrodes onelie vpon their enimies, ſo to ver the Picts, and to bring them vnto reaſon, if it were poſſible. And ſo much verely the Scotiſhmen did by ſuch their continuall rodes & incurſions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left void and deſolate of all the inhabitants.

Feredeth is buried.

The Scots determine to warre onlie with incurſions.

Neither did Brudus the ſonne of Feredeth, (whome the Picts had choſen to ſucceed after his father in the kingdome) find anie ſpéedie redreſſe to withſtand thoſe dailie invaſions thus made by the Scots vpon his countries and ſubiects. For he was but a ſlouthfull perſon, and verie negligent in his office, wherevpon he was had in deriſion of his owne people, who in the end ſlue him amongſt themſelues before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole yeare. Then ſucceeded Reneth, the ſecond ſonne of Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother. For gathering togither an armie of his ſubiects, and comming with them into Angus, he came no ſoner within ſight of his enimies, but that caſting off his armor, he fled incontinentlie, leauing his people in the field; and for that his haſte, was ſlaine by a plowman that met him by chance, and knew him not, but yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie, and therefore deſerued not to haue anie other fauour. His people ſeeing themſelues deſtitute of their head capteine and gouernor, retired from their enimies, kéeping themſelues in order of battell without anie further attempt.

Brudus ſucceédeth his father Feredeth

The Picts ſlue their ſloth full king.

Reneth king of the Picts.

The king caſting off his armor fleeth.

He was ſlaine by a plowman.

After this infortunate end of Reneth, the Picts choſe to their king one Brudus, a man of a ſtout and manlike ſtomach, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the eſtate, comming into Angus (which region the Scots had made waſte) catched there certeine Scotiſh robbers, and forthwith hanged them vp vpon gibets. After this, he ſent forth his ambaſſadors vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixt the two nations, and to haue the ancient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the Scotiſh lords, hauing quicklie aduiſed what to anſwer, declared vnto the Pictiſh ambaſſadors plainelie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace, till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the right heire. Brudus vnderſtanding by this anſwer, that the Scots would ſtill follow the warres againſt the Picts; to be the better able to withſtand their malice, he purpoſed to procure the friendſhip of the Engliſhmen, to haue their aid againſt the Scots. He ſent therefore his ambaſſadors with a great ſumme of monie vnto Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue ſome number of his people for his wages to ſerue him againſt the Scots.

Brudus ſent vnto Alpine for renewing their league.

Alpine refuſeth anie treatie of peace.

Brudus ſendeth an ambaſſador vnto Edwine king of England for aid, with a ſumme of monie.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promiſed to come himſelfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place Brudus ſhould appoint, to go againſt the Scots in defenſe of him and his ſubiects the Picts. Manie of the Picts reioiſed greatlie, that they ſhould haue aid thus of the Engliſhmen, hoping thereby to haue aſſured victorie of their aduerſaries. Other miſtruſted not a little the Engliſhmens offers, by reaſon of the old enimitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this meane ſeaſon the Scots take and ſeize vpon all the countrie of Angus, euen from the mounteine of Granzebene vnto the riuer of Taie, whereof Brudus being certified, ſendeth a poſt with all ſpéed vnto king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him to ſend to his aid a power of Engliſhmen, to helpe to reſiſt the Scots, which at that preſent inuaded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made this anſwer, that he was not onelie troubled with ciuill war made againſt him by other Engliſhmen, but alſo had béene requeſted by Lewes ſurnamed Pius, as then French king, in no wiſe to indamage the Scots his confederats, ſo that for that yéere preſent he might not conuenientlie ſend to him anie ſuccours, but if he would defer the warres till the next yéere, he ſhould haue the beſt helpe that he were able to ſhew him.

Brudus ſendeth vnto Edwine king of Northumberland for aid.

Edwine deferreth his aid.

Brudus perceiuing himſelfe thus mocked and deluded by the Engliſhmen, commanded by ſolemne ſummons, that all ſuch of his ſubiects, as were able to beare armor, ſhould aſſemble in nether Caldon within eight daies after, with conuenable proviſion of vittels, there to know his pleaſure. His commandement was obeied: ſo that a mightie armie of men at the day and place appointed came togither, which being muſtered, they ſtreitwaics remoue vnto Calidon caſtell, now called Dunkeld, where they paſſe the riuer of Taie, and ſo enter into Angus, not without ſome difficultie: but being once gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place where they vnderſtood their enimies did lie. Brudus the night before the day in the which he thought they ſhould haue battell, by the aduiſe of certeine expert warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the horſes that were in the campe, ſeruing for burden, to be beſtowed amongſt the women, lackies, and coiſtrels, part of them being clad in armor, and part in white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to ſpeares and iauelins. Amongſt them alſo he ordeined an hundred horſſemen to be placed, whome he made priuie as then to his intention, by whoſe leading that feat which ſhould be wrought in this behalfe, was to be atchiued. Theſe he cauſed to lie couertlie within a wood néere vnto the place where the battell ſhould be fought, giuing them in commandement not to ſhew themſelues till the battell were begun.

Brudus being deceiued of the Engliſhmen, called his owne ſubiects to the warre, aſſembling them at the foot of Calidon wood.

King Alpine all this while held himſelfe in a caſtell which ſtood vpon an hill, a little from Dundée, being now decaied, ſo that little thereof remaineth to be ſéene at this day. Vpon the north ſide of the hill, there lieth a great large plaine, compaſſed on ech ſide with mounteins, as then full of woods & launds, but now for the moſt part bare and without anie trées or buſhes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Alpine beholding forth of the caſtell, how the Picts approched to giue battell, got him into the campe, & erhorting his people to ſhew themſelues valiant, placed them in araie. The Picts no leſſe deſirous to fight than their gouernors would haue wiſhed them, began the battell before they had commandement, with ſuch violence, that the right wing of the Scots was ſore diſordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came ſpéedilie to their ſuccours, greatlie reprouing them for their faintneſſe of courage. To be ſhort, he did ſo much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight was renewed in moſt cruell wiſe: inſomuch that thoſe which before were put backe, began to winne ground againe, and to beate downe their enimies verie fiercelie.

Brudus being deceiued of the Engliſhmen, called his owne ſubiects to the warre, aſſembling them at the foot of Calidon wood.

The incamping of Alpine his armie.

A wonderful policie vſed by Brudus.

Rathlie the Picts begin the battell.

But herewith did the counterfet troupe of horſſemen, which was hid in the wood ſuddenlie come forth, and ſhewed themſelues vpon the backe halfe of the Scotiſh-

The Scots being deceiued with a counterfet troupe of horſſemen fled.

Scotiſhmen, appéring in ſight to be an huge number, & farre more than they were in déed: with which ſight the Scots being brought into a ſudden feare, leaſt they ſhould be compaſſed about with multitude of enimies, they brake their arraie, threw off their armor, and toke them to their fæt, ſo to eſcape and ſaue themſelues by flight. Thus few were ſlaine in the battell, but a great number died in the chaſe, & were beaten downe on ech ſide as they were ouertaken by the Picts. Alpine himſelfe was taken, and hauing his hands bound behind him, was led to the nert towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the name of him vnto this day, being called Paſalpine. His head alſo was ſet vpon a pole, and borne vnto Camelon, and there ſet vp vpon one of the higheſt turrets of the wall. The Scots that eſcaped from this ſorowfull ouerthrow, got them with all ſpéd into Argile, where they inueſted Kenneth the ſonne of Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yére of our Lord 834, and the fourth yére after Alpine entred firſt into the eſtate.

King Alpine taken by his enimies and after beheaded

Kenneth the ſonne of Alpine inueſted king of Scotland.

834.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and ioifull victorie, aſſembled at Camelon by commandement of their king, where cauſing a ſolemne proceſſion to be made, in rendering thanks to almightie God for their good ſucceſſe in their paſſed iournie: they take a generall oth vpon the goſpell booke, that from thenceforth they would not ceaſſe to make the Scots war, till they had vtterlie deſtroied the race of them: and herewith ordeined a law, that if anie man made mention of anie peace or league to be had with the Scots, he ſhould loſe his head for it. There were indeed ſome ancient perſonages amongſt them, that ſpake againſt this inſolent outrage of the people, alledging that in time of proſperous ſucceſſe men ought to vſe a modeſtie: but certeine youthfull perſons offended with ſuch graue aduiſe, thruſt the authors thereof out of the church, within the which they were as then aſſembled. The Scots being certified héereof, were nothing hérewith diſcouraged, but rather put in good hope of better ſucceſſe, ſith the enimies abuſed themſelues thus in time of felicitie.

The Picts giue thanks vnto God for their victorie. They make a vow to continue the warre.

The good counſell of graue men is deſpiſed.

The Scots are animated.

The nert ſummer after, the Picts aſſembled their power togither, and ſetting forward towards the Scots, thorough a light occaſion they fell at variance amongſt themſelues, and fought with ſuch hatred togither, that the king was not able to appeaſe the fraie, till night parted them in ſunder. Then calling the lords afore him, he aſſaied alwaies to haue agréed the parties, but when he ſaw it would not be, in the morning he gaue them licence to depart euerie man to his owne home, breaking off his iournie for that time. Brudus liued not paſt three moneths after, for thorough griefe that things went not forward as he wiſhed, he fell into a gréeuous diſeaſe, and finallie thereof died. After whoſe deceaſſe, the Picts choſe his brother named Druſken, to ſucceéd in gouernment of the kingdome, who applied his whole indeuour vpon his firſt entring into the eſtate, to appeaſe the ciuill diſcord amongſt his ſubiects.

The Picts fall at variance within themſelues.

Brudus died.

Druſken K. ouer the Picts

But whileſt he was thus buſilie occupied about the ſame, there were certeine Scots, which ſore diſdained to vnderſtand that the head of their late king ſhould remaine vnburied, in ſuch reprochfull ſort amongſt their enimies. Wherevpon hauing perfect knowledge of the Pictiſh tong, they feined themſelues to be merchantmen of that countrie, & comming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they found meanes in the night ſeaſon to ſteale to the wals, and ſecretlie taking awaie the head, eſcaped with the ſame home into their owne countrie.

The head of king Alpine is ſtoine, and ſolemnlie buried with the bodie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended: and ſo now the head of king Alpine being recouered, was cloſed in a ledden coffin, and Kenneth himſelfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmekill, where he buried it in the abbeie, amongſt the ſepultures of his elders, togither with the reſidue of the bodie in verie ſolemne wiſe, as apperteined. And further, thoſe perſons that had put their liues in aduenture to fetch the ſame head from the wals of Camelon, were by Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuitie, to remaine to them and to their heires for euer. After this, Kenneth deuiſing for the ſuertie of his ſubiects, furniſhed all the holds and caſtels on the frontiers of his enimies with men and munition, according as he thought expedient: and moreouer toke order, that all the youth of the realme ſhould be in a readineſſe vpon an houres warning, to go forth againſt the Picts, if they attempted anie new inuaſions.

Kenneth fortified the realme.

But the Scotiſh lords had no great luſt to take anie enterpriſe in hand eſtſoones againſt the Picts, remembring how infortunatelie they had ſped the laſt time: ſo that for the ſpace of three yéres there was no great exploit atchiued, ſaue certeine roads and incurſions, which both the nations continuallie vſed to make one vpon an other, as time and occaſion ſerued. At length king Kenneth being verie deſirous to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and attempted againſt the Scotiſh nation, in the fourth yére of his reigne, he aſſembled the peeres and cheefeſt nobles of his realme, truſting to perſuade them to aid him in all ſuch enterpriſes as he ment to take in hand againſt the Picts, whome he purpoſed to purſue with open warres, till he had them at his pleaſure. But calling his lords and peeres thus aſſembled on a day before him, and going earneſtlie about to moue them to the warres, he could ſtir them no more to his purpoſe, than if he had beene in hand to haue counſelled them vnto that which in no wiſe had apperteined vnto their duties: which their lacke of ſtomach, Kenneth perceiuing, he began to deuiſe a prettie ſhift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

Kenneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

Firſt therefore, breaking vp the aſſemblie for the ſame day, he commanded that they ſhould come togither againe on the nert morow, to conſult further for the ſtate of the realme, as they ſhould ſée cauſe. The ſame euening alſo he had them all to ſupper, which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, ſo that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to reſt, they were ſone brought into a ſound ſléepe. Now had the king appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man apparelled in garments prettilie deuiſed and made of fiſh ſkins vnſkaled, bearing in one of their hands a ſtaffe of ſuch rotten wood as ſhineth in the night, and in their other hand a great ore horne, to the end that vttering their words through the ſame, the ſound of their voices ſhould ſéeme farre differing from the vſuall ſpéech of man.

A prettie ſhift deuiſed by the king to perſuade the nobilitie.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to ech of them aſſigned, where (as is ſaid) the lords late faſt aſléepe, who being at the firſt as it were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie amazed at the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſight (doubting whether it were but a dreame, or ſome true and vnfeined viſion.) Hérewith alſo were heard certeine ſeuerall voices, far greater than thoſe of men, declaring that they were meſſengers ſent from almightie God vnto the Scotiſh nobilitie, to command them to obeie their king, for his requeſt was iuſt: the Pictiſh kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage, & ought to be recouered from that people, which for their great offenſes and ſins towards almightie God, ſhould ſhortlie come to vtter deſtruction: ſuch was the determinate pleaſure of his diuine maieſtie,

Of ſuch ſights there were manie in thoſe daies: and oftentimes no doubt eſtéemed to be heauenlie viſions in déed.

ieſtie, againſt the which might neither counſell nor puiſſance of man be able to reſiſt.

When the counterfeited meſſengers had thus made an end of their words, they ſlilie hid their ſtaues vnder their innermoſt garments, and therewith quicklie conueied their vppermoſt veſtures made of fiſh ſkales (as I haue ſaid) into their boſoms, in ſuch ſlight and nimble wiſe, that it ſeemed theſe viſions had ſuddenlie vaniſhed awaie. Thoſe lords that had ſeene theſe ſights, laie ſtill for that night, greatlie muſing on the matter. In the morning being got vp, and aſſembled in the councell chamber, they declared to ech other what they had ſeene and heard in the night paſſed. And for that all their viſions which they had ſeene by ech others report, were in euerie behalfe like, and nothing differing one from an other, they beleeued verelie it was ſome celeſtiall oracle & meſſage ſent from God. Therefore preſentlie they go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had beene admoniſhed from aboue, to continue the warres with all their forces againſt the Picts.

The lords declare their viſion vnto the king.

The king told them he had ſeene the like viſion, but they ought to keepe it cloſe, leaſt by glorieng too much in the fauour ſhewed by almightie God toward them, they might happilie diſpleaſe his diuine maieſtie, which otherwiſe they might perceiue was readie in their aid. Then finallie might the viſion be publiſhed, when thorough his fauourable aſſiſtance, the warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduiſe of the king was well liked of them all, and commandement giuen, that all maner of prouiſion ſhould be prepared with all ſpeed for an armie to be ſet forth into Pictland. The lords going buſilie about to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie, muſtered their men in all parts, ſo that there was leuied a greater hoſt than had beene ſeene in thoſe parties of long time before. When the whole power was come together, Kenneth marched forth with the ſame, entring by great violence into the Pictiſh borders about Sterling.

The anſwer of king Kenneth.

Kenneth entred into Sterlingſhire.

Druſken the king of Picts aduertiſed heereof, and hauing his armie in a readineſſe both of Picts and ſuch Engliſhmen as he had reteined, to ſerue him for his wages, fetcheth a compaſſe about, and paſſing by the Scotiſh armie in the night, incampeth betwixt them and home, inſomuch that the day did no ſooner appeere, but the one part deſirous to be in hand with the other, without token of trumpet, or commandement of capteine, they ruſhed together moſt fiercelie. The haſtie ſpeed of the Picts to ioine, put them to no ſmall diſaduantage; but the departure of the Engliſhmen, withdrawing themſelues aſide to the nert mounteine, moſt of all diſcouraged them: for the Scots therwith giuing a ſhout, declared themſelues to be highlie recomforted with that ſight. Druſken in all haſte ſent vnto thoſe Engliſhmen a meſſenger, willing them with large promiſes of reward to returne to his aid: but the Engliſhmen anſwered, that their vſe was not to fight without order and commandement of their generall, and that the Picts like vnſkilfull men had caſt awaie themſelues to be ſlaine by the enimies hand, where it apperteined vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when no hope of victorie appeered.

Druſken haſtilie inuaded his enimies.

The Engliſhmen fled.

Druſken ſendeth to the Engliſhmen.

The middle ward of the Picts ſeeing themſelues left naked on the one ſide, and aſſailed on the backs; whereas the Engliſhmen ſhould haue kept their ground and defended them, they began to ſhrinke: which the Scots perceiuing, ſtroke on the more fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to withſtand their force, fell to running awaie. They made their courſe towards the water of Forth, which was not farre from the place of the battell, where being ouertaken, they were beaten downe & ſlaine in great numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that they ſhould ſpare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The Engliſhmen whileſt the Scots and Picts were thus occupied in the fight and chaſe, withdrew homeward with all ſpeed; and by reaſon of the mounteins which they had to paſſe, that tooke awaie the ſight of them from the Scots, they eſcaped into their countrie without anie purſute. Druſken himſelfe ſo ſoone as he perceiued how the field went againſt him, got him to his horſſe, which he had appointed to be readie for him at hand vpon all occaſions, and ſo eſcaped out of danger with a few other in his companie.

The Picts are banquiſhed.

The Engliſh men eſcape.

Druſken eſcaped by flight

The Scots returning from the chaſe, remained in the place of the battell all night, keeping ſtrong watch about their campe, for doubt leaſt the Engliſhmen had beene lodged in ſome ſecret place neere by to haue ſet vpon them at vnwares, if they might haue ſeene anie aduantage; but in the morning when it was knowne how they were quite gone their waies, and returned into their countrie (as before ye haue heard) then was the ſpoile of the field and Pictiſh campe gathered and beſtowed amongſt the ſouldiers, after the ancient cuſtome of that nation. And then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to his home, with thanks for their ſeruice and paines in this iournie ſo manfullie imploied. Within few daies after, the Pictiſh king Druſken ſent his ambaſſadors vnto king Kenneth to ſue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare him, and promiſed to grant a peace, ſo they would ſurrender into his hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vtterlie refuſed of the Picts, was the cauſe that the warre was eftſoones renewed with more cruelties than before.

The Picts ſue for peace.

The yeere next inſuing this battell, Kenneth got Mernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furniſhing all the caſtels and holds with men, munition, and victuels. But whileſt he went about to ſubdue the countries about Sterling, word was brought him that ſuch as he left thus in gariſon in thoſe countries, were betraied by the inhabitants, and ſlaine euerie mothers ſonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in wrath for the newes, left off his treatie, which then he had in hand with the people of Menteth and Sterlingſhire for their ſubmiſſion, and returned in great haſt towards Fife, where being arriued, he put all to the fire and ſword, not leauing one aliue of the Pictiſh nation within all thoſe quarters. The like cruelties was ſhewed through the whole countries of Mernes and Angus, for an example to other to beware how they falſified their faiths once giuen by wate of allegiance.

Kenneth getteth Mernes, Angus, and Fife.

Fife is put to the fire and ſword.

Mernes and Angus is cruellie puniſhed.

In the meane time that Kenneth with his Scots raged in ſuch wiſe through thoſe countries, Druſken aſſembling all the power of his countries, came forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning either to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, either elſe to die with honor in the attempt thereof. Thus paſſing through the countrie, at length he came vnto Scone, where afterwards ſtood a famous abbie of chanons of ſaint Auguſtines order, and here he found Kenneth with his armie alreadie incamped. The nert day, when both parties were redie to haue giuen battell, Druſken wiſhing rather to aſke peace whileſt his power was yet in ſafetie, than after he were once vanquiſhed (if ſuch were his miſaduenture) to intreat for the ſame in vaine, ſent an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before he ioined, for that he had to ſay certeine things, which being followed, might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of both the Scotiſh and Pictiſh nations.

Druſken commeth to reſcue his people.

Kenneth

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse anie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a communication, and so thereupon both the kings in presence of both their armies arranged in the field readie to fight, came togither in a place appointed, either of them being accompanied with a like number of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accorded. Here Dzusken with manie reasons going about to persuade peace, shewed how necessarie the same was betwixt the two nations: and againe, how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted too much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title and interest as they had in the countries of Mernes, Angus, and Fife, vnto him and his successors the Scotish kings for euer, so that he should make no further claime vnto anie other of those countries which the Picts as yet possessed.

The persuasion of peace by Dzusken.

Mernes, Angus, and Fife is required of the Picts to release.

Kenneth his answere.

Herevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vnderstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but sithens the Picts fought in an vniust quarell, as to defraud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hungus, who latelie reigned amongest them, of the rightfull inheritance of their kingdome, they themselues had iust cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to atteine that by warre which by other means they could not atteine at the hands of the vniust possessors, they had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was reason they should. And what commoditie might thereof insue to both nations, being by such means once ioined and vnited into one intire kingdome, he doubted not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie inough. And as for other conditions of peace than this, he told them plainelie there would be none accepted. Thus did the kings depart in sunder, without anie agreement concluded: and being returned to their armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint of sword.

The order of the battell.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew themselues men, sith the same should iudge whether the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effectuall words when he had incouraged his folks to the battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he set first archers and arcubalisters; and next vnto them pikes and speares, then bilmen and other with such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude with all kind of weapons, as was thought most expedient. The fore ward was committed to the leading of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The king himselfe with a troope of horsemen followed them to succour in all places where he saw need.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to the battell, which the Scots began with such a cheerefull shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset were so amazed, that if Dzusken had not with comfortable words relieued their fainting stomachs, the most part of them had fled without anie stroke stricken. But being incouraged through the presence of their king, shewing himselfe with cheerefull countenance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them to stand by him at that present, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell betweene them. The women that were amongest the Picts, of whom there was no small number, speciallie in the right wing, made such a wofull noise, when they beheld the men

King Dzusken imboldeneth his people the Picts.

The women were a cumbrance to the Picts.

one kill an other, that they were a more cumbrance to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortlie beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Kenneth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring in amongest them, disordred their araie in such wise, that by no means they were able to aid themselues, or come into anie order againe: so that in the end they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and take them to their feete, thereby to escape the danger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons laie here & there strewed in the place of the battell, that the Scots were forced in following the chase to breake their araie, so to passe the more speedilie: by means whereof, falling amongest whole bands of the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

Kenneth with the horsemen disordered the Picts araie.

The right wing of the Picts is put to

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiuing, commandeth to sound the retreat, and so gathering his people about their standards, he appointed certeine companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of the enimies, whilest he himselfe with the residue abode still in the place (where the field was fought) all that day and the nert night following. The Scotish capteins that were sent to follow the chase, earnestlie executing their kings commandement, made great slaughter of Picts in all places where they might ouertake them. Dzusken the Pictish king himselfe being pursued to the riuer of Taie, for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine with the whole retinue which he had about him. It is said, that the Scotishmen incountred with the Picts that day at seuen sundrie times, and in seuen sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the Scots. The day after the battell, such as had followed the chase returned to the campe; where they presented vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other spoile of Dzusken the Pictish K. which they brought with them, besides great abundance of other pillage and riches, which they had gotten of the enimies that were slaine. Dzuskens armour and other things belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name within the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a monument of this victorie to such as should come after.

Kenneth causeth the retreat to be sounded.

The king of the Picts slaine.

After this the whole preie and spoile was gathered and diuided amongest the souldiers. Kenneth was counselled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue departed home; but he purposing now to make an end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a forwardnesse, called togither the multitude, and in this wise began to vtter vnto them his mind and purpose. ¶ It is the dutie of a good capteine, when he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres not ended, if he mind the preseruation of himselfe and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought, not to cease from pursuing the enimies once vanquished, till he haue either made them his friends, or else vtterlie destroied & rid them out of the way; for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the enimie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened and brought to a low ebbe, till time peradventure he shall haue recouered his forces againe, he shall procure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than happilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake somewhat of this danger now present, the state of the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is sore infeebled, their power being diminished by force of warre, is brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands vterlie to destroie and exterminat the whole nation. Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for vs by anie meanes to draw them (our honor saued) vnto

An oration of king Kenneth

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cc vnto our friendſhip. But the Picts are of ſuch a
cc ſtubborne nature, and ſo deſirous of reuenge, that
cc ſo long as there remaineth anie one of them aliue,
cc they will beare in their hearts a deſire to reuenge
cc all ſuch loſſes as they haue in anie wiſe ſuſteined by
cc this warre. Wherevpon I dó verelie beliéue, that
cc there is none of the Pictiſh nation from henceforth,
cc will beare anie faithfull friendſhip towards the
cc Scots. Therefore ſith we can not make the Picts,
cc thus latelie ſcourged by vs, our friends, I thinke
cc it beſt (except we will neglect our owne ſafeties) vt-
cc terlie to deſtroie the whole nation, by putting to the
cc ſword not onelie both men and women, but alſo all
cc their youth and yong children: leaſt they being deſ-
cc cended of that linage, hereafter in time to come,
cc arme themſelues to the reuenge of their parents
cc deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter loſſe
cc of our countrie and kingdome.

The commõs allow the kings ſaieng.

This ſentence of the king, though it ſéemed to cruell to many, yet whether for that they ſaw the ſame to ſtand with the kings pleaſure, or that they thought it moſt expedient for the ſuertie of the Scotiſh common-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all. Such crueltie herevpon was forthwith ſhewed throughout all the Pictiſh regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humane ſhape left aliue, ſauing ſuch as ſaued themſelues within the walles of Camelon, or in certeine other holds and fortreſſes, and alſo about two thouſand of thoſe that fled into England: for all the reſidue were moſt vnmercifullie murthered and ſlaine, without reſpect either of age, ſex, profeſſion, or eſtate. Thus Kenneth hauing diſpatched the inhabitants, ſeized the countrie into his owne hands, making partition of the ſame as he ſaw cauſe, and diuiding it amongſt his nobles, according to the merits of euerie of them dulie weied and conſidered, he added new names vnto euerie quarter and region (either after the name of the gouernor, or elſe of ſome promontorie, riuer, or other notable water or place, according as was the ancient cuſtome of the nation) that the memorie of the Pictiſh names might end togither with the inhabitants.

A cruell act committed by the Scots vpon the Picts.

Pictland parted vnto diuers men.

New names are giuen vnto euerie region.

The countrie ancientlie called Horeſtia, was giuen vnto two brethren, Anguſian, and Mernan, by reaſon whereof the one part of the ſame countrie was called Angus, and the other the Mernes. The linage of thoſe two noble men remaine vnto this day. The region which till then was named Otholinia, was turned afterwards to the name of Fife, after the name of one Fife Duffe: whoſe valiancie was throughlie tried in theſe laſt warres with the Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a caſtell ſituate betwirt the riuer of Leuin and ſaint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth) was fenſed about with ſeuen rampires, and as manie ditches, wherein the poſteritie of this worthie man after his deceaſſe had their habitation by the ſpace of manie hundred yéeres. Louthian retained ſtill the former name, ſo honorable was the remembrance of that famous prince king Loth amongſt all men. The ſtrongeſt caſtell of the whole countrie, Kenneth beſtowed vpon that valiant capteine named Bar, whoſe counſell and forward ſeruice ſtood the Scots in no ſmall ſtéed in thoſe warres, in which the Picts were thus ſubdued. That fortreſſe euer ſithence (after his name) hath béene called Dunbar, that is to ſay, the caſtell of Bar.

Angus.
Merne.
Fife.
Louthian.
A reward giuen vnto Bar which was the fortreſſe of Dunbar.

The familie of Dunbar.

There deſcended of him a noble houſe or familie, bearing the name of this caſtell, continuing in great fame and honor, euen vnto our time, of the which the earles of March had their beginning, and continued long in that dignitie from one to another, with ſundrie branches of right famous memorie. The names of diuerſe dales were alſo changed, but yet ſome kept their old names ſtill. Ordolucia ſhortlie after began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer of Annan that runneth through the ſame. And ſo likewiſe Tweedale tóke name of the water of Tweed. And Cludeſdale of the riuer of Clude. In like maner manie other countries, townes, and caſtels had their names changed at the ſame time, after they came into the poſſeſſion of the Scotiſhmen, vpon ſundrie conſiderations, for a witneſſe of their victorious acts atchiued againſt the Picts. Furthermore, into the citie of Camelon were withdrawne the moſt part of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts, with their children, vpon truſt to be in ſafetie in the ſame, as well by reaſon of ſtrength of the place, as alſo of the ſtrong gariſon which was appointed to defend it.

The changing of the names of the dales.
Annandale.
Tweedale.
Cludeſdale.

The gentlewomen are preſerued in Camelon.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleaſure abroad in the countrie, came thither with a mightie armie to beſiege the citie. And firſt ſending vnto them within, to know if they would yéeld, he was anſwered, how ſith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots could be ſatiſfied with nothing but with the ſlaughter of all ſuch as fell into their hands, aſwell of women and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they were minded neuer to ſurrender their hold with life. Wherevpon the ſiege continued by the ſpace of manie daies. Whileſt the Scots in the meane time got togither a great number of fagots, and other ſuch brush and ſtuffe to fill the ditches withall, which were verie déepe and broad, at length when they within began to want vittels, they required a truce for three daies, in the which meane time they might take aduiſe for the ſurrender of the citie. Kenneth miſtruſting no deceit, granted their requeſt, and thereupon commanded his people to ceaſſe from all maner of annoiance of the enimies, for that terme.

Kenneth ſendeth vnto Camelon, cõmanding them for to yeeld.

They of Camelon require truce for three daies.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared themſelues of all things neceſſarie to make an iſſue vpon the Scots. There was alſo an old gate forlet and ſtopped vp with earth and ſtones vpon the one ſide of the citie, ſo that of a long time before there had béene no way forth by the ſame. Wherefore in the darke of the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ramell wherewith it was cloſed vp, about the third watch they paſſe forth at that gate in good order of battell, ſetting firſt vpon ſuch Scots as kept the ſtanding watch, who were in doubt of nothing leſſe than of anie iſſue to be made on that ſide, by meanes whereof they were eaſilie oppreſſed, and likewiſe the other that kept the inner watch, inſomuch that the ſlaughter went on almoſt euen to the kings tent with great noiſe and clamor, as is commonlie ſéene in ſuch ſudden tumults, eſpeciallie chancing in the night ſeaſon.

The Picts iſſue vpon the Scots with great fortune.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts withdrawing towards the citie by the ſame waie they came, were purſued by the Scots, and no ſmall number of them ſlaine at the entring. The citie alſo had béene taken at the ſame time, but that the Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles, diſcharged a wonderfull number of quarels, darts, arrowes, ſtones, and other things vpon the Scots, as they approched néere to the gate, where their fellowes (that made the iſſue) haſted to enter againe into the towne. There were ſlaine of the Scots at this bickering aboue ſix hundred, wherewith Kenneth was ſo kindled with wrath, that deteſting the falſhood of the Picts, he vowed by open oth that hée would not depart from the ſiege, till he had put the citie and them within to fire and ſword, without ſparing of anie, either one or other.

An extreame vow made by king Kenneth

Sundrie times he attempted to haue wone the citie by force of aſſault, but the Picts ſtill defended their

The conſtancie of the Picts when they were beſieged.

their walles ſo ſtoutlie, that he could not atchiue his purpoſe. Wherevpon the ſiege continued for the ſpace of foure moneths togither. So that ſuch ſcarſitie of all kinds of vittels ſtill aroſe amongſt them, that the wretched citizens abſteined from nothing that might in anie wiſe be eaten, though it were neuer ſo much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into ſuch miſerable ſtate, that there was no hope longer to defend themſelues, if anie man notwithſtanding all ſuch extremitie, were heard make mention of ſurrendering, he was forthwith ſlaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend vnto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them ſo obſtinate in their wilfull contumacie, becauſe they ſaw nothing but death, which way ſoeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft vſed by Kenneth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miſerie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other ſuch ſtuffe, Kenneth one night appointed ſir hundred of his choiſeſt ſouldiers to lie in ambuſh within a wood, ioining neere to one ſide of the citie, ſo that in the morning when he ſhould giue the aſſault on the contrarie ſide, they might ſuddenlie come forth and ſcale the walles on that other. Theſe ſouldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, ſhortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the aſſault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and hauing their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them vp, and ſwiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens ſtanding in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that ſide: ſo as being gotten togither to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the aproch, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and comming on their backs, they were wonderfullie amazed, but yet ſo long as they were able to make anie reſiſtance, they did what lay in their vttermoſt power to beat backe the Scots, and to driue them out of the citie againe.

The Scots enter the citie.

The Picts are miſerablie ſlaine, without regard of perſon.

The ſlaughter therfore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in euerie paſſage & corner of the ſtreets, inſomuch that the Scotiſh lords and other capteins, in reuenge of the late receiued loſſe of their men, through the falſe practiſed policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to ſet fire on the houſes, and to kill and ſlea all ſuch of the Pictiſh nation as came in their way. Thus the murther proceeded vpon all eſtates, aſwell religious as other, and likewiſe vpon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the preſence of king Kenneth, beſought him in moſt lamentable wiſe, to haue pitie vpon their wofull eſtate, and to ſaue their liues from the hands of his moſt cruell ſouldiers. But ſuch was the rage kindled in the Scotiſhmens hearts, that there was no more fauor ſhewed toward them than toward the other, and ſo immediatlie were they alſo ſlaine without all compaſſion. So farre forth was the murther executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictiſh nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miſerable deſtruction of their countrie and kinſfolkes. Then were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houſes and buildings aſwell priuate as publike, with churches and chappels, were ſet on fire, and that which might not be conſumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and deſtroied with hand, ſo that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the aſhes, with heapes of the broken and burned ſtones, and likewiſe of the pauement and foundation of ſome part of the walles.

Ladies and gentlewomen deſire the king to be pardoned of their liues.

All the Pictiſh nation deſtroied.

The citie of Camelon is throwne downe.

The caſtell of Maidens is left of the Picts.

At the ſame time the caſtell of Maidens, now called commonlie Edenbourgh caſtell, was ſtill kept with a mightie garriſon of Picts, but they hearing of the miſerable deſtruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like miſchance, left the caſtell void, and fled to Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yeere after they firſt began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yeere after the birth of our Sauior 839, from the firſt comming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scotiſh chronicles be true. ¶ But whereas the truth concerning the time of the firſt comming into this Ile, aſwell of the Scots as Picts reſteth doubtfull, and that aſwell by authoritie of approued writers, as by reaſonable coniectures, we haue in the hiſtorie of England more largelie written thereof; we referre thoſe that be deſirous to ſee further of that matter, vnto the ſame, following here in this hiſtorie of Scotland the report moſt an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scotiſh writers, not taking vpon vs ſo frankelie to ſet downe our owne opinion in this Scotiſh, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie, through want of ſuch helpes in the one, as we haue got in the other.

839.
1421. H.B.
6038. H.B.

Prodigious tokens ſéene in the aire.

There were ſéene the ſame yeere two comets or blaſing ſtarres of dreadfull aſpect to the beholders, the one went before the ſunne riſing in harueſt ſeaſon, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the ſpring of the yeere. There was oftentimes alſo ſéene in the aire a viſion of firie armies, running togither with burning ſtaues, and the one being vanquiſhed, they ſuddenlie both of them vaniſhed away. Alſo at Camelon, as the biſhop was at ſeruice holding his croſier ſtaffe in his hand, it was kindled ſo with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to aſhes. About none date, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countries of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard ſuch a noiſe and clattering of weapons and armor, with braieng of horſes, as though two armies ſhould haue béene togither in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. Theſe vncouth wonders were interpreted by diuinors diuerſlie: ſome of them affirming the ſame to betoken ioy and happie proſperitie, and other alledging, how they ſignified rather miſhap and vtter calamitie.

The interpretation of theſe tokens.

But to returne to our purpoſe. King Kenneth hauing thus deſtroied the Pictiſh kingdome, togither almoſt with the whole nation, cauſed the marble ſtone (which Simon Breke ſometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the firſt Fergus out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had béene diligentlie kept) into Gourie, which region before apperteined to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a ſacred token for th'eſtabliſhment of the Scotiſh kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raiſed plot of ground there, becauſe that the laſt battell which he had with the Picts was fought neare vnto the ſame place, the victorie (as before is ſpecified) chancing to the Scots. Vpon this ſtone (as before is rehearſed) the Scotiſh kings were vſed to ſit, when they receiued the inueſture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the ſame time when this ſtone was thus by him remoued, thoſe Latine verſes were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we ſpake of the aforeſaid Fergus the firſt his comming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

The marble ſtone is remoued from Argile into Gourie, in the place called Scone.

Now in the meane time, when thoſe few of the Picts, which by flight had eſcaped the Scotiſhmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes perſuade the Engliſhmen, being troubled with inteſtine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, ſome of them paſſed the ſeas ouer into

The reſidue of the Picts were diſperſed.

to Norway, and ſome into Denmarke, and diuerſe other of them remained ſtill in England, where they got their liuing either by ſome manuall occupation, either elſe by ſeruice in the warres. The Scots from thenceforth liued in quiet, during the life time of K. Kenneth, who deſerued eternall fame, by the inlarging of the bounds of his kingdome, ſo mightilie and in ſuch wiſe, that where he found the frontiers, he made the ſame well neere the middeſt of his kingdome. Other things he did alſo touching the politike gouernement of his ſubiects in time of peace, no leſſe worthie of praiſe than his noble and famous conqueſts: but ſpeciallie he ordeined certeine lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers ſhould proceed in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, of the which I haue thought requiſite to rehearſe part as yet being vſed, that aſwell the author, as the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, maie the better appeare, vnto ſuch as ſhall peruſe this hiſtorie.

*The Scots liue in quiet.*

*Kenneth maketh lawes & ordinances.*

## The Chapters of thoſe lawes which *yet remaine to be obſerued,* are theſe.

*Lawiers neceſſarie.*

LEt euerie ſhire haue certein men ſkilled in the lawes appointed to be reſident in the ſame, according as in the beginning it was inſtituted. Let their ſonnes alſo in their youth be brought vp in knowledge of the ſame lawes.

*The tables of the law to be kept.*

Let them onelie kæpe in their cuſtodies the tables of the lawes, with the regiſter bookes of the kings & pæres of the realme.

*Bribers to be hanged.*

If any of them be conuicted of extort bribing, or other the like vniuſt dealing, let him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remaine vnburied.

*Puniſhment for theft and murther.*

Such as are cõdemned for theft, let them be hanged, and thoſe that are proued giltie of murther, let them loſe their heads.

*A woman cõdemned to be drowned, or burned quick.*

A woman which is condemned to die, either let hir bæ drowned in ſome riuer, either elſe let hir be buried quicke.

*Blaſphemers haue their tongs cut out*

He that blaſphemeth the name of God, of the ſaints, of his prince, or of the capteine of his tribe, let him haue his tong cut out.

*The puniſhment for a lier.*

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbours hinderance, let him haue his ſword taken from him, and be baniſhed out of all mens companie.

*A man accuſed to be condemned by an od queſt of men.*

Such as be accuſed of any crimes that deſerue death, let them paſſe by the ſentence of 7 honeſt men, either elſe of 9, 11, 13, 15, or more, ſo that the number be od.

*Robbers to be put to the ſword.*

Robbers by the high waies, deſtroiers of corne growing in the fields, as is vſed by enimies in time of warre, let them die by the ſword.

*Vagabonds to be whipped and burnt in the cheeke.*

Fugitiues, bagabonds, and ſuch other idle perſons, let them be whipt and burnt in the cheeke.

*The wife ſhal not ſuffer for the husbands offenſe.*

Let not the wife ſuffer for the husbands offenſe, but the husband ſhal anſwer for the wiues miſdæds, if he be priuie therevnto.

*The concubine and hir mate to haue alike puniſhment.*

Any mans lemman or concubine ſhall ſuffer the ſame paines that he doth which offendeth with hir.

*Rauiſhers of maids ſhall die.*

He that rauiſheth a maid ſhall die for it, vnleſſe ſhe require for ſafegard of his life, to haue him to hir husband.

*Adulterers ſhall die.*

If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adulterie, ſhe conſenting vnto him therein, they ſhall both ſuffer death for it. But if ſhe conſent not, but be forced againſt hir will, then he ſhall die onelie for the ſame, and ſhe ſhall be releaſed.

*A child hurting his father ſhall die.*

If the child hurt the father either with tong, hand, or foot, let him firſt be depriued of that member, and then hanged, his bodie to remaine without buriall.

*Who are not to inherit.*

A murtherer, a dumbe perſon, or he that is vnthankfull to his parents, ſhall not inherit his fathers patrimonie.

*Juglers and wizzards, &c.*

Juglers, wizzards, necromancers, and ſuch as call vp ſpirits, and vſe to ſæke vpon them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

*Sowing of graine.*

Let no man ſow in the earth any graine before it be purged of all the weeds.

*Euill husbandrie.*

He that through negligent ſlouth, ſuffereth his arable ground to bee choked vp and ouergrowne with weeds; for the firſt fault let him forfait an ore, for the ſecond ten oxen, and for the third let him forgo the ſame ground.

*Buriall of friends.*

Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend being ſlaine, ſee him buried, but let the enimie lie vnburied.

*Waifes and ſtraies.*

Anie ſtraie cattell that commeth into thy grounds, either reſtore them to the owner, either els deliuer them to the ſearcher out of thæues, commonlie called *Tonderach*, or to the parſon or vicar of the towne: for if thou reteine them in thy hands by the ſpace of three daies, thou ſhalt be accounted giltie of theft.

*Things found.*

He that findeth anie thing that belongeth to an other man, let him cauſe it to be cried in the market, or elſe he ſhall be iudged for a fellon.

*Aduerſaries in ſute of law.*

He that ſtriketh him, with whom he goeth to the law, about anie matter in controuerſie, ſhall be iudged giltie of the action, and the other ſet free.

*Oxen or kine hurting each other.*

If oxen or kine chance by running togither to kill one another, the truth being not known which it was that did the hurt, that which is found without hornes ſhall be iudged the occaſion of the ſkath, and he that is owner of the ſame, ſhall haue the dead beaſt, and ſatiſfie him for the loſſe to whome it belonged.

*A ſow.*

If a ſow eate hir pigs, let hir be ſtoned to death, and buried, ſo that no man eate of hir fleſh.

*Swine.*

A ſwine that is found eating of corne that groweth in the field, or wrooting vpon the tilled grounds, let it be lawfull for anie man to kill the ſame without danger.

*Beaſts damage faiſant.*

Other kinds of beaſts, wherein other men haue anie propertie, if they breake into thy paſtures, or eate vp thy corne, impound them, till time the owner haue ſatiſfied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

*Articles touching religion*

¶ Theſe were ciuill ordinances belonging to the good gouernement of the people, other there were, which apperteine to religion:

gion: as these.

Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratories, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.

Keeping of holie daies. Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, vigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honor of our S. Christ & his saints.

Priests. To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense worthie of death.

Ground to be left vntilled. That ground wherin anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for seuen yeares space.

Graues. Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy fæt thou tread vpon it.

Burial. Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance.

Burial of noble men. The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horsse shall beare the coate-armor of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horsse; who after the corps is brought to church, turning his horsse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and therewith the people making an outcry against him, he shall streictwaies depart and get him with all spæd to the place frō whence he came; the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer vp vnto the priest his coate-armor with his horsse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister doth inioy euerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not apperteining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in steed of the horsse and armor, fiue pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Renie his church, now called Saint Andrewes. The bishops sée, which before had béene at Abirnethie, he translated vnto the church of that holie man S. Reule. Euer since which time the towne hath béen called S. Andrewes, and those which gouerned the same church a long time after, were called the great bishops of Scotland: for the realme was not diuided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the 3, who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the sée of Murthlake, now called Abirden: but such as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge méet for the office, vsed the authoritie & rome of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident. Yet such was the continuance of those which gouerned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue béene aboue the number of fortie bishops resident there, since the first institution of that sée: manie of them for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being numbred according to the manner in times past in the register of saints. But now to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is said) inlarged the bounds of his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and to the Iles of Orknie on the other, the sea compassing the residue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yéeres in great renowme and glorie, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Fortiuiot, in the yéere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Ile of Colmekill, and there honorablie buried amongst his ancestors.

The bounds of the Scotish kingdome.

King Kenneth departed out of this life. 855. H.B.

*Donald.*

Donald the fourth of that name succeedeth his brother Kenneth. The king is of dissolute behauior.

After his decease succéeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Neuertheless he had continued scarse two yéeres in the estate, but that he had subuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banketting, kéeping of hawkes, hounds, & horsses for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof he had no regard at all: for such charges as he should haue béene at for maintenance of men of warre to kéepe the frontiers of his realme, were imploied on a sort of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as huntsmen, falconers, cookes, bawdes, ruffians, and such like lozzels.

The king is admonished of his nobles. Whereupon diuers of the nobles remembring what apperteined to their duties, spared not but frélie admonished the king what danger would insue of his misordered behauior, if he reformed not his maners, nor restreined the licentious doings of his seruants and familie. But when they perceiued that their words were not regarded, but for the same they themselues ran into displeasure; they sorrowed not a little, to sée so small hope of amendment of such enormities, as euerie where reigned through the region: for all youthfull persons giuen to sensuall lust followed the same without anie feare or care of correction, so that there was no measure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch that shortlie, through want of all good gouernance, wrong was placed in stéed of right, and contempt of Gods honor imbraced euerie where in place of vertue and godlinesse.

The exiled Picts require aid of the Englishmen. In this meane while, the residue of the Picts remaining amongst the Englishmen, ceassed not to solicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them towards the recouerie of their dominion out of the Scotishmens hands, promising to be subiects vnto the English nation, if by their helpe they might be restored to their ancient seates. At length Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland were persuaded through instant suite to take that enterprise in hand, the rather vpon trust of good successe, for that they vnderstood what lacke of politike gouernement then remained amongest the Scots, by reason of the kings naughtie demeanor and most inordinat trade of life. But first there was a league concluded with new articles of agréement betwixt the Englishmen and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongst the coasts of Cumberland, by meanes of which league both Britains and Englishmen ioined their powers together, and in most spéedie and forcible wise passed the water of Twéed, first pitching their campe in the countrie of Mers. From whence immediatlie king Osbert (being appointed as generall in that iournie) sent

Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland.

The Englishmen and Britains ioined their powers with the Picts.

An herald is sent vnto Donald.

sent an herald vnto Donald the Scotish king, commanding him either to surrender vp vnto the Picts all such regions as the Scots had taken from them, either else to looke to haue the Englishmen and Britains no lesse their enimies than the Picts, whose cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and defend.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these newes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he tooke a good hart vnto him, and in defense of his realme caused musters to be taken throughout all his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to incounter his enimies, whome he found at Jedworth readie to giue battell: where after sore fight, in the end Osbert with his people was chased to the nert mounteins. Donald hauing thus obteined the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had béene his owne, and thereupon remoued ouer Tweed with all possible hast, marching forth till he came to the mouth of that riuer, where there laie at anchor certeine English vessels, laden with prouision of vittels and all other things necessarie for the furniture of an armie. Donald setting vpon these ships, with small resistance tooke them, spoiled them of all such things as were found aboord, and after set fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongest the souldiers and men of warre, which serued them to small vse or commoditie: for all the youth of the armie, through example of their prince, was so corrupted in vicious customes, that the campe was replenished with whores, bawds, stews, and dicing tables, in such wise, that all such prouision as should haue serued for store and staple of vittels, was spent in riotous banketing without anie order or measure: & oftentimes (as it chanceth where politike gouernement lacketh) there happened amongest them in the armie, discord and variance with sundrie murders and slaughters.

Osbert is put to flight at Jedworth, or Jedburgh.

A great disorder in the Scotish campe.

When the enimies were aduertised how far out of order all things stood in the Scotish campe for want of good and discreet chiefteins, Osbright with all speed got a mightie host togither againe, and before his approch was looked for of the Scots, he commeth vpon them one morning in the breake of the day, and assaileth them in their lodgings, wherein he found them so vnprouided of all helps to make resistance, that it was a wonder to see the disorder that appeared amongest them: some of them running vpon their enimies naked without all discretion, other breaking forth of the campe to saue themselues by flight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie way to escape the enimies hands, though it were with present danger of breaking their necks downe the stéeling banks and craggie rocks, being forced thereto by the fierce pursute of the Englishmen and Britains, who most eagerlie preased vpon them in all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow and slaughter of their friends and kinsfolks. There died of the Scots in this mortall bickering aboue twentie thousand persons. King Donald being fall asléepe at the first assault of the enimies, as he that had drunke ouer night more than inough, was taken before he could make anie shift for himselfe, with the residue of the nobilitie, that scaped with life.

The Scots campe sundrie times inuaded.

20000 Scotishmen slaine.

King Donald is taken with the nobilitie.

The campe is rifled.

The whole realme of Scotland discomfited.

The Scotish campe, the nert day after this ouerthrow, was rifled, the spoile being diuided amongest the Englishmen and Britains. But when the fame of this infortunat battell was noised once through the realme of Scotland, how the king was taken prisoner, his campe woone, the armie discomfited, and almost all the souldiers and men of warre slaine, those few of the nobles which were left aliue remaining prisoners in the enimies hands, there was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as though the realme had alreadie béene lost without recouerie. Some there were that blamed fortune, some curssed the wicked trade of life in the king, other bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are euer sundrie opinions. Manie ran vp and downe the streets and high waies, to inquire the certeintie of all things, and whether there were anie hope at all left to resist the enimies, also which way the enimies held, whereabout they went, and what they purposed to do.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knowen that the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mired with sorow (for losse of their friends and kinsfolks) stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into the womens, that a greater hath not beene heard of in anie region. So that all prouision to defend their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes fauor. The Englishmen hereupon tooke all the countrie euen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains seized into their hands all that which lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, finding no resistance in their way at all. Hereunto aswell the Englishmen as Britains vsed the victorie verie cruellie, sparing neither one nor other of the Scotish blood, that by anie means fell into their hands, but priests and all passed one way, that is, by the edge of the sword.

The Englishmen inuade Louthian, the Britains Galloway.

The Scots left comfortles.

The Britains as yet kept possession of Cumberland, and those other countries lieng by the coast of those west seas.

The victorie vsed cruelties.

King Osbert purposed to haue passed the water of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so ouer Taie into Angus: but hearing that the Scots had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he staied certeine daies. At length vnderstanding that the enimies were nothing of that puissance or number, as at the first they were reported to be; he determined to set ouer in certeine boats ten thousand of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind and weather, that rose in that instant, there were fiue thousand of them drowned, the residue being constreined to land againe on the same side from the which they losed, hauing lost through violence of the weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their vessels. Osbert being also admonished with this misfortune, thought good to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by land to go vnto Sterling, where he vnderstood he should find the Britains, with whome he might ioine his power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so inuade other of the Scotish regions which lay thereabout.

A great manie Englishmen drowned.

But at his comming thither, certeine Scotish ambassadours came vnto him to sue for peace, which they humblie required at his hands in name of the whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much on brittle fortune, the which sheweth hir selfe neuer stable; but commonlie vseth to call backe againe hir grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the vanquished séemeth to haue béene sufficientlie corrected. As for the Scots, though it might appeare that their force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should little auaile them: yet were they minded to die in defense of their liberties, rather than to submit themselues vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The words of these ambassadors being throughlie weied (though some tooke them in great disdaine) yet in the end it was supposed that after victorie thus had against the enimies, honorable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Ambassadors sue for peace.

Fortune is brittle.

Whereupon answere was made to the ambassadors, that both the English and Britith people with

Peace granted with conditions.

their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (though it late in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agrée to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countries as they had now gotten into their possessions, without anie claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them or anie of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should diuide the Scotish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time euer after, the Scotish sea. On the west the water of Clide should diuide the Scotish lands from the Britains; the castell of Alcluith, standing at the mouth of the same riuer, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbreton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains: And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anie of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anie of them to be driuen to land on the south shore, within anie of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or victels, and depart within three daies, except some reasonable cause of staie constreined them to the contrarie. Moreouer, they should not fortifie anie townes or castels on the frontiers néere to the English or British confines. And further, they should couenant to pay vnto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of siluer. For performance of which articles of agréement, the Scots should deliuer three score hostages, being the sonnes and heirs apparent of the chiefest noble men of all their realme and countrie. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anie of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

Articles of peace proponed.

The Forth called the Scotish sea.

Dunbreton. It was called before Caer Arcluith, that is, the citie vpon Clud, as H. Llhoid holdeth.

Hostages are required.

The ambassadors returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for free people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people béene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appeased this contention, persuading them to haue respect to the time. And sith the force of the realme was so infeebled, abated, and brought vnder foot through aduerse fortune: better it was to yeeld vnto necessitie in sauing part at that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recouer the residue, than through obstinat wilfulnesse to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonor to receiue conditions of peace at the enimies hands, sith there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladlie accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Gald appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdome amongest them, and such as regarded their honor, so far forth as reason in anie wise did reach.

The Scots mislike the articles of peace.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

The multitude moued with these words of Calene, whose graue authoritie (by reason of his age and wisedome) was of no small reputation amongst them, hauing lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finallie determined to follow his opinion in receiuing the same conditions of agreement which Dsbert had prescribed: and thereupon sent againe their ambassadours with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in maner as is before rehearsed. Which being throughlie accomplished in such solemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Dsbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadours, being earnestlie required so to do, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The multitude consented vnto Calenes his latings.

The Scots receiue the peace.

King Donald with the noblemen are sent home againe.

The agréement being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the west sea, betwixt the riuers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland: and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lieing from Sterling vnto the east sea, betwixt the Scotish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scotish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) diuided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto those three people; the same towne with the castell remaining vnto Dsbert, as it was couenanted amongest other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scotish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, whereupon came vp the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceiued, for (as in the historie of England shall appéere) that name came not in vse till manie yéeres after. Dsbert also in this place caused a stone bridge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in stead of the wooden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone bridge he set vp a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

Lands diuided betwixt the Britains and Englishmen.

A bridge of stone made at Sterling.

*Anglos à Scotis separat crux ista remotis,*
*Arma hîc stant Bruti, stant Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.*

I am free march as passengers maie ken,
To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

Belenden the Scot.

The Picts which had béene with the Englishmen in this iournie, euer hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Dsbert, when they saw how he reteined the same in his owne hands, appointing his subiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in deed, least the Englishmen of friends would now become enimies, séeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselues in the possession of those lands and liuings, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilest anie of them remained aliue.

The Picts hope is deceiued.

Upon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongest the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselues, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norwaie and Denmarke, vnto their countriemen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found aliue within anie of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scotish king Donald being restored againe to his countrie, was receiued with more ioy and honor than he had deserued; in hope yet by this scourge of aduerse fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuses. Neuertheless, he had not béene at home anie long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, remouing from his companie such honorable personages as wished the suertie of his estate, with the aduancement of the common welth, to the releefe and ease of his poore miserable subiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiuing the danger that their countrie stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, vndiscreet rule and gouernement, they found means to apprehend and commit him vnto safe keeping. But the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he

The Picts went into Norwaie and Denmarke.

King Donald falleth to his old vices againe.

King Donald is laid in prison.

was

He slaieth himselfe in prison.

860.

was thus put in ward in great desperation slue himselfe, in the first yeare after he had begun his infortunat reigne, and in the yeare of our Saulour 860.

A yong babe giueth warning vnto his mother.

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was brought vnto such miserable state by the puissant force of the Englishmen and Britains, as aboue is rehearsed, there were sundrie wonders heard of in the countrie; as in Louthian a child of one moneth old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flie out of that countrie: for it would come to passe, that the enimies should come and take that region out of the Scotishmens hands. Beasts also, as they were pasturing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a strange sort, suddenlie died. Fishes likewise, in shape resembling the figure of man, were found dead in the sands of the Scotish sea. In Galloway there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the sauour of them lieng on the ground, both men and beasts died of certeine diseases, which they take through infection thereof.

Beasts roring died.

Fishes like in shape to men.

Adders and snakes fell downe out of the skie.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in diuination, affirmed that these things did signifie an infortunat reigne, with an euill end vnto king Donald, as afterwards it happened, who hauing made away himselfe in prison (as before is expressed) Constantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, according to the maner as then vsed. After his first entring into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to haue recouered out of their possessions, those countries which they had latelie taken from the Scots in his predecessors time: but his councell aduised him otherwise, declaring that the state of the commonwealth was so decaied by the misgouernance of his said predecessor, that till the same were reformed, and such intestine discord, as through licentious libertie reigned amongest his subiects might be appeased and quieted, there was no hope to atchiue anie worthie enterprise abrode against forreigne enimies.

The interpretation of the prodigious things.

King Constantine crowned.

He fain would recouer his predecessors losses.

He was aduised otherwise by his councell.

Herevpon by their aduertisements and good aduise, he deuised a reformation of all such misorders as were growen vp in all parts of his realme: and first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle with anie secular businesse, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neither should they keepe horsses, hawks, or hounds. And if anie of them were found negligent in doing his dutie apperteining to his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his benefice. For the youth of his realme he tooke order (to bridle them the better from wanton delights and sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie delicats, and to absteine from all such drinke as might distemper their braine, so that if anie yong person, either man or woman were knowen to be drunken, they should die for it.

Misorders are redressed.

Priests shuld onelie attend their vocation.

A penaltie for not doing their dueties.

Youth shuld eate but one meale a day.

Drunkennes punished with death.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shooting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid slouthfulnesse, that their bodies might with such exercises be made the more able to indure paines and trauell: and for the same purpose he tooke order, that they should lie vpon the bare boords, with one mantell onelie throwen vnder them, so that they should tast nothing neither by day nor night, that might norrell them in anie wanton delights or effeminat pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as kept victelling houses for banketting cheere, should be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell houses. Thus were the Scots by obseruing of these ordinances, made within short time of gluttons and excessiue feeders, sober and temperat men: of delicat and easefull persons, hard, tough, and able to abide anie trauell or labor, were the same neuer so painfull: and hereof the state of the commonwealth began to grow to good perfection, so that Constantines administration was liked of the most part of all his subiects.

Youth to be trained vp in hardnesse.

Keepers of banketting houses be banished.

Scots were made sober and able to abide hardnes

The first that went about to disquiet the prosperous reigne of that worthie prince, was one Euan, a man of an ancient house, & borne in the westerne Iles. ¶ Such haue beene the vnquiet nature of the Scotishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to liue contented anie long time either with peace or warre: for being once wearied with the charges of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace; and hauing in time of peace heaped togither some wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement of their superiors, but either are readie to fall out with some forreigne enimie, or else to raise some commotion amongest themselues. This Euan therfore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of Dunstafage in Louchquhaber, practised a conspiracie against the king, with a number of other light persons being gentlemen borne, misliking the administration of things, onelie for that they saw how their inordinat libertie to oppresse inferiour persons, and to vse such wild and insolent misdemeanour, as they had done afore time, was now restreined by lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for the same.

Euan disquieted the king and realme.

The vnquiet nature of Scotishmen.

But as these conspirators went about to haue moued the people of Louchquhaber, Murrey land, Rosse, and Cathnesse, to haue ioined with them in their traitorous interprise; some of them in whom Euan put most trust, secretlie aduertised the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men togither, made such speedie hast towards Dunstafage, where the chiefe capteine of the rebels as then lay, that he came before the same yer anie inkling were knowen to them within of his approch. By meane whereof comming vpon them so at vnwares, he had the castell soone at his pleasure; and immediatlie herevpon caused Euan to be trussed vp on a high paire of gallowes, for a spectacle to all his complices. And furthermore, least the other conspirators might prouide them of some other chiefteine, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that were accused to be of Euans confederacie, the which he put in streict prison, there to be safelie kept, till the peeres of the realme had determined with good deliberation, what should become of them. This businesse being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for quietnesse, there suddenlie followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the world, that when men least thinke of mischiefe, they fall oftentimes into most danger.

Euan lieutenant of Dunstafage conspireth against the king.

The king is aduertised of Euan his treason.

The king cõmeth to Dunstafage with an armie.

Euan is executed.

Many kept in prison.

One trouble followeth another.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all such lands as somtimes belonged to the Picts, for that the residue of that nation which had escaped the hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned vnto him all their right & interest of the same lands, he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the iniuries which the Picts alledged they had sustained) to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen. He caused therefore an huge number of ships to be prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chiefteins hauing their ships and men with all prouision apperteining once readie, tooke the sea, and sailed

Cadane king of Denmarke

The cause that made the Danes to make warre against England and Scotland.

A great naule sent into Scotland.

forth till they came to the coasts of Scotland, where they toke land within the countrie of Fife, before anie tidings were heard of their comming thither.

The Danes vse great cruelitie.

The Danes being set on land, spared no kind of cruelitie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, and namelie for that they had not as yet receiued the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, ouerthrowing and burning vp churches and chappels, whersoeuer they found anie in their way. Whereupon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses & possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come aduersaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and godlie persons, as about the same time laboured busilie in setting forth the word of life vnto the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scotishmen, into the Iland called Maie, which lieth in maner in the midway of the passage ouer the Forth betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monasterie of monks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restraine the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murthering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

The inhabitants fled the countrie.

They that fled into May Iland were slaine.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scotish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Iland of Maie; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodian, Gaius, or (as others write) Monanus archdeacon of saint Andrews, and bishop Stolbrand: the names of the residue are forgotten. ¶ Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fleeng out of their countrie, from the persecution which was their exercised by men of misbeliefe against the christians, they arriued here in Scotland, and applied themselues to the instructing of the Scotishmen in the way of saluation. Other write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there togither. But of whence soeuer they were, certeine it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries neere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by flight or slaughter.

The vncertentie of writers in this matter of these martyrs.

Constantine the Scotish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had walked anie further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and estimation amongst his subiects. Herevpon leuieng his people, and assembling a mightie host togither, he passed forth with the same towards his enimies, the which were lodged in two seuerall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, seuered in sunder with the course of a little riuer called Leuin, the which (vpon the approch of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that laie on the further side next vnto them) chanced to be raised on such hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might bee passed ouer at the fords.

Constantine assembled a mightie army.

After this sore and tempestuous weather, the aire cleared vp and waxed verie faire and calme, giuing occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enimies, whilest the other could not come ouer vnto their aid and succors. In this campe which lay on that side the riuer next vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue staied his men from issuing forth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew neere to the same, and assaied all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could do, forth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the captens were constreined of necessitie to set them in order of battell, sith they would néeds giue the onset vpon their present enimies.

The Scots & Danes ioine their battels.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armor certeine linen garments, wrought with red silke, shewing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashion, that no armor might lightlie hold forth against them. These kind of weapons, together with the muster of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scotishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in araie of battell. But anon comming néere together readie to ioine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie stoutlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Manie of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditches were oppressed with throng, aswell of their owne companie, as of their enimies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase, and striuing to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whirling waues of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellowes (which stood on the other side readie to haue passed the water, if they might so haue done without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whome Hubba was one, to the great reioising of his brother Hungar, to see him thus deliuered twise from perill of death, as first from amongest his enimies, and secondlie out of the roring streame of that deepe and swift raging riuer.

The Danes apparell.

Their weapons.

Tall men of bodie and limbs.

A battell.

The Danes take the flight.

Hubba was saued from drowning.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enimies to the worse, with that happie successe toke such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had béene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue; so that for two daies together, there was such dansing, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not béene heard of. Yea so farre procéeded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselues for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though alreadie they had the same wholie in their possession: and further reasoned, not without altercation, whether the Danish captens after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept aliue to be shewed to the people in triumph or no. Great adoo and manie vaine words were spent héereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselues: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the necessarie procéedings against their enimies. At length, when the riuer was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed, Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to set themselues in such order, whereby

The Scots tooke of this victorie immoderate ioy.

The Scots for ioy readie to fall out.

Constantine procéeded against his enimies.

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deuiſe for the diuiding of the ſpoile, perceiuing occaſion now offered to giue the onſet, forthwith araied their people in this ſort.

The order & placing of the Danes armie.

Hubba had the right wing

Baerne had the left wing.

Hubba with ſix thouſand Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Baerne an Engliſhman borne, who was fled out of his countrie, for that he could not beare ſuch iniuries as Oſbert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and diſhonor of his houſe and name. He had with him in this left wing certeine bands of Engliſhmen, with thoſe Picts that had eſcaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the reſidue of the armie, kept the battell or middle ward, exhorting his men to ſhew their force & manhood that day, ſith the ſame ſhould either put them in poſſeſſion of the whole land of Albion, with all the ſubſtance and riches conteined therein, or elſe bring them perpetuall ſeruitude with ignominie amongſt their moſt cruell and fierce aduerſaries. He therefore himſelfe openlie in preſence of them all, vowed with ſolemne oth, either to returne with victorie to his campe, either elſe to die in the place, willing them all to make the like couenant. Whereupon the vniuerſall multitude allowed him ſo much for this his motion, that there was not one amongſt the whole number, which agréed not to ſweare the like oth. Conſtantine keeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the lieutenant or thane of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thouſand men a péece.

Hungar kept the battell.

Hungar made a vow.

The ſouldiers did make the like vow.

King Conſtantine placed his men in like manner.

All the reſidue were ſet in the battell where he himſelfe ſtood. And firſt he gaue them all hartie thanks in that they had ſo valiantlie atchiued the victorie in the laſt battell, requiring them now not to blemiſh their former glorie with ante faintneſſe of courage, recreant cowardiſe, or diſhonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wiſe to be afeard of their enimies, in reſpect more for their hugeneſſe of bodie, than for anie of their valiant ſtoutneſſe of heart: for if they aſſailed them with one whole and entire conſent, according to their wonted forwardneſſe & manlike prowes, they ſhould quicklie put them to flight, and obteine a ioifull victorie. Herewith he alſo warned them not to run raſhlie vpon the enimies, but to ſuffer them firſt to giue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earneſt violence diſorder themſelues, and ſo ſhould it be more eaſie for the Scots to breake in amongſt them.

An incouragement giuen to his ſouldiers.

But this deuiſe did not a little abate the Scotiſh mens courages. For the Scots vſe is, when they ſhall enter into battell, to make a great ſhout and noiſe, and therewith to run vpon their enimies, by which meanes (as they ſuppoſe) they both put the enimie in feare, and incourage themſelues to the battell. The Danes at the ſound of the trumpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they ſtood thus in order of battell: but when they perceiued that the Scots came not forward, they alſo ſtaied in the midway to refreſh themſelues, leaſt at the ioining they ſhould be out of breath. Anon after, paſſing forward an eaſie pace, they ſhot quarrels, and threw darts at their enimies verie freſhlie, and the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had béene a ſtorme of haile.

The Danes approch towards the Scots.

The Danes ſhot quarels and threw darts.

The Scots ſhot arrowes and darts as thicke as haile.

After this they ruſhed togither with great violence on both ſides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enimies to flight, and after compaſſing the maine battell round about, they conſtreine the ſame in the end with great bloudſhed and ſlaughter to giue backe and flée out of the field. Ten thouſand Scots died that day in this infortunate battell with Conſtantine himſelfe, who being firſt taken was had into a caue by the ſea ſide amongſt the rocks, and there cruellie murthered by the enimies. The place was called certeine yeares after, the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memorie of that heinous murther there committed. The Scotiſh nation alſo had beene vtterlie as then deſtroied, had not Ethus the brother of Conſtantine, perceiuing how the field was loſt, eſcaped awaie with two companies of his beſt men of warre, ſo reſeruing himſelfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

Conſtantine is taken and murthered.

The blacke den or caue.

Ethus brother vnto Conſtantine ſaued by flight.

*Ethus.*

THe people likewiſe doubting for want of a gouernor to be the ſoner ouercome by their enimies, did lead the ſaid Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yéere after the birth of our Sauiour 874, and the 13 after Conſtantine began to rule the eſtate of the realme. The ſame yéere were manie wonders and vnkeſh ſights ſéene within the Scotiſh dominions. In the mouth of the Forth, otherwiſe called the Scotiſh ſea, there appeared fiſhes in great numbers, like vnto men in ſhape, ſwimming vp and downe in the ſtreame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke ſkin, which couered there heads and necks, from their ſhoulders vpwards like an hood. Theſe are called Ballinates, and vſe to go in great companies togither, as though they were ſkulles of herrings, ſignifieng (when they are ſéene) ſome great misfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Alſo the loches, riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of November, till the latter end of Aprill; and when the froſt brake, and the ſnowe melted, there was ſuch a floud flowing ouer all the plaines euen to the roots of the mounteins, as the like had not bene ſéene. Furthermore, when the ſame ſhrunke and went away, in the mud and ſlime there was ſuch a ſort of frogs left, that when they were dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was ſo infected, that manie deadlie diſeaſes inſued, whereof great numbers of the inhabitants did periſh. Moreouer, there was a mightie ſtarre or comet ſéene with firie raies iſſuing forth of the ſame, which both night and day followed the moone during the moneth of Aprill, to the great horror of all that beheld it.

874.

Fiſhes like vnto men in ſhape.

Ballinates.

A long winter

Frogs in the mud & ſlime.

A comet.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is ſaid) hauing vanquiſhed the Scots, and waſted the countrie of Fife, paſſed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and ſpoiling all before them, they purſued the inhabitants into Northumberland, whither they fled for refuge. There the Danes being aided with certeine Engliſhmen in fauour of Baerne, ſlue in battell both Oſbert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The crueltie of the Danes was ſuch after they had atchiued the victorie, that few eſcaped with life, but ſuch as ſaued themſelues by flight. But chieflie there rage appeared moſt againſt prieſts, and ſuch as profeſſed themſelues men of religion. For the Danes being Ethniks, perſecuted moſt egerlie thoſe that in anie wiſe profeſſed Chriſt. The like outragious murthering of the chriſtians was practiſed throughout the countrie, and at length came vnto that bleſſed king ſaint Edmund, reigning as then ouer the people of the Eaſtangles, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainlie maie appéere. Howbeit other of the Engliſh kings mainteined the warres with theſe Danes certeine yéeres after this, with variable fortune; the moſt part of thoſe people which inhabited on that coaſt toward the Germane ſeas, either being ſlaine or brought into miſerable bondage and thraldome. But Alured, which ſucceéded his brother king Edelfred, not in the kingdome of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdome of the Weſtſaxons, redreſſed a great part of this miſerie, into the which the countrie was thus

The Danes went into Louthian.

King Oſbert & Ella ſlaine.

This cruelties inuaded Northfolke alſo.

King Alured redreſſed thoſe harmes.

Hector Boetius miſtaketh

diuers matters touching the report of our hiſtories.

thus brought by the Danes, by ſubduing them in ſundrie conflicts, and ſleaing their two capteins the foreſaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the ſame Engliſh hiſtorie is further expreſſed.

But now to returne vnto Ethus, I find that he was of ſuch ſwiftneſſe of foot, that he would match and make waie in running with harts and hounds, and therevpon was ſurnamed Lightfoot: but of what nimble lightneſſe of bodie ſoeuer he was, truth it is that he was of diſpoſition in mind vnfit to haue the order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he might haue recouered Fife and Louthian with other regions, whileſt the Engliſhmen and Danes were togither by the eares, he paſſed ouer that occaſion, delighting more in following the pleaſures of the bodie & ſenſuall luſts, than to beſtow his time in feates of chiualrie and other warlike exerciſes. The nobles of the realme perceiuing him thus to abuſe the worthie gifts of his perſon, miſtruſting leaſt his inſolent doings ſhould indamage the publike ſtate of the common-wealth, they toke counſell togither how they might apprehend him, and to ſend him ſome whither out of the waie where to be ſafelie kept, and then to place ſome other in the gouernement of the realme, that might rule the ſame with more diſcretion & better aduiſe. And leaſt their reſolution ſhould be diſcloſed before it toke effect, they ſlacked no time, but went ſpedilie about their buſineſſe. And comming to the king, whome they found a hunting in Caledon wood, they ſuddenlie areſted him, and therwith committed him to ſafe keeping: & thoſe whome they knew to be fauourers of his euill rule and miſgouernance, they put them alſo faſt in irons, till they had anſwered vnto ſuch articles as ſhould be laid to their charge. This done, they proceeded to the election of a new king; and in the end by the perſuaſion of one Dongall gouernor or thane of Argile, they choſe Gregorie the ſonne of that Dongall, which reigned before Alpine, who was not paſt two moneths old when his father died.

Ethus ſurnamed Lightfoot

Ethus neglected the opportunitie.

A conſpiracie made againſt king Ethus.

King Ethus is areſted, with his fauourers.

Gregorie is choſen king.

*Gregorie.*

THis Gregorie being knowne to be a man worthie of the rome, though he himſelfe onlie was againſt it, at length by perſuaſion receiued the inueſture of the kingdome at Scone, with all due ſolemnitie. Ethus hearing thereof, through anguiſh of mind died within three daies after, in the ſecond yeare of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our Sauiour. There be that write how he was ſtrangled in priſon by Dongall his procurement, leaſt by aduenture he might haue beene reſtored vnto libertie, and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe. Gregorie being thus eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, conſidering that the ſuertie of all realmes reſted in the hands of the diuine maieſtie, to begin his gouernment with ſome luckie enterpriſe, cauſed a conuocation to be holden at Forfair, for the aduancement of Chriſts religion: where amongſt other things, it was ordeined, that prieſts from thenceforth (to the end they might more freelie attend to their vocation) ſhould be exempt from paieng of tribute and all maner of exactions. Alſo that they ſhould not be conſtreined to go vnto the warres, neither to come before anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their ordinaries and biſhops, by whome they ſhould be iudged in all cauſes. The ſame ordinaries and biſhops ſhould alſo haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, aſwell for the keeping of faith giuen, as to conſtreine them to confirme the ſame, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be found in the contrarie; likewiſe in cauſes of controuerſie touching matrimonie, tithes, teſtaments, legacies, and ſuch like: moreouer the correcting of thoſe that blaſpheme either God or his ſaints.

876. H.B.
875. Io. Ma.

A conuocation of the clergie.

Prieſts are free of all tribute.

They ſhould not be called to ſerue in the warres.

Authoritie giuen vnto biſhops to order kings.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like offendors againſt the lawes and articles of the chriſtian religion, was aſſigned vnto the biſhops and their ſubſtituts, ſo that all thoſe which were found diſobedient vnto them, and refuſed to be at their commandement, they ſhould haue authoritie to excommunicate them out of the church, and from companie keeping with anie of the congregation, ſo as they that were thus excommunicated, ſhould be depriued of all abilitie to inioy anie inheritance or right to lands or poſſeſſions whatſoeuer they were. Neither ſhould they be accepted as a witneſſe in anie maner of cauſe, neither beare anie office or rule in the common-wealth. This Gregorie alſo (as is ſaid) was the firſt author of that ordinance, by the which the Scotiſh kings at their coronation vſe of ancient cuſtome to vow by ſolemne oth, that during their liues, they ſhall mainteine and defend the church with his miniſters, in all ancient liberties and priuileges, and not to ſuffer anie man to hurt or infringe the ſame.

When the Scotiſh kings firſt began to promiſe by oth to mainteine the libertie of the church.

There was ſuerlie in this Gregorie a certeine naturall inclination to vertue, with ſuch aduiſednеſſe in all his words, that he vttered few or none but that the ſame ſeemed to be ſpoken with verie great conſideration. He was neuer maried, but continued in chaſtitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was verie ſpare, delighting in all kind of ſobrietie, more watchfull than giuen to ſleepe. But his fame increaſed moſt for his mainteining of iuſtice and ciuill adminiſtration concerning the ſtate of the common-wealth, not omitting the practiſe of warre, where neceſſitie required. The firſt expedition which he toke in hand, he made into Fife, to recouer that countrie to the crowne of Scotland. At whoſe entrance into the ſame, the Picts, whome the Danes had left in thoſe parties at their departure thence, being ſtriken with feare to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient enimies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leauing Fife in manner void, and without anie that would offer to defend it againſt the Scots.

King Gregorie was giuen wholie vnto godlineſſe.

He was neuer maried.

He was ſober.

He made an expedition into Fife.

The Picts fled into Louthian.

Wherevpon Gregorie ſo finding it deſolate of inhabitants, ſent for people out of other parts of his realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie as he thought moſt expedient. This done he paſſed into Louthian, where taking the fortreſſes and places of defenſe, ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, he eaſilie reduced that countrie into his ſubiection, ſo that within a few daies, hauing there all at his pleaſure, he came vnto Berwike, where there were a great number of Danes ioined togither with the Picts, as men not minding to flee anie further, but to fight with the Scots euen there, if they ſhould come forward vpon them. But when they ſaw what number the Scots were of, and herewith doubting the Engliſhmen to come on their backs if the matter went not well with them; they thought it beſt that ſuch Danes as were of anie great reputation of nobilitie, ſhould withdraw into Berwike before the enimies were at hand, and the reſidue to paſſe ouer Tweed into Northumberland, there to ioine with other Danes that in thoſe parties were latelie arriued.

The king ſet inhabitants in Fife.

He ſubdued Louthian.

The Danes and Picts ioine themſelues togither.

They fled into Northumberland.

But the Engliſhmen within Berwike, abhorring nothing more than to be vnder ſubiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Daniſh nobles into their towne, deliuered it togither with their gheſts vnto the Scotiſhmen, who ſuffering the Engliſhmen at their pleaſure either to go their waies with all their goods, or to remaine ſtill in their houſes, ſlue the Danes, without ſparing either man, woman, or child. Then leauing a ſtrong garriſon of Scotiſhmen within Berwike, Gregorie marched forth with the reſidue of his people into Northumberland, to vnite that countrie to other of his

The Daniſh nobilitie fled into Berwike

The Danes are ſlaine in Berwike.

his dominions that bordered vpon the same.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Yorke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had latelie taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countriemen at Berwike, threatned sore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scotish race within anie part of the confines of Albion. Which vow manie of the companie, following their capteins example, likewise made. Shortlie after, hearing of their enimies approch, the whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued forth of their campe to giue battell.

Herdunt threatned the Scots.

The Danes prepare to the battell.

Héere the Scotish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue vsed some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to incourage them to fight: but such hast was made by the Scots to preasse vpon their enimies, that he saw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect araie, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw readie inough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murthered, after he had yéelded himselfe prisoner to these enimies, with whome they should now ioine.

The Scots egerlie inuade their enimies.

King Gregorie his saieng to the souldiers.

The Scots héerevpon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enimies scarse space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iauelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on ech side, so that there néeded neither exhortation of capteins, nor diligence of wiffers to kéepe them in araie. For the wrathfull stomachs of the souldiers onelie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egernesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enimies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had done in the field.

The Danes flée to their campe.

Herdunt assembled his men togither.

Herdunt went toward Rasin, chiefe generall of the Danes in England.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men togither againe, being dispersed here and there: but when he vnderstood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that vnhappie day, and determined to retire vnto Rasin, who as then was capteine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarse fortie miles got forth on his waie, when word came to him, that Rasin fighting with the Englishmen vnwarilie, at a place called Holcades, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therevnto his head was caried abroad vp and downe the countrie from towne to towne to be séene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaie.

Herdunt remained in campe.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yet he chose forth a plot of ground most méet for his purpose, where he determined to abide in campe, till he might vnderstand what the Danes in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countrie vnder his subiection: neuertheless he permitted the inhabitants to inioy all their possessions still, onelie receiuing of them in name of soueraignitie a yéerelie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake vp his armie, and went himselfe into Berwike, where he remained all the winter season in consultation with his nobles about the publike affaires of the realme.

King Gregorie suffered the inhabitants of Northumberland to inioy their lands.

King Gregorie wintered at Berwike.

In the beginning of the nert summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iournie against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being vered afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for twentie yéeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortlie after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renewing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was sore enfeebled, by reason of the two last ouerthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to incounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might haplie allure the Scots, of their enimies to become their friends. Héerevpon sending vnto the Scotish king an herald, they require to ioine with them in armes against the Danes, common enimies to both their countries, promising that if they would so do, they would willinglie render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time belonging vnto the Scotish kingdome.

King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

The Britains send to king Gregorie.

Gregorie weieng with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the good exercise and aduancement of Christes religion, whereof the Danes were grieuous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselues together in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they néeded to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which perteined sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this meanes were the Scotish confines inlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

King Gregorie his consideration.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

This dissention and variance being ceassed after this maner, it greatlie reioised the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile; but contrariwise, the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to insue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongest their enimies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th'amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they néeded not greatlie to trauell, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselues of the league, which they had latelie made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the decease of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Annandale, to recouer that countrie out of the Scotishmens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was comming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe towards Cumberland with their bootie, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

The Scots ouerthrow the Britains.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them battell, wherein when Conſtantine perceiued how his people began to ſhrinke backe, as one hauing more regard to his honor than to the ſuertie of his life, he ruſhed forth into the formoſt preaſe, there to ſuccour and relieue his ſtandards: but being compaſſed about amongeſt a great companie of his enimies, his chance was there to be ſlaine with a number of the chiefeſt lords of all the Britiſh nation. The other multitude ſeeing the day go thus againſt them, fled to ſaue their liues, leauing the victorie ſo vnto the Scots.

Conſtantine is ſlaine.

This ouerthrow did put the Britains in danger to haue bin vtterlie ouerrun, what by the Scots on the one ſide, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid to be looked for of the Engliſh, they had plaine anſwer they ſhould haue none, ſith they had ſo vniuſtlie broken the league concluded with their confederats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the proſperous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this Ile, againſt their common enimies the Danes. Yet the better to eſtabliſh the eſtate of their countrie, and in hope of ſome recouerie of their former damages; they crowned to their king one Herbert or (as ſome copies haue) one Hebert the brother of the laſt Conſtantine, and therewith ſent ambaſſadours vnto Gregorie king of the Scotiſhmen to excuſe themſelues, in that they had ſo wrongfullie attempted the warres againſt him and his people, laieng all the fault in Conſtantine, who againſt the wills and contrarie to the minds of his ſubiects, did take vpon him that diſhonorable and moſt infortunat enterpriſe.

Herbert king of Britaine ſent ambaſſadors to Gregorie.

King Gregorie his anſwere.

Gregorie hauing heard the meſſage of theſe ambaſſadours, for anſwere declared vnto them, that he vnderſtood well inough, that the Britains now ſued for peace vpon no reuerend conſideration they had vnto their oths of couenant; but onelie for that they ſaw how if they ſhould purſue the warre ſtill, they were ſure that in the end they ſhould be like to haue the foile: and therefore he was fullie thus reſolued, not to conclude anie peace or truce with ſuch diſloiall people, till they had reſigned ouer into his hands the whole poſſeſſion of the countries of Cumberland and Weſtmerland, with aſſurance neuer to pretend anie claime or title vnto thoſe dominions from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of couenants, to render into his hands not onelie the keies of all the townes, caſtels and fortreſſes in the ſame countries, and to auoid quite their waies into Wales to other their countriemen there, but alſo to deliuer ſirtie noble mens ſonnes and heires apparant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

Gregorie required a reſignation of Cumberland and weſtmerland.

The ambaſſadours returning home with this meſſage, and reporting it accordinglie vnto their king, when all men had ſaid their aduiſe, in the end they condeſcended to conclude a peace with the rehearſed conditions preſcribed by the Scotiſh king, ſith they ſaw no better meane to preſerue their nation from preſent deſtruction. And thus deliuering the appointed number of pledges, they left the countries of Cumberland and Weſtmerland void, ſurrendering into the Scotiſhmens hands the poſſeſſions of all the townes, caſtels and fortreſſes, and therewith departed into Northwales, where they placed themſelues in the countrie betwixt Conway and the riuer of Dee, out of the which they expelled the Engliſhmen (that were then in poſſeſſion thereof) and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which they named Stradcluid, maintaining warres againſt the Engliſhmen manie yeares after.

Peace was concluded.

Humf. Lhoid. 870.

King Gregorie hauing thus inlarged his kingdome, aſſembled his nobles at Carleill, where he reſolued (with) their aduiſe) to follow ſuch good fortune as by Gods prouidence daillie chanced vnto them. Whereupon it was agreed, that they ſhould go firſt vnto Yorke to conquere that citie, whileſt the Engliſhmen in Kent were occupied with the Danes that were come thither; ſo as neither the one nation nor the other could attend to make anie attempt to hinder the Scotiſhmens enterpriſe. But in the meane time came ambaſſadours vnto Gregorie from king Alured, to congratulat his proſperous ſucceſſe againſt his enimies the Danes and others. Theſe ambaſſadours alſo willed to haue the ancient league betwixt Engliſhmen and Scots renewed, by which means both their powers might ioine togither againſt their common enimies, when they ſhould attempt anie wrongfull inuaſion.

The policie of the Scots to haue taken Yorke.

King Alured ſent ambaſſadours vnto king Gregorie.

This requeſt was granted, ſo that ſhortlie thereupon peace was eſtabliſhed betwixt thoſe princes and their people, with confirmation of the old league, whereto were added theſe articles; That the Scots ſhould inioy poſſeſſion of Northumberland without anie claime to be made to the ſame by the Engliſhmen; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their dominions, the warre ſhould be accounted as common to them both; Neither ſhould the Scots grant paſſage to anie enimie of the Engliſhmen through Scotland, neither the Engliſhmen ſuffer the Scotiſhmens enimies to paſſe through England; If anie Engliſhmen did rob or ſteale anie thing out of Scotland, that ſhould not breake the league; but the offendors with the receiuers ſhould be deliuered to the Scotiſh magiſtrats, to be puniſhed according to the qualitie of the offenſe; and the like ſhould be obſerued by the Scots towards the Engliſhmen.

Peace confirmed.

New conditions of peace.

No paſſage to be granted vnto the enimie.

Puniſhment of robbers.

Thus things being quieted with the Engliſhmen, as Gregorie was about to lay armour aſide, word came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by reaſon of an inuaſion made by the Iriſhmen into that countrie. For the Iriſhmen hauing knowledge that the inhabitants of Galloway had ſpoiled two ſhips of Dubline arriuing on their coaſt, ſent ouer a great power of men, the which landing in Galloway, made great ſlaughter of the people on each ſide. King Gregorie being aduertiſed hereof, ſtreitwaies made towards them, but they hauing knowledge of his comming drew to their ſhips with a great prey of goods and cattels, and returned therewith immediatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Galloway inuaded by the Iriſhmen.

Herevpon Gregorie without delaie got togither his ſhips and followed the enimie with all his armie, and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme in great feare, who as then were in contention togither which of them ſhould haue the gouernement, by reaſon their king was latelie dead, and had left a ſonne behind him being but a child in yeres, to ſucceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wiſer ſort, and ſuch as tendered the wealth of their countrie, went earneſtlie about to agree the parties, but when they ſaw that it would not be, they did ſo much preuaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for a while, leaſt fighting ſtill amongſt themſelues, they ſhould put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of the Scots: againſt whome when they had agreed vpon the foreſaid truce, either of the factions raiſed a power, one Brien being generall of the one, and Cornelius of the other; for theſe two princes were heads of the parties, betwixt whom the controuerſie for the gouernement of the realme reſted, and therevpon by conſent of the reſidue had the leading of all them that were of their faction.

A truce was taken betwixt the two parties.

The two Iriſhmen gather their powers.

Theſe two capteins with their armies incamped themſelues vpon the banke of the riuer Bane, vnder the mounteine called Fute: their camps being ſeuered by a ſmall diſtance the one from the other, in ſuch a ſtrong place, that it was not poſſible for the

Two armies one neere the other.

the enimies to approch them without manifest danger to cast away themselues. Their chiefe purpose was to prolong the time here in this place, till they had famished the Scotish armie, and then to deale with them at their pleasure. But the industrious prouision of Gregorie passed the politike deuise of the Irishmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of those Scotishmen, which passed the seas with him, should purueie himselfe of vittels, according to the custome of the countrie, for fiftie daies space, as of bread, cheese, butter, lard, and powdered biefe: as for drinke, they knew they should not need to care, sith they were sure to find water inough in euerie place where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & sernile gluttonie had not softned nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scotish people.

The Irishmens practise.

The Scots had made prouision of vittels afore hand.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the meane time which way he might best indamage the enimies; at length concluded to send in the night season two thousand of his souldiors vp to the ridge of the forenamed mounteine called Fute, through the thicke bushes and woods, wherewith the same was couered, to the end that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the rest of the armie went about to assaile his enimies) tumble downe stones from the brows of the hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great numbers of them, either else to constreine them to come forth of their strength into the plaine fields, and so to fight with them in a place indifferent.

The kings deuise.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, toke vpon him to haue the conduct of them that should go about this interprise, who conueieng his band ouer the water of Bane, and so vp on the backeside of the mounteine, in the morning when their felows fell in hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Bzen lodged, they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe vpon the Irishmen, that aboue a thousand of them being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake their ground, & to flee in maner without anie stroke striken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them, toke a great number of them prisoners, and slue but a few, hauing before hand such commandement from their prince.

Kenneth Cullan.

King Gregorie assailed the Irishmen.

The Irish are pursued.

Whilest this mischiefe fell vpon Bzen and his people, Cornelius with his folkes cursing that infortunate daie, left their lodgings, and marched their waies in good order of battell, till they were farre inough out of danger. The bodie of Bzen also was found amongst other in the rifling of the campe, with the head bruised in peeces, and the braines pashed out with some stone throwne downe by the Scotishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be buried in christian sepulchre. He caused also women and children to be sent awaie harmelesse, onelie reteining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in hand made anie resistance: and commanded them also that they should prouide themselues of vittels to serue them, whilest they should lie abroad & remaine there in that countrie.

Bzen was slaine.

Women and children are kept harmles.

Vnarmed men were spared.

Vittels were commanded to be prouided

Herevpon manie of the Irish people thus talking the mercifull clemencie of the Scotish king, yeelded themselues vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that Gregorie finding sufficient prouision of vittels to serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he enuironed about with a strong siege, & continuing the same certeine daies, at length they within wearied with continuall trauell and lacke of vittels, opened the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile, but appointed the townesmen to redeeme the same (their armour excepted) of his souldiors for a peece of monie.

The towne was yelded.

A gentle ransome.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of three daies, he departed and came afore another citie called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and therfore preserued the citizens from all hurt & annoiance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that Cornelius was comming towards him with such an huge armie, as the like had not beene seene within the memorie of man in that Ile. Wherupon Gregorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon report of these newes, he got him vp into the next mounteine.

Pontus was surrendred also.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The nert day came the Irishmen ranged in three battels. In the first there was a great multitude of Kernes with darts and bowes: in the second were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes of male, with bucklers and great long swords, which they caried vpon their right shoulders. In the third battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with all the chiefest nobles of the countrie, were an infinite companie of all sorts of souldiors, chosen forth of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to their custome) diuided themselues into two wings, and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were three sorts of souldiors: as first archers, and those with long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as bare long swords and leaden malles.

The Irishmen came in three battels.

Kernes.

These might we name Gallowglasses, if they had beene furnished with axes.

The Scots came in two wings.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts, forward they make one towards another to begin the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throwing of darts was spent, and that they came to ioine) kept off their enimies with long speares or iauelins, in such sort, that they were not able to come neere them: which disaduantage Cornelius perceiuing, commanded on high, that they should with their swords cut those iauelins in sunder. And as he lifted vp the visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face with a speare, that he was faine to withdraw apart out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled, incontinentlie to saue themselues, threw off their armor and fell to running awaie. Thus did the victorie incline to the Scotish standards.

Two battels ioine.

Cornelius was sore wounded.

The Irish ran away.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell, howbeit in the chase there was a wonderfull number slaine: for the Scots pursued them euen vnto Dublin gates, which citie the nert daie Gregorie beset on each side with a mightie siege. There was got into this citie at the same time a wonderfull multitude of people, what of such as were receiued into it fleeing from the battell, as also of other which were there assembled before, in hope of assured victorie and safegard of their goods. By reason wherof being thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, so that either they must of necessitie yeeld, either else by some issue auoid that danger wherein they were presentlie bewrapped.

Dublin besieged.

But forsomuch as they saw no great likelihood of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was concluded amongst them, that (sith there was no meane for those noble men which were inclosed within that citie to escape the enimies hands, and that there were none other of ante reputation abroad able to defend the countrie from the Scotishmens puissance) they should fall to some treatie with the Scotish king for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions as might be obteined: for other remedie in that present

They consult vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

Doungarg or Doungard besieged.

ſent miſchiefe they could deuiſe none, and therefore this was iudged the beſt waie of the whole number, namelie of Cormach biſhop of Dublin, a man for his ſingular vertue and reputation of vpright life, of no ſmall authoritie amongſt them.

He toke vpon him alſo to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & ſo comming afore his preſence, beſought him moſt humblie to haue compaſſion vpon the poore miſerable citie, and in ſuch ſort to temper his wrath, if he had conceiued anie peece of diſpleaſure againſt the citizens, that it might pleaſe him yet vpon their humble ſubmiſſion to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his couſine yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderſtood. He beſought him alſo to remember, that it apperteined more to the honor of a king, to preſerue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet ſtate of cities and countries, than by violent hand to ſeeke their deſtruction.

Cormach B. of Dublin went vnto K. Gregorie.

Duncane.

A ſwittie ſaieng.

Wherevnto the king anſwered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous deſire he had to the realme, or to the intent to ſpoile his kinſman of the gouernement thereof, but onelie to reuenge ſuch iniuries as the Iriſhmen had done to his ſubiects. Not the Scots but the Iriſhmen themſelues were they that had giuen the occaſion of the warre, which they had dearelie bought with no ſmall portion of their bloud (which had bene ſhed) as puniſhed for that crime worthilie by the iuſt iudgement of almightie God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarell, & for the reſeruing of the kingdome vnto yong Duncans behoſe, when he had the citie at his pleaſure, he would then take ſuch order as he ſhould thinke moſt conuenient.

King Gregorie his wiſe & godlie anſwer.

This anſwer of the Scotiſh king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined forthwith to ſet open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had cauſed ſearch to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward ſhew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the ſame in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with proceſſion of all the eſtates: for firſt there met him all the prieſts and men of religion, with the biſhop the foreſaid Cormach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Dublin is ſurrendered vnto K. Gregorie.

Gregory was receiued with procellion.

Cormach biſhop of Dublin becõmeth a croſſe-bearer.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to ſtaie a little, and therewith he himſelfe aduanced forth on foot till he came to the biſhop, and falling downe vpon his knées, he reuerentlie kiſſed the crucifix, whereupon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the biſhop for ſuch his clemencie, he entered the citie, not ſtaieng till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to kæpe their ſtanding, he went with the reſidue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of ſaint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine ſeruice, when the ſame was ended, hée entered the caſtell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he cauſed execution to be done of certeine vnrulie perſons of his armie, who in the night paſſed had broken vp the houſes of ſome of the citizens, and rauiſhed diuerſe women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Iriſh people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

He kiſſeth the crucifix.

He entred the caſtell.

At length hauing remained a ſeaſon in this eſtate at Dublin, he cauſed the Iriſh lords to aſſemble in councell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with theſe articles and couenants. Firſt it was agréed that the yong king Duncane ſhould be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wiſe and diſcréet perſons, to be inſtructed in all princelie knowledge, within a ſtrong caſtell, (wherein he had hitherto remained euer ſince his fathers deceaſe) till he came to yéeres of diſcretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie ſhould haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the fortreſſes into his poſſeſſion. He ſhould alſo haue the appointment of the magiſtrates, who ſhould ſée iuſtice miniſtred according to the old ſtatutes & ordinances of the Iriſh kingdome. That the Iriſhmen ſhould receiue neither Engliſhman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrie, no not ſo much as for trade of merchandize, without ſafe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietneſſe in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chiefeſt of them for performance of the couenants, and herewith taking with him threéſcore hoſtages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

A peace concluded with Ireland.

Articks of couenant.

Their yong king to be well brought vp.

K. Gregorie to haue the gouernment of the realme.

He ſhould alſo appoint the magiſtrates.

No man to traffike in Ireland without a paſport.

K. Gregorie returned into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, ſo that paſſing the reſt of his life in quietneſſe, he ſtudied chiefelie for the politike gouernement of his people in good order and rule, to the aduancement of the common-wealth: and finallie died an happie old man, in a caſtell called Doundore within the countrie of Garioch, in the 18 yeare after his entring into his eſtate, and after the birth of our Sauiour 893. He was neuer maried, but liued in continuall chaſtitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deſerued of the Scots to be numbered amongſt their moſt high and renowmed princes. Amongſt other his princelie acts which he ſet forward in his life time, to the adornement of his countrie and common-wealth; Aberdine (of a village) was aduanced by him to the ſtate and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and ſundrie priuiledges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, and there buried with all ſolemne pompe and erequies: ouer the which his next ſucceſſor, Donald the firſt of that name, cauſed a faire towne to be erected.

The king died.

893.

Aberdine is made a citie.

King Gregorie is buried in Colmekill.

In the daies of this Gregorie alſo, there liued that famous clearke John Scot, a Scotiſhman in déed borne, but brought vp in ſtudie of good literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Gréeke tong, he was ſent for into France, to come vnto the emperour Lewes, with whom he remained in ſeruice for a time: and by whoſe commandement he tranſlated the booke of ſaint Dionyſe, intituled Hierarchia, into Latine. Afterwards being ſent ambaſſador from the ſame Lewes vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbeie of Malmeſburie, where he had ſuch reſort of hearers and ſcholers, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithſtanding, at length when he ceaſſed not to blame and ſharpelie to reproue the corrupt maners of ſuch his ſcholers, as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murthered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards regiſtred amongſt the number of martyrs.

John Scot. Some hold that he was an Engliſhman. Bale.

Dionyſ. Areopagita was tranſlated by John Scot.

He taught K. Alured in England.

He taught in Malmeſburie

He was killed of his ſcholers.

*Donald.*

But to our purpoſe. After Gregorie ſucceéded Donald the 5 in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the ſonne of Conſtantine the ſecond; who finding the ſtate of the realme in good quiet and flouriſhing in welth, he aplied his whole ſtudie to maintéine the ſame in ſemblable plight and condition. And before all things he cauſed iuſtice to be dulie miniſtred, ſo that no iniurie, ſpeciallie if it were done to anie poore perſon, eſcaped vnpuniſhed. Chriſt the Lord of all vertue had giuen him ſuch a godlie diſpoſed

Donald the fift.

He was a good iuſticier.

He was religious.

diſpoſed mind, whoſe religion (to the aduancement of his gloꝛie) he had euer in high veneration. Among other his godlie oꝛdinances, he made this ſtatute to be obſerued as a law, that ſuch as by ſwearing vnaduiſedlie blaſphemed the name of almightie God, oꝛ in curſing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked feend, and betooke anie chriſtian creature vnto his helliſh power and domination (a vice naturallie following the people of that nation) ſhould haue his tong thruſt thꝛough with a burnig iron. But woe woꝛth the negligence of ſuch as haue ſucceeded him, in ſuffering ſo neceſſarie an oꝛdinance to be aboliſhed and woꝛne out of vſe, conſidering the hoꝛrible othes and blaſphemie, with the bitter and dꝛeadfull curſings ſo much frequented of all eſtates in this our time, as well in Scotland as elſewhere, as without great hoꝛroꝛ of the hearers cannot bee halfe expreſſed.

Iuſtitiaries of blaſphemers.

God oꝛdinances are neglected.

But to our purpoſe touching the gouernement of Donald, it chanced afterwards, that he had knowledge how Goꝛmond a Dane was landed with a puiſſant armie vpon the coaſts of Noꝛthumberland, and had pitched his campe neere vnto the ſhoꝛe, without doing anie damage to the countrie: ſo that it was vncerteine what he intended, whether to begin a conqueſt there, oꝛ to paſſe ouer Humber to make warres on the Engliſhmen. To preuent therefoꝛe all dangers, Donald haſted towards Noꝛthumberland; howbeit he was not farre foꝛwards on his iornie, but that woꝛd came to him, how Goꝛmond was alreadie paſſed ouer Humber, and entered into the Engliſh boꝛders. But yet did not Donald ſtaie his iournie, till he heard certeinelie that Goꝛmond keeping vpon his way, was aduanced foꝛward at the leaſt 40 miles off from the riuer of Humber, doubting leaſt happilie he had ment ſome deceit, as ſuddenlie to haue returned vpon the Scots in Noꝛthumberland, when the king had beene once gone backe.

Goꝛmond arriued with a nauie in Noꝛthumberland.

King Donald goeth to reſiſt him.

Goꝛmond went beyond Humber.

But now, when it was knowne that his purpoſe was onelie to aſſaile the Engliſh countries, accoꝛding to the league newlie confirmed, Donald ſent 5000 Scotiſhmen vnto the aid of the Engliſhmen; and alſo appointed two thouſand hoꝛſſemen to remaine with him in Noꝛthumberland (where he ſtaied foꝛ a time) diſcharging the reſidue, & licencing them to returne vnto their homes. Shoꝛtlie after Goꝛmond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the end the victoꝛie abode with the Engliſhmen and Scots, though the ſame was got with ſuch loſſe of men after long and doubtfull battell, that they were not able to purſue the enimies in chaſe, but conſtreined immediatlie after to conclude a neceſſarie peace with them, on condition that the Danes ſhould enioy common ſeats with the Engliſhmen in Albion, & that Goꝛmond with his Danes ſhould be baptiſed and pꝛofeſſe the chriſtian religion. Herevpon alſo were pledges deliuered on both parts, and Goꝛmond comming to receiue baptiſme had his name changed and was called Athelſtane, during whoſe life the peace continued betwixt the two nations.

Donald ſent 5000 men to the aid of the Engliſhmen.

Goꝛmond is ouerthꝛowne by K. Alured.

A peace concluded.

The Danes to be baptiſed, and to remain in England.

Goꝛmond is baptiſed with manie mo.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in England, there roſe a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Murrey land and Roſſe, which diſquieted king Donald not a little. The occaſion grew by reaſon of certeine theeues, which comming foꝛth of Roſſe in the night time, ſecretlie entered into Murrey land, to fetch bowties from thence. At the firſt they of Murrey land made reſiſtance againſt them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to aid them, they ſkirmiſhed in ſuch wiſe, that within two moneths ſpace, there were ſlaine betwixt them two thouſand of the one ſide and of the other. Donald being not a little offended to haue his peace bꝛoken with intes-

They of Roſſe inuade Murrey land.

Two thouſand men ſlaine.

tine diſcoꝛd, gathered a great power, and with the ſame haſted into Murrey land: where calling the chiefeſt doers and mainteiners of this buſineſſe to make anſwer to that which was laid to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themſelues of the crime, he put them to open execution of death, to the example of other. This trouble being in this ſoꝛt quieted, he went into Noꝛthumberland, to be there in a readineſſe, if the Danes oꝛ Engliſhmen (whome he ſuſpected) ſhould attempt anie thing againſt his ſubiects in thoſe parties: where in the end, after he had reigned almoſt 11 yeers, he departed this woꝛld. His bodie was buried in Colmekill amongſt his anceſtoꝛs, with a marble tome ſet ouer his graue, as the manner in thoſe daies was cuſtomablie vſed.

The king went with an armie into Murrey land.

The chiefe doers were put to death.

The king went into Noꝛthumberland.

Donald died.

*Conſtantine.*

Conſtantine the third.

903.

After Donald the firſt, there ſucceeded in rule of the realme Conſtantine the third of that name, the ſonne of Ethus the ſwift, beginning his reigne in the yeere after the incarnation 903. He was moꝛe apt foꝛ ciuill gouernement, than foꝛ the oꝛdering of warlike affaires. King Edward that latelie ſucceeded Alured in rule ouer the Engliſhmen being ware thereof, ſent vnto him an herald at armes, commanding him to reſtoꝛe vnto his ſubiects the Engliſhmen, the countries of Noꝛthumberland, Cumberland, & Weſtmerland (which the Scotiſh king Gregoꝛie had in times paſt by occaſion of the troubleſome ſeaſon taken from the right owners by foꝛce) either elſe to loke foꝛ warres at his hands within foꝛtie daies after this ſummons.

King Edward ſent an herald with defiance.

Conſtantine heere vnto anſwered, that if king Edward were minded to make him wars foꝛ thoſe lands which he held by rightfull title, he with his people would be readie to defend themſelues, hoping in the almightie God that he would turne the puniſhment on them that vniuſtlie had piked the quarrell. Heꝛevpon inſued manie rodes and foꝛaies betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots, made (as occaſion ſerued) into ech others countrie, with diuers ſkirmiſhes and light bickerings foꝛ twelue moneths ſpace togither, without anie notable incounter of their maine powers. In which meane time the Danes increaſed in puiſſance, moꝛe than was thought requiſite foꝛ the ſuertie either of the Engliſhmen oꝛ Scots, which moued king Edward by perſuaſion of his nobles, to make meanes vnto Conſtantine to haue the peace renewed: wherevnto Conſtantine lightlie agreed: ſo that the league was confirmed againe with the foꝛmer articles betwixt the Engliſh and Scotiſh nations.

The anſwer of king Conſtantine.

Foꝛewarnings of warre.

The peace was renewed and the league confirmed.

Shoꝛtlie after alſo the warre was renewed betwixt the Engliſhmen and Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by concluſion of a mariage betwixt Sithꝛike king of Noꝛthumberland, and Beatrice daughter of king Edward, till at length Sithꝛike was poiſoned by his wife the ſaid Beatrice: and then bicauſe Aualaſſus (whome the Engliſh writers name Aulafe) and Godfrie, the ſonnes of Sithꝛike, put the ſame Beatrice to death, hir father king Edward moued warre againſt them, and in foughten field diſcomfited them, but was ſlaine in that battell himſelfe (as Hector Boetius ſaith.) But foꝛ the further truth of this matter, ye may read moꝛe in the hiſtoꝛie of England.

The Danes were diſcomfited.

The Danes being certified, that king Edward was thus ſlaine, conceiued ſuch hope of good ſucceſſe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquiſhed, they immediatlie made new pꝛeparation foꝛ the warre, and firſt of all Aualaſſus the one of the two bꝛethꝛen befoꝛe mentioned, ſent vnto Conſtantine the Scotiſh king, to allure him to ioine with them againſt the Engliſhmen, which with great gifts and large pꝛomiſes he eaſilie bꝛought to paſſe, the league notwithſtanding which remained betwixt

The Danes conceiue hope of good ſucceſs.

The Scots euer falſe to the Engliſhmen.

the English and Scotish nations. Herevpon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest prouision that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to vtter destruction.

The Scots and Danes confederate themselues togither.

Malcolme sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scotish armie, conteining the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolme also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordeined, that he which should succéed to the crowne after the kings decease, should euer inioy that prouince. Malcolme ioining his power with Aualasius and Godfrie (who had assembled in like manner a mightie host of Danes) they all togither brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murthering the people without anie pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kinsfolks and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scotishmen now ioined in one armie togither.

Malcolme is made chiefe generall of the armie.

He is created also heire apparent.

The earle of Cumberland heire apparant to the king of Scots

The Scots and Danes ioine their powers togither.

They begin a cruell warre.

But the more vilanie they shewed in their doings, the soner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succéd in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers decease) with all spéed sought to be reuenged of such iniurious doings. Wherevpon getting togither an armie, he incountred with them at a place called Broningfield, or Brunenburgh, in July, in the yeere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue somthing backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in déed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, ech of them striuing who might be the formost.

Athelstane base sonne vnto king Edward.

Athelstane came against the Scots.

937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into arraie againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enimies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so atchiued a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scotishmen, but chieflie the Scotish nobilitie bought the bargaine most déere, who chosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, togither with Wilfert king of the Guentes, Hanwall king of Britains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest therof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie went to wracke.

Athelstane tooke Northumberland.

Then without further delaie he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-foted and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yéelded themselues vnto him, promising from thencefoorth to continue his faithfull subiects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped; yet with great danger, and in an horsse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countries aforesaid. Wherevpon Constantine caused a councell to be called at Abirnethie, where he perceiued how sore his realme was infeebled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the residue that were left, seemed through want of yéeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he vtterlie despaired either to be of power to beate backe the enimies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldlie pompe as might withdraw him from diuine contemplation (wherevnto he was partlie bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbeie of saint Andrewes amongst the couent there.

Westmerland and Cumberland recouered.

Malcolme escaped his hurts.

A councell called by Constantine.

Constantine becommeth a canon.

This was in the yeere of our Sauiour 943, and in the fortith yeere of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith:) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Broningfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it néedes be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers do report, so that it should rather séeme that Constantine refused in déed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yeere of our Lord 937, or shortlie after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilest Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbeie of saint Andrewes a certeine time) in the foresaid yeere 943, falling in the fortie yeere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a tome set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

943.

Matth. West.

943.

Constantine died.

In the 36 yeere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermophrodyte, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the brest standing forth more in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with féete like a goose, legs like a man, full of brissels, and a verie euill fauored thing to behold. The other was borne in Northumberland, onelie hauing a manser, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two brests creasted or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill vpwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie wils or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarilie, as when the one did sléepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and brall togither, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other verie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sickenesse wearing away and finallie deceassing, the other was not able to abide the grieuous smell of the dead carcase, but immediatlie after died also.

A monster.

An other monster.

Two contrarie willes in this monster.

One part died before the other.

About the same time there issued forth a founteine of bloud out of the side of a mounteine in Galloway, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies togither, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mired with bloud, and so running into the sea, caused the same to séeme bloudie certeine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuinours did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortlie after. They were also the better beléeued, for that within a while after, that great ouerthrow happened at Broningfield, as before is specified.

Bloud issued out of an hill.

What was ment by these wonders.

After

*Malcolme* After that Conſtantine (as is ſaid) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the ſonne of Donald was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceiued right well how the force of the realme was ſo infæbled, that there was no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe ſtudie was by all means poſſible to defend the borders of the Scotiſh dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Engliſhmen. But as he was about to haue ſent ambaſſadours vnto king Athelſtane, to haue treated for peace, he was credible informed, how Athelſtane had giuen Northumberland vnto Aualaſſus, and made a league with him to haue his aid againſt the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he vnderſtood how his realme was vnpurueied of ſkilfull capteins to make reſiſtance. Yet he cauſed a councell to be called, wherein when ſuch as were aſſembled propouned manie fond and childiſh reaſons, it might happen there was ſmall hope of anie good concluſion; but euen as they were at a point to haue broken vp without anie certeine reſolution, word was brought how through ſeditious diſcord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Engliſhmen being aſſembled togither in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloudie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Engliſhmen, who ceaſed not to purſue the Danes in chaſe, ſo long as anie day light appeered in the ſkie.

*Aualaſſus had giuen him Northumberland.*

*A councel called.*

*The Engliſhmen and the Danes fall out togither, and fight.*

*Aualaſſus fled into Weſtmerland, rifled the Ile of Man, and got him into Ireland.*

Aualaſſus with ſuch Danes as he might get togither after that ouerthrow, fled into Weſtmerland, and within three daies after, in ſuch ſhips as he found there vpon the coaſt, he ſailed ouer into the Ile of Man, and ſpoiling the ſame, with all the preie he paſſed from thence ouer into Ireland. In the meane time king Athelſtane hauing loſt no ſmall number of his people in the foreſaid battell, omitted his iournie into Scotland, and lay ſtill in Northumberland, no man vnderſtanding what he intended to do. Which newes were ſo pleaſant to the Scotiſhmen, that there was common ſupplications and proceſſions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this means from ſo great and preſent a danger.

*They go in proceſſion in Scotland for ioy.*

*Ambaſſadors ſent vnto Malcolme.*

Shortlie after came ambaſſadours from Athelſtane vnto Malcolme, to moue means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scotiſh and Engliſh nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was ioifullie heard of Malcolme, though he ſet a countenance of the matter as though he paſſed not whether he had warre or peace: but in the end, for that (as he ſaid) peace was moſt neceſſarie for all parts, he ſhewed himſelfe willing to haue the old former league renewed betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots, with anie reaſonable conditions which ſhould be thought requiſit.

*The league was confirmed againe.*

*Northumberland allotted vnto England.*

*Cumberland and Weſtmerland to do homage vnto England.*

After the returne of the ambaſſadours, the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the ſemblable articles as were compriſed in the old league, with this article onelie added therevnto; that Northumberland, being as now repleniſhed moſt with Daniſh inhabitants, ſhould remaine to the Engliſhmen; and Cumberland with Weſtmerland to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he which ſhould ſucceed as heire vnto the crowne of Scotland after the kings deceaſſe, being heire apparant, ſhould hold thoſe regions, and do homage vnto the king of England as his vaſſall perpetuallie for the ſame. The peace being thus eſtabliſhed betwixt theſe nations, Indulph the ſonne of Conſtantine the third was proclamed prince of Cumberland, and inheritour to the crowne of Scotland.

After this, Malcolme paſſed the reſidue of his life in good quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a man onelie ſtudieng to mainteine the ſtate of his realme in good order, as well for the wealth of the temporaltie, as ſpiritualtie, wherevnto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the prouinces of his realme, to ſee the lawes dulie miniſtred, at Ulrine a village in Murrey land, where he cauſed iuſtice to be ſomewhat ſtreictlie executed vpon offendors, he was murthered in the night ſeaſon by treaſon of a few conſpirators, in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne. But ſuch as did this wicked deed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, ſuffered due execution, according as they had deſerued, being torne in peeces with wild horſſes, and thoſe peeces ſent vnto ſundrie cities, where they were hanged vp on the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

*King Malcolme was murthered.*

*The conſpirators were put to execution.*

*The murtherers were torne with horſſes.*

They that were the deuiſers of the murder alſo, and procured the doers therevnto, were thruſt quite through vpon sharpe ſtakes, and after hanged vp aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conſpirators were put to other kinds of death, as the caſe ſeemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Sauiour 959. ¶ Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceiued in their account of yeares; or elſe miſtake the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelſtane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms deceaſſe chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelſtane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but fiftéene yeares.

*The procurers of the murther were ſtaked.*

*959.*

*The miſtaking of the names and times of the Engliſh kings in the Scotiſh writers.*

Moreouer, where the Scotiſh writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that ſucceeded Athelſtane had againſt Aulafe and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that ſucceeded Malcolme, it can not ſtand by anie means (if they miſtake not their account of yeares:) for the ſame Edmund was ſlaine in the yeare 948. But verelie this fault in the firſt account of yeares is but too common in the Scotiſh hiſtorie, and therefore to him that ſhould take vpon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were neceſſarie to alter in a maner the whole courſe of the ſame hiſtorie. And therefore we will not wiſh anie man to giue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the Engliſh kings, further than they ſhall ſee them to agree with our writers, whome in that behalfe we may more ſafelie follow, and by conferring the ſame with the Scotiſh writers in ſome places, happilie perceiue the true time, aſwell of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall out in yeares and ſeaſons, much differing from their account: whereof to admoniſh the reader, aſwell here as in the Engliſh hiſtorie, we haue thought it not impertinent.

And albeit that ſome may aſke what reaſon we haue to moue vs to doubt of their account of years, more than we do of that in our owne writers: We will referre the ſame vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauelled indifferentlie alike, aſwell in peruſing the one as the other without affection. But as the errors are ſoner found than amended, ſo haue we thought good to ſet downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scotiſh writers, ſpeciallie in places where we differ anie thing from them, becauſe we will not ſeeme by way of controlment to preiudice the authors, further than by due conſideration the well aduiſed reader ſhall thinke it expedient.

*Indulph.*

But to my purpoſe. After the corps of Malcolme was once buried (according to the cuſtome) a-

mongst his predeceſſors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Indulph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiuing the crowne and other the inueſtures of the kingdome. In the adminiſtration whereof he continued for the ſpace of fiue yeares without anie notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by meſſengers ſent vnto him from Aualaſſus, to ioine with him in league againſt the Engliſhmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, which aſwell the Danes as Scots had receiued at Bironingfield, alledging that opportunitie was now offered, ſith after the deceſſe of Athelſtane, the Engliſhmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the adminiſtration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelſtane and Malcolme inforce anie impediment, but that he might enter the warre againſt the Engliſhmen, conſidering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whoſe deceaſſe the ſaid league was ended.

Indulph is prouoked by Aualaſſus to warre againſt England.

His perſuaſions.

But Indulph for anſwere herevnto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelſtane, by great deliberation of aduiſe, and by conſent of all the eſtates of both realmes, taking their ſolemne oths for the true obſeruing thereof, ſo that he could not, vnleſſe he ſhould violate that oth, attempt anie thing to the breach of peace with the Engliſhmen, procuring the iuſt indignation of almightie God againſt him and his people in that behalfe. Herevpon the Danes accounting Indulph but a ſlouthfull and negligent perſon for this kind of anſwere, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting paſſe ſo great opportunitie to be reuenged of the Engliſhmen for the death of ſuch Scots as died in the ouerthrow at Bironingfield, determined not to be noted with the like ſpot of reproch: but with all ſpæd ſending for aid into Norwaie, prepared to paſſe ouer into England, vnder the conduct of Aualaſſus, who ioining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid vnder the leading of a right valiant capteine called Rainold, tranſported with all ſpæd ouer into Northumberland, vnto whome the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himſelfe to be deſcended of the Daniſh bloud, yéelded all the caſtels, townes & forts, promiſing to aid Aualaſſus againſt king Edmund to the vttermoſt of his power.

Indulph his anſwere.

The Danes not pleaſed with ſuch an anſwere procure warre againſt England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Aualaſſus.

Rainold a valiant capteine.

Elgarine yéelded the forts vnto the Danes.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all ſpæd he gathereth his power, and ſending into Scotland for ſuch aid as he ought to haue from thence by couenants of the league, there came vnto him ten thouſand Scotiſhmen with ready wils to ſerue him in theſe his wars againſt the Danes. Then ioining his owne people with thoſe Scotiſhmen, he ſet forward towards the enimies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Aualaſſus, the which vpon the firſt incounter with the Engliſhmen, fell ſtreight to running away, which made an open and readie breach vnto the Engliſh part, to atteine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to reſiſt the violent force of their enimies, incouraged now with the flight of the Northumbers, were quicklie conſtreined to giue backe, and in the end to flee amaine, the Engliſhmen and Scots following in the chaſe with ſuch fiercenelle, that all ſuch as they ouertooke died vpon the ſword, though they ſubmitted themſelues neuer ſo humblie in requiring mercie.

10000 ſouldiers ſent vnto king Edmund.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enimies hands was taken aliue: for ſo had Edmund commanded, that if anie man might take him, he ſhould in anie caſe ſaue his life, that he might put him to death in moſt cruell wiſe, to the example of other.

Elgarine is taken priſoner.

After this, and for the ſpace of three daies after the battell, Edmund lay ſtill in the fields néere vnto the place where they fought, and then repaired vnto Yorke, where Elgarine for his treaſon was drawen in péeces with wild horſes. There chanced alſo no notable trouble in Albion, during the ſpace of foure yeares after this ſaid ouerthrow of the Danes with their capteine Aualaſſus, who is alſo otherwiſe called Aulafe, as is to be ſéene in the Engliſh hiſtories, where the ſame make mention of the foreſaid king Edmund, whome likewiſe they affirme to be the brother of Athelſtane, and not his ſonne, as before is partlie touched. Indulph in this meane time did with great diligence ſée to the good order of his realme, ſhewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthie prince: But euen as all things ſeemed to reſt in peace & quietnes through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagon king of Norwaie, and Helrike king of Denmarke, of purpoſe to reuenge the ſlaughter of their countrimen latelie made in Northumberland, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coaſts of Scotland, aſſaieng to land with their whole armie, firſt in the Forth, then in the riuer of Taie; but yet through ſuch reſiſtance as the Scots made, being aſſembled togither to kéepe them off, they were faine to withdraw, and wafting alongſt the coaſts of Angus, the Marnes, Mar, and Buthqhane, at length faining as though they would haue taken their courſe homewards, they lanched forth into the high ſeas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the ſhore, they landed their people earlie in one morning vpon the coaſt of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie ioining vnto Buthqhane, putting ſuch of the countrie people to flight, as preſented themſelues to impeach their landing and inuaſion.

Elgarine is drawen in péeces.

K. Indulph was diligent in his office.

The kings of Denmarke and Norwaie enter with an armie into Scotland.

The enimies are put off.

They land in Boen.

But Indulph being aduertiſed hereof, forthwith aſſembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with ſuch ſpéed, that he was come into Boen before his enimies were certified that he was ſet forward. So ſone therefore as they heard he was come, ſuch as were abroad foraieng the ſame countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came ſtill forward, and vpon his approch to the enimies, he prepared to giue battell, and with a ſhort oration began to incourage his people to fight manfullie. But before he could make an end, the Danes gaue the onſet with ſuch violence, that the battell a long ſpace continued doubtfull on both ſides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, doing their vttermoſt indeuours to atchiue the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their capteins Dunbar and Grame began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes. With which fight they were put in ſuch feare, that thoſe which fought in the fore ward, retired backe vnto the middle ward, whome the Scots eagerlie purſuing, beat downe euen till they came vnto the reare ward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and ſo to be ſlaine in the chaſe (for thoſe in the reare ward were beauie armed men) continued the battell more with a certeine ſtiffe ſtubbornes of mind, than with anie great force or forcaſt, being ſo ouermatched as they were, & forſaken of their fellowes: for other of the Danes, namelie the archers and Bernes fled their waies, ſome towards their ſhips, and ſome here and there being ſcattered abroad in the fields, fell into the moſſes, the mareſh grounds, and other ſtreicts, where they were ſlaine euerie one by ſuch as followed in the chaſe.

K. Indulph prepared to battell.

The Danes gaue the onſet,

I ſupplie ſent vnto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

Indulph himſelfe with certeine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to diſcouer the fields, as though all had béene quiet on each ſide, fell by chance vpon a whole band of the Danes, where the

The king with few in his companie

falleth into the enimies dãger through negligence.

K. Indulph was slaine with a dart and died.

the same lay in couert within a close vallie, being fled from the field thither vpon the first ioining of the battels, with the which entering into fight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was reuenged of those his enimies, the whole number of them being slaine there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after translated vnto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongest other his predecessors the Scotish kings. Indulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

961 saith Io. Ma. 968

Duffe.

AFter the corps of Indulph was remoued vnto Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne of K. Malcolme was crowned K. at Scone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Culene the sonne of K. Indulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie whereupon the king transported ouer into the westerne Iles, to set an order there for certeine misdemeanors vsed by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arriuall amongst them he called the thanes of the Iles afore him, commanding streightlie as they would auoid his displeasure, to purge their countries of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might liue in quiet, without veration of such barrettors and idle persons as sought to liue onlie vpon other mens goods.

The king went vnto the westerne Iles.

He purged the Iles.

Barrettors taken and put to death.

The thanes vpon this charge giuen them by the king, toke no small number of the offendors, partlie by publike authoritie, & partlie by lieng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland, either else to learne some manuall occupation therewith to get their liuing, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen borne. Howbeit the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therwith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constreined to get their liuing with the labor of their hands, which onlie apperteined to plowmen, and such other of the base degrée as were borne to trauell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serue at their commandement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sort to be made in maner equall with them in state and condition of life.

Vagabounds compelled to learne an occupation.

The nobles were discontented with the kings doings.

The occasion of murmuring of the nobilitie.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongest themselues, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an vtter enimie thereof, so that he was vnworthie to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, vnles he knew better what belonged to their degrée. This murmuring did spread not onelie among them in the Iles, but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie euill of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so grieuous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it. For there was seene in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decaie and consumption (so as there remained vnneth anie thing vpon him saue skin and bone.)

The king fell sicke.

And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such liuelines of looks, that more was not to be wished for; he had also a temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sléepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into exceeding sweats, which by no means might be restreined. The physicians perceiuing all their medicines to want due effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into forreigne parts, who happilie being inured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much thereunto.

The king being sicke, yet he regarded iustice to be executed.

Howbeit the king, though he had small hope of recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, deuising oft with his councell about the same. But when it was vnderstood into what a perillous sickneſſe he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest were those of Murrey land, who slaieng sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sickines with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vered with no naturall sickneſſe, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murrey land, called Fores.

A rebellion practised.

The rebellion was kept frõ the kings knowledge.

Witches in Fores.

Whereupon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send forthwith certeine wittie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iornie, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Fores by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their comming, requiring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

Inquirie was made.

The souldiers, which laie there in garrison, had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a yong woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner vsed by hir mother & other hir companions, with their intent also, which was to make awaie the king. The souldier hauing learned this of his lemman, told the same to his fellowes, who made report to Donwald, and hée shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the yong damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir vpon streict examination to confesse the whole matter as she had séene and knew. Whereupon learning by hir confession in what house in the towne it was where they wrought there mischiefous mysterie, he sent forth souldiers about the middest of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches rosting vpon a wodden broch an image of wax at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell: an other of them sat reciting certeine words of inchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie busilie.

The matter appeareth to be true.

A witches daughter is examined.

The witches are found out.

An image of wax rosting at the fire.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, toke them togither with the image, and led them into the castell, where being streictlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of inchantment, they answered, to the end to make away

The witches were examined.

The whole matter is confeſſed.

the king: for as the image did waſte afore the fire, ſo did the bodie of the king breake forth in ſweat. And as for the words of the inchantment, they ſerued to keepe him ſtill waking from ſleepe, ſo that as the wax euer melted, ſo did the kings fleſh: by the which meanes it ſhould haue come to paſſe, that when the wax was once cleane conſumed, the death of the king ſhould immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill ſpirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrey land. The ſtanders by, that heard ſuch an abhominable tale told by theſe witches, ſtreightwaies brake the image, and cauſed the witches (according as they had well deſerued) to bee burnt to death.

The nobles of the countrie ſet the witches on worke.

The witches were burnt.

It was ſaid, that the king at the verie ſame time that theſe things were a doing within the caſtell of Fores, was deliuered of his languor, and ſlept that night without anie ſweat breaking forth vpon him at all, & the next daie being reſtored to his ſtrength, was able to do anie maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not beene ſicke before anie thing at all. But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is, that when he was reſtored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the ſame went into Murrey land againſt the rebels there, and chaſing them from thence, he purſued them into Roſſe, and from Roſſe into Cathneſſe, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fores, and there cauſed them to be hanged vp, on gallowes and gibets.

The king is reſtored to health.

The king with an armie purſued the rebels.

The rebels are executed.

Amongeſt them there were alſo certeine yong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie perſonages, being neere of kin vnto Donwald capteine of the caſtell, and had beene perſuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counſell of diuerſe wicked perſons, than of their owne accord: whereupon the foreſaid Donwald lamenting their caſe, made earneſt labor and ſute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine denial, he conceiued ſuch an inward malice towards the king (though he ſhewed it not outwardlie at the firſt) that the ſame continued ſtill boiling in his ſtomach, and ceaſed not, till through ſetting on of his wife, and in reuenge of ſuch vnthankefulneſſe, hee found meanes to murther the king within the foreſaid caſtell of Fores where he vſed to ſoiourne. For the king being in that countrie, was accuſtomed to lie moſt commonlie within the ſame caſtell, hauing a ſpeciall truſt in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer ſuſpected.

Captein Donwald craued pardon for them but not granted.

Donwald conceiued hatred againſt the king.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had ſuſteined by the execution of thoſe his kinſmen, whome the king for a ſpectacle to the people had cauſed to be hanged, could not but ſhew manifeſt tokens of great griefe at home amongſt his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceaſſed not to trauell with him, till ſhe vnderſtood what the cauſe was of his diſpleaſure. Which at length when ſhe had learned by his owne relation, ſhe as one that bare no leſſe malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cauſe on hir behalfe, than hir huſband did for his friends, counſelled him (ſith the king oftentimes vſed to lodge in his houſe without anie gard about him, other than the garriſon of the caſtell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and ſhewed him the meanes whereby he might ſoneſt accompliſh it.

Donwalds wife counſelled him to murther the king.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduiſe in the execution of ſo heinous an act. Whervpon deuiſing with himſelfe for a while, which way hee might beſt accompliſh his curſſed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and ſped his purpoſe as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purpoſed to depart forth of the caſtell, was long in his oratorie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the laſt, comming forth, he called ſuch afore him as had faithfullie ſerued him in purſute and apprehenſion of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he beſtowed ſundrie honorable gifts amongſt them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had beene euer accounted a moſt faithfull ſeruant to the king.

The king rewarded his friends.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuie chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerſe delicate diſhes, and ſundrie ſorts of drinks for their reare ſupper or collation, wherat they ſate vp ſo long, till they had charged their ſtomachs with ſuch full gorges, that their heads were no ſooner got to the pillow, but aſleepe they were ſo faſt, that a man might haue remoued the chamber ouer them, ſooner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken ſleepe.

The king went to bed.

His chamberlains went to banketting.

When Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through inſtigation of his wife hee called foure of his ſeruants vnto him (whome he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpoſe with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what ſort they ſhould worke the feat, they gladlie obeied his inſtructions, & ſpædilie going about the murther, they enter the chamber (in which the king laie) a little before cocks crow, where they ſecretlie cut his throte as he lay ſleeping, without anie buſkling at all: and immediatlie by a poſterne gate they caried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horſſe there prouided readie for that purpoſe, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles diſtant from the caſtell, where they ſtaied, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the courſe of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the channell, they burie the bodie in the ſame, ramming it vp with ſtones and grauell ſo cloſelie, that ſetting the water in the right courſe againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had beene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie ſhould not be found, & by bleeding (when Donwald ſhould be preſent) declare him to be guiltie of the murther. ¶ For ſuch an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being ſlaine, will bleed abundantlie if the murtherer be preſent. But for what conſideration ſoeuer they buried him there, they had no ſooner finiſhed the worke, but that they ſlue them whoſe helpe they vſed herein, and ſtreightwaies thervpon fled into Denmarke.

The subborned ſeruants cut the kings throte.

The king his buriall.

The porters borers are ſlaine.

Donwald, about the time that the murther was in doing, got him amongſt them that kept the watch, and ſo continued in companie with them all the reſidue of the night. But in the morning when the noiſe was raiſed in the kings chamber how the king was ſlaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all beraied with bloud; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed, and on the floore about the ſides of it, he forthwith ſlue the chamberleins, as guiltie of that heinous murther, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ranſacked euerie corner within the caſtell, as though it had beene to haue ſeene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murtherers hid in anie priuie place: but at length comming to the poſterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberleins, whome he had ſlaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwiſe (ſaid he) but that they were of counſell in the committing of that moſt deteſta-

Donwald kept himſelfe amongſt the watchmen.

Donwalds verie diſſembler.

The womans euill counſell is followed.

ble

ble murther.

Some wiſer than other. The matter ſuſpected.

Finallie, ſuch was his ouer earneſt diligence in the ſeuere inquiſition and triall of the offendors heerein, that ſome of the lords began to miſlike the matter, and to ſmell forth ſhrewd tokens, that he ſhould not be altogither cleare himſelfe. But for ſo much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reaſon of his friends and authoritie togither, they doubted to vtter what they thought, till time and place ſhould better ſerue thereunto, and heerevpon got them awaie euerie man to his home.

Prodigious weather.

For the ſpace of ſix moneths togither, after this heinous murther thus committed, there appeered no ſunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but ſtill was the ſkie couered with continuall clouds, and ſometimes ſuch outragious winds aroſe, with lightenings and tempeſts, that the people were in great feare of preſent deſtruction.

*Culene.*

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the ſonne (as I haue ſaid) of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receiue the crowne according to the manner: but at his comming thither, he demanded of the biſhops what the cauſe ſhould be of ſuch vntemperate weather. Who made anſwer, that vndoubtedlie almightie God ſhewed himſelfe thereby to be offended moſt highlie for that wicked murther of king Duffe: and ſuerlie vnleſſe the offendors were tried forth and puniſhed for that deed, the realme ſhould feele the iuſt indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting ſuch puniſhment as was due for ſo greeuous an offenſe.

The king aſked the cauſe of the foule weather. The biſhops anſwer vnto the king.

The king required publike praiers to be had.

Culene heerevpon required the biſhops to appoint publike proceſſions, faſtings, and other godlie exerciſes to be vſed of the prieſts and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appeaſing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in ſuch ſort and manner as in ſemblable caſes the vſe and cuſtome in thoſe daies was. He himſelfe made a ſolemne vow, confirming it with a like oth, before all the peeres & nobles there aſſembled, that he would not ceaſſe till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the falſe inhabitants of Murrey land, to the example of all other.

The king made an oth.

The king went with an armie into Murrey land.

The multitude being preſent, getting them to armor, followed their prince, taking his iournie without further delaie towards Murrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approch, and the cauſe of his comming, were ſtriken with exceeding feare: but namelie Donwald, being giltie in conſcience, doubted leſt if he were put to torture, he ſhould be inforced to confeſſe the truth. Wherevpon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anie other of his familie, ſaue a few ſuch as he toke with him, he ſecretlie got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ſhip readie, he went aboord the ſame, purpoſing to haue fled his waies by ſea into Norwaie: for this is the peculiar propertie of a giltie conſcience, to be afraid of all things, and either in geſture or countenance to bewraie it ſelfe, accounting flight moſt ſure, if occaſion may ſerue thereto. For this Donwald, whome no man (though ſome partlie ſuſpected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his maiſters death (by reaſon of his faithfull ſeruice ſhewed towards him afore time) had he not thus ſought to haue auoided the countrie, was now detected of manifeſt treaſon, euerie man deteſting his abhominable fact, and wiſhing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging flouds, ſo to paie the due puniſhment, which of right he owght, for his vile treſon in murthering his naturall lord.

A giltie conſcience accuſeth a man.

Donwald getteth him ſecretlie awaie.

The murther of the king is reuealed.

The caſtell of Fores is taken and all the inhabitants ſlaine.

Culene being heereof aduertiſed, paſſed ouer Spey water, and taking the caſtell of Fores, ſlue all that he found therein, and put the houſe to ſacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his three daughters were taken: for Culene commanded, that whoſoeuer could light vpon them, ſhould in anie wiſe ſaue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir examination confeſſed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chieflie hir huſband was moued to cauſe the deed to be done, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Heere would the multitude haue run vpon hir and torne hir in peeces, but that they were reſtreined by commandement of an officer at armes. The K. with the reſidue for that night reſted themſelues, and in the morning toke order for due proviſion of all things neceſſarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongeſt his predeceſſors.

The murther is wholie confeſſed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken vp.

But as they were buſie heereabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by ſhipwracke caſt vpon the ſhore within foure miles of the caſtell, as though he were by Gods prouiſion brought backe into his owne countrie to ſuffer worthie puniſhment for his demerits. Wherevpon the inhabitants of the places nert adioining toke him, and kept him faſt bound till they knew further of the kings pleaſure: who verie glad of the newes, ſent forth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were ſent did as they were commanded: and being ſcarſe returned, there came in diuerſe lords of Roſſe, bringing with them Donwalds foure ſeruants, which (as before is ſaid) did execute the murther. Thus all the offendors being brought togither vnto the place where the murther was both contriued and executed, they were arrained, condemned, and put to death in maner as followeth, to the great reioiſing of the people that beheld the ſame.

Donwald getteth him ſelfe.

Donwalds foure ſeruants were taken alſo.

They were firſt ſcourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being throwen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut into quarters, and ſent vnto the chiefeſt cities of the realme, and there ſet vp aloft vpon the gates & higheſt towers, for example ſake to all ſuch as ſhould come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the ſacred bloud of their prince. This dreadfull end had Donwald and his wife, before he ſaw ante ſunne after the murther was committed, and that by the appointment of the moſt righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who ſuffereth no crime to be vnreuenged. Thoſe that were the takers of the murtherers were highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell therein ſuſteined, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and alſo of all manner of paiments belonging to publike duties, as tributes, ſubſidies, and ſuch like.

Donwald with his confederats are executed.

Rewards giuen vnto the takers of thoſe murtherers.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in moſt pompous manner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both ſpirituall and temporall, with other of the meaner ſtates. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had laine ſix moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwiſe, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and ſound as though it had beene yet aliue, the ſkarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to proceed, ſo ſone as it was brought aboue the ground, the aire began to cleare vp, and the ſunne brake forth, ſhining more brighter than it had beene ſeene afore time, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in moſt deepe conſideration of all, was the ſight of manifold flowers, which ſprang forth ouer all the fields immediatlie therevpon, cleane contrarie to the time and ſeaſon of the yeere.

The bodie of king Duffe honorablie buried.

Marueilous things are ſeene.

Within a few yeeres after this, there was a bridge made

made ouer the water in the same place, where the bodie had bæne buried, and a village builded at the one end of the bridge, which is called vnto this day, Killos, that is to say, the church of flowers: taking that name of the wonder there happened at the remouing of the kings bodie, as the same authors would séeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a rich abbeie, standing with a verie faire church, consecrat in the honor of the virgine Marie. Monstrous sights also that were séene within the Scotish kingdome that yéere were these: horsses in Louthian, being of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman brought forth a child without eies, nose, hand, or foot. There was a sparhawke also strangled by an owle. Neither was it anie lesse wonder that the sunne, as before is said, was continuallie couered with clouds for sir moneths space. But all men vnderstood that the abhominable murther of king Duffe was the cause hereof, which being reuenged by the death of the authors, in maner as before is said; Culene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same Duffe at Scone, with all due honor and solemnitie, in the yeere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had ruled the Scotish kingdome about the space of foure yeares.

Killos.

972.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope of an other manner of prince, than by the administration which followed he declared himselfe to be: for shortlie after losing the rains of lasciuious wantonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giuing a lewd example by his owne disordered doings, all such as were inclined vnto licentious liuing, followed their sensuall lusts and vnbridled libertie, abandoning all feare of correction more than euer had bæne séene or heard of in anie other age. For such was the negligence of the king, or rather maintenance of misordered persons, that whatsoeuer anie of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests, or anie of the commons, though the same were neuer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment vsed against them: so that all men looked for some commotion in the common-wealth thereupon to insue, if there were not other order prouided therefore in time. The ancient péeres of the realme also being gréeued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the realme was likelie to fall through his negligent behauiour.

King Culene did not continue as his beginning was.

Horsses eate their owne flesh.

A monstrous child.

A sparhawke strangled by an owle.

He followes his sensuall lustes.

Euill doers were not punished.

God counsell was not heard

Culene answered them, that he wist well inough how yong men were not at the first borne graue and sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads: wherefore their first youthfull yéeres could not be so stable as they might be héereafter by old age and continuance of time. But as for such rigorous extremitie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph, Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might incurre by such sharpe seueritie shewed in the gouernment of the estate. Whereupon he was determined so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be beloued than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he thought) to reteine his subiects in due and most faithfull obedience. This answer was such, that although it séemed nothing agréeable for the preseruation of the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that durst reproue the same, but diuerse there were that praised him therein, as those that hated all such as loued the vpright administration of iustice.

The kings answer vnto his graue péeres.

He would not displease.

But such ancient councellors as had trulie serued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the former kings, Indulph & Duffe, misliking the state of that present world (wherin the youth of the realme, namelie all such as were descended of noble parentage, and vsed to be about the king, followed their wilfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through want of correction to be worse and worse) departed from the court, and withdrew to their homes, without medling anie further with the publike administration. In whose place there crept in others, that with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such sparks of good inclination as yet remained in the king, if anie were at all; insomuch that in the end he measured supreame felicitie by the plentifull inioieng of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He fansied onelie such as could deuise prouocations thervnto, and in filling the bellie with excesse of costlie meates and drinks, those that could excell other were chieflie cherished, and most highlie of him estéemed.

Ancient councellors leaue the court.

The youthfull court followeth their sensuall lusts.

A wicked time of voluptuousnesse.

Herewithall he was giuen vnto leacherie beyond all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, widow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of such villanie and violent forcings as were practised by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leacherous lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he tooke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in his presence, that his decaied lust might be the more stirred vp with sight of such filthinesse. This abhominable trade of life he practised for the space of three yeares togither, giuing occasion of much spoile, rauine, manslaughter, forcings, and rauishments of women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by authoritie of the former kings, for restreint of such flagitious offenses) being put in vre, through negligence of this monstruous creature.

A leacherous king.

Forcing of womenkind exceded.

O beastlie behauiour!

All honestie exiled.

So farre forth also increased the libertie of théeues, robbers, and other offendors, mainteined by such of the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull doings, and were partakers with them in the same, that if anie man went about to withstand them, or refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he should be spoiled of all that he had, and hardlie haue his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwise be misused in such outragious and violent sort, that it would gréeue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare of such enormities as were dailie practised in that countrie. Howbeit, at length the death of king Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings: for falling into a filthie disease (through abuse of excessiue drinking and leacherie) called the wasting of nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting of his flesh, that he apéered more like vnto a dead carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, insomuch that his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Robberie, theft, &c. were mainteined.

Death made an end of all.

Gonorrhœa.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable personages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some other (whome they should iudge most méetest) to reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing wherefore this councell was called, as he was going thitherwards, at Meffen castell, being almost in the mid waie of his iournie, was murthered by one Cadhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This end had Culene togither with all his filthie sensualitie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in memorie with his posteritie, and is not like to be forgotten

A parlement.

King Culene was murthered.

gotten whilest the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the fift yeere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauiour 976, the nobles & great peeres of the realme reioising at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

976.

*Kenneth.*

After that the bodie of king Culene was once conueied vnto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great peeres assembled togither at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolme the first, and brother vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from their wild and sauage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent gouernment of his predecessor) vnto their former trade of ciuill demeanor. For the nature of the Scotishmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transforme themselues to the vsage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberalitie, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but refraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other vnto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He mainteined amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorouslie all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of meanes. He toke busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to applie themselues in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaie to a flourishing state.

Iustice is reformed.

King Kenneth was of a vertuous liuing.

He loued strangers.

He abhorred sloth.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subiects, he indeuored himselfe by all meanes he could deuise to punish offendors against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of theeues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Kile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certeine offendors were summoned to appeere. But at their comming thither, perceiuing that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through persuasion of diuerse noble men vnto whom they were of kin, they fled secretlie their waies, some into the westerne Iles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safegard of their liues. The king perceiuing that through the disloiall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a time, and licenced euerie man to depart to their houses, his traine onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Ninian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to do. Heere he inuented (by conference which he had with some of his priuie councell) a deuise, whereby he might fetch againe the offendors vnto iudgement: but this was kept close till the yeere following, for doubt least if those lords which bare them good will had come to anie inkling thereof, they would by vttering it haue disappointed his purpose.

He did punish offendors.

A session kept at Lainrike, or Lanerke.

The guiltie ran waie.

The king dissembled with these doings.

The king went to visit saint Ninian.

The king consulted how to call the transgressors vnto iudgement.

At length, after a yeere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble at Scone, as though it had beene to haue communed about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come togither into the councell-chamber, he caused by some of his faithfull ministers, a sort of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their capteine, that in no wise he should stirre with his band till the next day that all the lords were assembled togither, and then without delaie to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement. On the morrow after the nobles comming togither into the councell-chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degree about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselues round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one an other, but durst not speake a word. Then the king perceiuing their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to councell at that time, and why he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onelie for the publike preseruation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were togither by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischiefe and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scotish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

The king and lords sitting, the armed men step forth.

The king putteth the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsall of all enormities

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaie, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour; where should the lord or gentleman haue wherevpon to liue? So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as vsed to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallie of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therfore he that loued the common-wealth, would not seeke onelie to defend the commons from such iniuries as theeues and robbers dailie offered them; but also would helpe to see iust execution done vpon the same theeues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. The last yeare (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I purposed by your helpe and counsell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes against all enimies and perturbers of the peace. At Lainrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuouslie disobeieng our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue beene informed by some how diuers of you fauoring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withdrawing themselues so from iudgement.

Lainrike, or Lanerke.

The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, well neere persuaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, wishing you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fautors of the rebelles, but as defendors of the commonwealth, though happilie somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your dueties, to shew your selues such in helping to apprehend the offendors, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were

were anie. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselues to haue those armed men which they saw there present, to be continuallie attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords gentle submission, with a large promise.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiuing what his meaning was, first partlie excused themselues so well as they might of their cloked dissimulation, and then falling downe vpon their knees afore him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearelie to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfulnesse accomplish his desire, in causing the offendors to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The councell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Taie, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was streictlie kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heed thereunto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the streets, streightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The king went to Bertha.

Roges punished.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offendors as vsed to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue iudgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceiued they must needs worke, if they minded the safegard of their owne liues. Hereof it followed also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number neere hand of fiue hundred such idle lotterers as vsed to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being descended of famous houses: all which companie being condemned for their offenses to die, were hanged vp on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idelie by other mens labours.

Iniurious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great number of vagabonds were iudged to die.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preseruation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie forraine or inward trouble for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being sore grieued in their hearts for such displeasures as they had susteined in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Wherevpon gathering an huge multitude of men togither, they were imbarked in vessels prouided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arriue; & being once on land, to destroie all before them, except where the people should submit & yeeld themselues vnto them. This nauie being once got abroad, within short time arriued at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Braes, or red head, not far from the place where the abbie of Abirbroth, or Abirbrothoke was afterward founded.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The Danes seeke for to reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arriue at the red head, or red Braes in Angus.

Here the Danish fleet first casting anchor, their captains fell in consultation what they were best to do. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scotishmens hands being poore, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more ouerthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Againe, the soile of that countrie was but barren, and in manner ouergrowen with woods (as it was in deed in those daies) with few townes & small habitations, and those so poore, that no man knowing the same, would vouchsafe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of corne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and townes inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not do better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iournie was attempted by the counsell of their superiors, onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scotishmen, and not to atteine riches or anie dominion.

The Danes consult to go into England

They consult for to saile into Kent.

They onelie sought reuenge.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & readie to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would surelie be readie to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so soone as it was knowen that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constreined to haue to do both with the Scotishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should incounter but onelie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongest the Scots, sith chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enimies there, then might they passe more safelie into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Wherevpon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drew with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Eske, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare, so that with all speed for their safegard they got them into Mountros: but the towne being quickelie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after raced, cassell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

Some thought best to land in Scotland.

The Danes land at Mountros.

Mountros taken, and all within was slaine.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Taie, all the people of the countries by which they marched fleeing afore them. King Kenneth at the same time laie at Sterling, where hearing of these greeuous newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enimies. The assemblie of the Scotish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Taie. Here when they were come togither in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Taie, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. Then without further delaie, he raised with the whole armie, and marched streight towards his enimies, comming that night vnto

The Danes come to the riuer of Taie.

King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

They laie siege before Bertha.

vnto Loncart a village not far distant from the riuer of Tate, famous euer after, by reason of the battell fought then neere vnto the same. The Danes hearing that the Scots were come, detracted no time, but forthwith prepared to giue battell.

King Kenneth set his men in aray.

Kenneth as soone as the sunne was vp, beholding the Danes at hand, quickelie brought his armie into order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew their manhood, he promiseth to release them of all tributs and paiments due to the kings cofers for the space of fiue yeares next insuing: and besides that he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else lands so much worth in value to euerie one of his armie, that should bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfullie, and to remember there was no place to atteine mercie; for either must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they fled, in the end to looke for present death at the enimies hands, who would not cease till time they had found them forth, into what place so euer they resorted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The Scots being not a little incouraged by the kings words, kept their order of battell according as they were appointed, still looking when the onset should be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieutenant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe gouerned the battell. The enimies on the other part had taken their ground at the foot of a little mounteine right afore against the Scotish campe. Thus both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, beholding either other a good space, till at length the Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the Danes would not come forth to anie euen ground, aduanced forward with somewhat more hast than the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and throwing of darts right freshlie.

The king exhorted the Scots vnto valiantnesse.

The order of the Scotish battell aray.

The Danes had the aduantage of a little mounteine.

The Scots begin the battell.

The Danes being backed with the mounteine, were constreined to leaue the same, and with all speed to come forward vpon their enimies, that by ioining they might auoid the danger of the Scotishmens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore they came to hand-strokes, in maner before the signe was giuen on either part to the battell. The fight was cruell on both sides: and nothing hindered the Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of the Danes, euer as they might ouercome them. Which maner being noted of the Danes, and perceiuing that there was no hope of life but in victorie, they rushed forth with such violence vpon their aduersaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constreined to retire and flee backe, the middle-ward stoutly yet keeping their ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now left naked on the sides, that the victorie must needes haue remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought) of almightie God.

The two wings of the Scots fled.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great valiancie in the middle ward, now destitute of the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enimies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to do the like, hasted towards the battell, there to die rather amongest other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine aliue after the discomfiture in miserable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most vnmercifull enimies. There was neere to the place of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with ditches and walles made of turfe, through the which the Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enimies on heapes.

Haie with his two sonnes.

Haie staied the Scots from running away

Here Haie with his sonnes, supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselues ouerthwart the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor foe: but downe they went all such as came within their reach, wherewith diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellowes to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a new power of Scotishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obteined of their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore might they chose whether they would be slaine of their owne fellowes comming to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enimies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great valiancie of the father and the sonnes, thought verelie there had beene some great succors of Scots come to the aid of their king, and therevpon ceasling from further pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of their fellowes fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

The Scots were driuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellowes in great disorder.

The Scots also that before was chased, being incouraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Wherevpon Kenneth perceiuing his people to be thus recomforted, and his enimies partlie abashed, called vpon his men to remember their duties, and now sith their aduersaries hearts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie vndoubtedlie should be theirs. The Scots incouraged with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie, that in the end the Danes were constreined to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scotish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the brunt of the battell, continuing manfullie therein euen to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserued immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chieflie was the victorie atchiued. And therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the field and of the enimies campe (which they had left void) should be diuided, the chiefest part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the multitude; the residue being diuided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, according to the ancient custome vsed amongst this nation.

K. Kenneth called vpō his men to remember their duties.

The Danes forsake the fields.

The spoile is diuided.

The king hauing thus vanquished his enimies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused costlie robes to be offered vnto Haie and his sonnes, that being richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell, was contented to go with the king in his old garments whither it pleased him to appoint. So entring with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people running forth to behold him, whome they heard to haue so valiantlie restored the battell, when the field was in maner lost without hope of all recouerie. At his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie sword or battell axe might haue beene to anie the most valiant warrior. Thus Haie being honored of all estates, within certeine daies after, at a councell holden at Scone, it was ordeined, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amongst the number of the chiefest nobles and peeres of the realme, being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts) with lands and reuenues, such as he should chose sufficient

Haie refused costlie garments.

The king came to Bertha.

Haie is made one of the nobilitie.

He had reuenues assigned to him.

ſufficient for the maintenance of their eſtates.

It is ſaid, that by the counſell of his ſonnes, who knew the fruitfulnes of the ſoile, he did aſke ſo much ground in thoſe parts where the riuer of Taie runs by the towne of Arrole ouer againſt Fife, as a falcon would flie ouer at one flight. Which requeſt being freelie granted of the king, the place was appointed at Inſchtre for the falcon to be caſt off: the which taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted till ſhee came to a great ſtone neere a village called Roſſe, not paſſing foure miles from Dundee. By which meanes all that countrie which lieth betwixt Inſchire aforeſaid, and the ſaid ſtone (being almoſt ſix miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Haie and his ſons. The name of the ſtone alſo being called the falcons ſtone to this date, doth cauſe the thing better to be beleeued, and well neere all the foreſaid ground ſtill continueth in the poſſeſſion of the Haies euen vnto this day. Beſides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three ſcutchons gules in a field of ſiluer, a plowbeame added therevnto, which he vſed in ſtead of a battell axe, when he fought ſo valiantlie in defenſe of his owne countrie. Thus had the Haies their beginning of nobilitie, whoſe houſe hath atteined vnto great eſtimation of honor, and hath beene decorated with the office of the conſtableſhip of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that ſucceeded. Theſe things happened in the firſt yeere of king Kenneth.

In the reſidue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great buſineſſe by forren enimies, yet by ciuill ſedition the ſtate of the realme was wonderfullie diſquieted. Firſt a companie of Kerns of the weſterne Iles inuading Roſſe, to the intent to haue fetched a bootie, were met withall by the waie and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this ſturre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole ſtate of the common-welth, raiſed by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefeſt lords of the Mernes, who was ſonne vnto a certeine ladie named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernor of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two riuers, the one called Southeſke, and the other Northeſke. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the caſtell of Delbogin to ſee his grandfather, the ſaid Cruthneth as then lieng in the ſame: where vpon light occaſion a fraie was begun amongſt the ſeruingmen, in the which two of Cruthlints ſeruants fortuned to be ſlaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlint declared by waie of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was ſo ſlenderlie heard, and anſwered in ſuch reprochfull wiſe, as though he himſelfe had bin the author of the buſines, ſo that Cruthneths ſeruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maiſter, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake forth of their hands, and hardlie eſcaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fenella, where ſhe lay within the caſtell of Fethircarne, the chiefeſt fortreſſe of all the Mernes. Where being incenſed through his mothers inſtigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie receiued: ſo that aſſembling a number of his friends and kinſfolks ſo ſecretlie as he might togither, with a band of the inhabitants of the Mernes, he entereth into Angus, and comming vnto the caſtell of Delbogin in the night ſeaſon, was ſuffered to enter by the keepers of the gate, nothing ſuſpecting anie treaſon in the world, by reaſon whereof was Cruthneth ſuddenlie oppreſſed, the houſe ſacked and raced, not one that was found within the ſame being left aliue. The ſpoile alſo was diuided by Cruthlint amongſt them which came with him. The next day likewiſe he foraied the countrie all there abouts, returning home with a great bootie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, reſted not long; but aſſembling themſelues togither inuaded the countrie of Merns, where making great ſlaughter on each ſide, they left the countrie void almoſt both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of thoſe two countries purſue the warre one againſt another a certeine time, with dailie incurſions and waſtings of either others countries, in ſuch cruell wiſe, that it was thought the one of them muſt needs ſhortlie come to vtter deſtruction, if ſpeedie remedie were not the ſoner prouided. The king being informed of this miſchiefe and great trouble, which was fallen out through ſedition amongſt thoſe his ſubiects, hee made proclamation by an herald, that thoſe of Angus and Mernes, whom he vnderſtood to be culpable, ſhould appeare within fifteene daies after at Scone, there to make anſwer afore appointed iudges, to ſuch things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The moſt part of them doubting to be puniſhed for their offenſes with Cruthlint their capteine, fled out of Mernes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being ſore moued herewith, perceiued how readie the Scotiſh people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentlie vſed: and againe how they obeied the magiſtrates beſt when they were reſtreined from their wild outragious doings by due puniſhment and execution of iuſtice. He conſidered therefore that if he did not cauſe thoſe ſeditious rebels which had thus diſobeied his commandements to be puniſhed according to the order of the lawes, he ſhould haue the whole realme ſhortlie diſquieted with ciuill warre and open rebellion. Whereupon with all ſpeed he cauſed earneſt purſute to be made after Cruthlint, and the reſidue of the offendors, the which at length being taken in Lochquhabir, were brought vnto a caſtell in Gowrie called Dounſinnam, where after iudgement pronounced againſt them, Cruthlint firſt, and then other the chiefeſt ſtirrers on either ſide were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their ſuperiors againſt their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houſes.

For this equitie ſhewed in miniſtring iuſtice by the king, he was greatlie praiſed, loued, and dread of all his ſubiects; ſo that great quietneſſe followed in the ſtate of the common-wealth, greatlie to the aduancement thereof, and ſo continued till the 22 yeere of this Kenneths reigne. At what time the blind loue he bare to his owne iſſue, cauſed him to procure a deteſtable fact, in making away one of his neereſt kinſmen. This was Malcolme the ſonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths reigne prince of Cumberland, by reaſon whereof he ought to haue ſucceeded in rule of the kingdome after Kenneths death. Whereat the ſame Kenneth greeuing not a little, for that thereby his ſonnes ſhould be kept from inioieng the crowne, found meanes to poiſon him. But though the phyſicians vnderſtanding by ſuch euident ſignes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poiſoned indeed, yet ſuch was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no ſuſpicion at all was conceiued that it ſhould be his deed.

The cloked loue alſo which he had ſhewed toward him at all times, and ſo ſudden commandement giuen by him vpon the firſt newes of his death, that his funerals ſhould be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his ſoule; and againe, the teares which he ſhed

Haie his requeſt.

The falcon meſured Haie his lands out.

Ciuill wars in Scotland.

An other commotion in Mernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to ſee his grandfather.

Two of his ſeruants were ſlaine.

They let vpon Cruthlint alſo.

Cruthlint was inſtigated to reuenge

He killed all them that were in the caſtell.

Haie had armes giuen him.

The countrie is foraied.

They of Mernes requite their iniuries.

The king made a proclamation by an herald.

The culpable ſhould appeare at Scone.

The faultie men ran away

The K. was ſore offended therewith.

The K. minded to puniſh the diſobedient rebels.

Cruthlint taken with manie more.

He is executed with certeine others.

The K. was worthilie commended for his iuſtice.

K. Kenneth poiſoned his couſin Malcolme.

The K. was not ſuſpected of this fact.

The poiſoning of Malcolme is brought into ſuſpicion.

ſhed for him, in all places where anie mention chanced to be made of the loſſe which the realme had ſuſteined by the death of ſo worthie a prince, made men nothing miſtruſtfull of the matter, till at length ſome of the nobles perceiuing the outward ſorow (which he made) to paſſe the true griefe of the heart, began to gather ſome ſuſpicion, that all was not well: but yet bicauſe no certeintie appeared, they kept their thoughts to themſelues. About the ſame time came ambaſſadors forth of England from king Edward the ſonne of Edgar (which after through treaſon of his ſtepmother Elculda, was made a martyr) requiring that ſith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland was deceaſſed, it might pleaſe the king with the ſtates of the realme to chooſe ſome other in his place, who doing his homage vnto the king of England, according as it was couenanted by the league, might be a meane to confirme the ſame league betwixt the two nations for the auoiding of all occaſions of breach thereof that otherwiſe happilie might inſue.

Imbaſſadors came from K. Edward.

He required a new prince to be elected.

Kenneth at the ſame time held a councell at Scone, where hauing heard the requeſt of theſe ambaſſadors, in preſence of all his nobles, he anſwered that he was glad to vnderſtand that king Edward was ſo carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie betwixt his ſubiects and the Scotiſhmen, according to the articles of the ancient league in times paſt concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for his part he likewiſe moſt earneſtlie deſired, and therefore in rendering moſt heartie thanks vnto him for his gentle aduertiſement, he purpoſed by the aduiſe of his nobles, and the other eſtates of his realme as then there aſſembled, to elect a new prince of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and therevpon required the ambaſſador to be preſent on the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles ſhould name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The ambaſſadors herevpon departing forth of the councell chamber, were conueied to their lodging by diuerſe of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe them companie.

The K. heard a fit meſſage for his purpoſe.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about to perſuade the peeres, and other the eſtates of the realme there (as I ſaid) aſſembled, to alter the cuſtome and ancient order vſed by their elders in chooſing of him that ſhould ſucceed in the gouernance of the realme, after the deceaſſe of him that was in poſſeſſion. He vſed ſo manie reaſons as was poſſible for him to deuiſe in that behalfe, thereby to induce them to his purpoſe, which was to haue an act eſtabliſhed for the crowne to go by ſucceſſion, onelie to this end, that one of his ſonnes might inioy the ſame immediatlie after his deceaſſe. He declared alſo what diſcommodities, ſeditions, and great inconueniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone in times paſt by election: for though it was ordeined at the firſt that it ſhould ſo doo, vpon a good intent and great conſideration, yet in proceſſe of time proofe and experience had ſhewed, that more hinderance happened vnto the common-wealth thereby (beſide the danger euer inſuing incidentlie vnto ſuch iſſue as the king left behind him) than profit, if the ſundrie murthers, occaſions of ciuill diſcord, and other wicked practiſes were throughlie weied and conſidered, the ſumme whereof he recited from point to point, and ſo in the end with great inſtance beſought them, that ſo pernicious a cuſtome might be aboliſhed and taken away, to the great benefit of the whole ſtate of the realme, ſpeciallie ſith in all realmes commonlie the order was, that the ſonne ſhould without anie contradiction ſucceed the father in the heritage of the crowne and kinglie eſtate.

A fit oration for his purpoſe.

He had rowme inough to walke in, to gather proofes & reaſons to perſuade this matter, it being good of it ſelfe.

The king had no ſooner made an end of his long oration, which he handled after the pitieſt ſort hee could, but that diuerſe of the noble men which were there amongſt other, being made priuie to the matter afore hand, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme the ſon of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland, that he might ſo haue an entrance to the crowne after the deceaſſe of his father. This motion by and by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth perceiuing, he required of the moſt ancient peeres whome they would name to be prince of Cumberland, that there might be a meane to ratifie and confirme the league betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, Conſtantine the ſonne of king Culin, and Grime the nephue of king Duffe by his brother Mogall: howbeit by the force of the former law they might by good reaſon haue looked to haue had the preferment themſelues.

The peeres of the realme did willinglie grant to his requeſt.

But yet perceiuing it was in vaine to denie that which would be had by violence (although they ſhould neuer ſo much ſtand againſt it) being firſt demanded of the herald what they thought, they anſwerd (notwithſtanding againſt their minds indeed) that the king might order all things as ſhould ſtand with his pleaſure, appointing whom he thought moſt meet to bee prince of Cumberland, and to abrogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in deuiſing new ordinances for the ſame, as ſhould ſeeme vnto him and thoſe of his councell moſt requiſite and neceſſarie. The multitude then following their ſentence, cried with lowd & vndiſcreet voices, to haue Malcolme the ſonne of king Kenneth created prince of Cumberland. And thus the ſame Malcolme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in place of the other Malcolme ſonne to king Duffe. The daie next following, the ambaſſadors comming into the councell chamber, heard what was decreed touching their requeſt, and then being highlie rewarded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they returned into England, and Malcolme with them, to be acquainted with king Edward, and to doo his homage for the principalitie of Cumberland, as the cuſtome was.

The herald required Conſtantine his voice firſt.

Conſtantine his ſaieng.

The multitude wel pleaſed, crie Malcolme.

At the ſame time alſo there was a new act deuiſed and made, the old being abrogated (by the appointment of the king) for the creation of the Scotiſh kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather conſenting with ſilence, than greatlie allowing it either in harts or voices, though ſome currifauours among them ſet forward the matter to the beſt of their powers. The articles of this ordinance were theſe. The eldeſt heire male of the deceaſſed king, whether the ſame were ſonne or nephue, of what age ſoeuer he ſhould be, yea though he ſhould be in the mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceaſſe, ſhould from thence-forth ſucceed in the kingdome of Scotland. The nephue by the ſonne ſhould be preferred before the nephue by the daughter, in atteining to the heritage of the crowne. And likewiſe the brothers ſonne ſhould be admitted before the ſiſters ſon. The ſame law ſhould be obſerued of all ſuch of the Scotiſh nation, as had anie lands or inheritance comming to them by deſcent. Where the king by this meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule, there ſhuld be one of the chiefeſt peeres of the realme choſen and elected to haue the gouernance of his perſon and realme, till he came to 14 yeeres of age. The which foureteenth yeere of his age being accompliſhed, he ſhould haue the adminiſtration committed to his owne hands. The heires of all other perſons of ech eſtate and degree ſhould remaine vnder the wardſhip of their appointed gouernors, till they came to the age of 21 yeeres, and not till then to meddle with anie part of their lands and liuings.

A new act for the ſucceſſion of the crowne.

Articles concluded in that parlement.

King Kenneth miniſtred iuſtice truelie.

These lawes and ordinances being once publiſhed and confirmed, king Kenneth ſupposed the kingdome to be fullie assured vnto him and his posteritie, and therevpon indevored himselfe to win the harts of the people with vpright administration of iuſtice, and the favour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongſt them, aswell in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he seeme happie to all men, having the love both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed moſt vnhappie, as he that could not but still live in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so commeth it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, have ever an vnquiet mind. And (as the fame goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his reſt, vttering vnto him these or the like words in effect:

The good will of the nobilitie he bought with gifts.

The king had a giltie conſcience.

A voice heard by the king.

"Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked ſlaughter of "Malcolme Duffe by thee contrived, is kept secret "from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he "that didſt conſpire the innocents death, enterprising "by traitorous meanes to do that to thy neighbour, "which thou wouldeſt have revenged by cruell pu"niſhment in anie of thy ſubiects, if it had beene offe"red to thy selfe. It ſhall therefore come to passe, that "both thou thy selfe, and thy iſſue, through the iuſt ven"geance of almightie God, ſhall ſuffer worthie pu"niſhment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for "euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand "secret practises to diſpatch both thee and thy iſſue out "of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome "which thou doſt indevour to assure vnto thine iſſue.

The king with this voice being ſtricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie ſleepe comming in his eies. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto biſhop Mouean, a man of great holineſſe of life, vnto whome he confeſſed his heinous and moſt wicked offenſe, beſeeching him of counſell, which waie he might obteine pardon and forgivenes at Gods hands by worthie penance. Mouean hearing how the king bemoned his offenſe committed, he willed him to be of good comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was provoked by ſinne and wicked offenſes, ſo was the ſame pacified againe by repentance, if ſo be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiveneſſe by theſe and ſundrie other the like comfortable words of the biſhop, ſtudied vnfeinedlie to do worthie penance, leaving nothing vndone which he thought might ſerve for a witneſſe of his penitent hart, thereby to avoid the vengeance which he ſtood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reaſon of his heinous and wicked crime.

The king confeſſeth his ſinnes.

The king taketh great repentance.

It chanced heerevpon, that within a ſhort time after he had beene at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, to viſit the reliks of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the caſtell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a forreſt full of all manner of wild beaſts that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whoſe ſon (as ye have heard) he cauſed to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Mernes and Angus. She was alſo of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made awaie, and in like manner vnto Conſtantine and Grime, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuiſe of the king (as before is partlie mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a ſtout ſtomach, long time before having conceived an immortall grudge towards the king, vpon the occaſions before rehearſed (namelie aſwell for the death of hir ſonne Cruthlint, as having ſome inkling alſo of the impoiſoning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certeintie therof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be revenged.

The king went to Fordune in pilgrimage.

A parke with wild beaſts at the caſtell of Fethircarne.

Fenella was of kin vnto Malcolme.

She vnderſtood that the king delighted above meaſure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compaſſe hir malicious intent, ſhe had cauſed a tower to be made, joining vnto hir owne lodging within the foreſaid caſtell of Fethircarne. The which tower was covered over with copper finelie ingrauen with diverſe flowers and images. Hereto was it hong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and ſilke, verie faire and coſtlie. Behind the ſame were there croſſebowes ſet readie bent with ſharpe quarrels in them. In the middeſt of the house there was a goodlie brazen image alſo, reſembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple ſet full of pretious ſtones, deviſed with ſuch art and cunning, that ſo ſoone as anie man ſhould draw the ſame vnto him, or remove it never ſo little anie waie forth, the croſſebowes would immediatlie diſcharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

She vnderſtood that the king delighted above meaſure in goodlie buildings

Fenella hir malicious intent.

Croſſebowes readie bent, hidden.

Fenella therefore being thus provided aforehand, after meate deſired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be ſatiſfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, aſwell of the hangings as of diverſe other things. At the laſt having viewed the image which ſtood (as is ſaid) in the midſt of the chamber, he demanded what the ſame did ſignifie: Fenella anſwered, how that image did repreſent his perſon, and the golden apple ſet ſo richlie with ſmaragds, iacincts, ſaphires, topaſes, rubies, turkaſſes, and ſuch like pretious ſtones, ſhe had provided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the ſame, beſeeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value worthie to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And herewith ſhe hirſelfe withdrew aſide, as though ſhe would have taken ſome thing forth of a cheſt or coffer, thereby to avoid the danger.

Fenella had the king into the inner chamber.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient ſtones, at length removing the apple, the better to aduiſe it, incontinentlie the croſſebowes diſcharged their quarrels ſo directlie vpon him, that ſtriking him through in ſundrie places, he fell downe ſtarke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella aſſoone as ſhe beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, ſhe got forth by a backe dore into the next woods, where ſhe had appointed horſſes to tarie for hir, by meanes whereof ſhe eſcaped out of all danger of them that purſued hir, yer the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His ſeruants ſtill waiting for his comming forth in the vtter chamber, at length when they ſaw he came not at all, firſt they knocked at the dore ſoftlie, then they rapped hard thereat: laſtlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open dore after dore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the flore.

The king was ſlaine with the croſſe bowes.

Fenella eſcaped from them all.

His ſeruants looked for their king.

The dores broken open, they find him dead.

The clamor and crie heerevpon was raiſed by his ſeruants, and Fenella curſſed and ſought for in euerie place, that had committed ſo heinous and wicked a deed: but the vngratious woman was conveied ſo ſecretlie out of the waie, that no where could ſhe be heard of. Some ſuppoſed that ſhe fled firſt vnto Conſtantine, by whoſe helpe ſhe got over into Ireland. The ambitious deſire which the ſame Conſtantine ſhewed he had to ſucceed in government of the kingdome after Kenneths deceaſſe, increaſed that ſuſpicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends togither, and went vnto diverſe places requiring the lords to aſſiſt

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got hirſelfe into Ireland by the helpe of Conſtantine.

Conſtantine aſpired vnto the crowne.

aſſiſt him in atteining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (inſtituted in the beginning, and obſerued till now of late, that Kenneth by his priuate authoritie had gone about to abrogate the ſame) ought to deſcend vnto him, as all the world verie well vnderſtood.

*Conſtantine.*

Conſtantine procured friends.

COnſtantine procured friends ſo on ech ſide, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceaſſe, in the 25 yeere after that the ſame Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scotiſhmen, and in the yéere of our ſaluation a thouſand iuſt, in the which yéere (as is ſaid) ſundrie vnkeith ſights were ſéene as well in Albion, as in other places. The ſea left vpon the ſands on the coaſts of Buchquane, an infinite multitude of fiſhes, the which lieng there dead, cauſed ſuch a filthie ſauour, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people inſued. The moone appéered of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the ſummer next following, corne failed, and cattell died ſo generallie, that if there had not béene more plentie of fiſh got than was accuſtomed to be, the people had béene famiſhed in manie places. In Albion and alſo France it rained ſtones. But all theſe dreadfull wonders might not withdraw the Scotiſhmen from their wicked vices, wherevnto in thoſe daies they were wholie giuen, though there wanted not diuerſe vertuous men, as well biſhops as other, that in their ſermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughtie liuings: for otherwiſe vndoubtedlie ſuch griſlie ſights and tokens as chanced in thoſe daies, menaced ſome great miſchiefe to fall vnto the whole nation. And ſuerlie their words proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulneſſe, being ſtubborne harted one againſt another, brought their countrie into danger of vtter deſtruction.

994. Io. Ma.
1000. H. B.

Marueilous haps chanced.

The moone appéared bloudie.

Dearthe of corne and cattell.

It rained ſtones.

Preaching was deſpiſed.

Malcolme ſéeketh frends againſt Conſtantine.

Malcolme the ſonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Conſtantine (againſt the ordinance latelie made) had vſurped the crowne, as ſoone as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with ſuch funerall pompe as apperteined, he deſired his fathers friends to giue him ſuch faithfull counſell as they thought moſt expedient, which way he were beſt to worke for the appeaſing of the ſedition now begun, by reaſon of Conſtantines preſumptuous attempt. There were ſome amongeſt that companie that toke it to be beſt, firſt to vnderſtand the minds of all the péeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit againſt the tyrant; leaſt whileſt Malcolme ſhould ſéeke to deliuer himſelfe from danger, he might happilie wind himſelfe further into trouble, than without extreame perill of the common-wealth he ſhould be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it beſt ſuddenlie to go againſt Conſtantine before he made himſelfe ſtrong: for if they came vpon him yer he were prouided for their comming, manie of them that feigned themſelues to be his friends, would forſake him, ſo ſoone as they ſaw anie power of his enimies at hand. And then ſhould he either fall into their hands, or be driuen to flée the realme for ſafegard of his life.

God counſell was giuen him.

Yet other counſell was giuen him.

The fierce yong man following this counſell as the beſt to his ſeeming, & truſting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduiſe of men of ſkill, aſſembled togither in all haſt poſſible about the number of ten thouſand men, with whome making towards Conſtantine with ſpéedie iornies, at length he came into Louthian. Conſtantine being informed of all his aduerſaries doings, had gotten togither alſo an huge power, ſo that paſſing forth with the ſame to incounter them, the brute which ran of his great number and puiſſance, cauſed Malcolme for verie feare that he ſhould not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flée backe into Cumberland: by reaſon whereof he had béene put to ſuch hinderance and diſhonor, as would not eaſilie haue béene recouered, had not Kenneth the baſtard ſonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the paſſages of the Forth, that Conſtantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then roſe there great famine and penurie of vittels in both hoſts, ſo that Conſtantine with great indignation was conſtreined to breake vp his campe, and ſo to leaue his enterpriſe for that ſeaſon.

Malcolme thought himſelfe too weake

Lacke of vittels cauſed Conſtantine to breake vp his campe.

Thus was the realme diuided into two ſundrie factions, wherevpon followed waſtings and incurſions made into each others poſſeſſions, with ſuch crueltie, that the ſame might be a ſufficient inſtruction what miſchiefe happeneth through ciuill diſcord. The poore commons and huſbandmen were brought to ſuch miſerie through the often ſpoilings and robberies vſed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finallie, there roſe one miſchiefe ſo faſt in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was ſpared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exerciſed on all ſides without hope of anie redreſſe or amendment. Whileſt the Scotiſhmen were thus at diuiſion amongeſt themſelues, renting and pulling in péeces their owne miſerable natiue countrie, Edward king of England being oppreſſed with inuaſion of Danes, was glad to buie peace at their hands, for himſelfe and his people, with right large ſummes of monie; but perceiuing that his enimies ceaſſed not dailie to ſpoile and rob his ſubiects, he purpoſed to trie what he might do by making them warre: and to make his part the ſtronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him againſt the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme conſenting to K. Edwards requeſt, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to ſupport him: by reaſon whereof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certeine light ſkirmiſhes, without anie great bloudſhed, condeſcended to haue peace, which was concluded with theſe conditions: that king Edward ſhould paie vnto the Danes a thouſand pounds of gold, for the which they ſhould content themſelues with thoſe lands which they had alredie in poſſeſſion, and to inuade no further vpon the Engliſhmen; but contrariwiſe to be readie to fight in their defenſe, if anie forreine enimie ſought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whileſt Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward againſt the Danes, king Conſtantine thought the time to ſerue verie well for his purpoſe, to reduce all thoſe regions of Scotland, which toke part with his aduerſarie (the foreſaid Malcolme) vnder his ſubiection.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchaſed peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is readie to helpe king Edward againſt the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

He aſſembled therefore twentie thouſand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the baſtard aforeſaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to reſiſt Conſtantines attempts) had got togither an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crawmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, three miles from Edenburgh, purpoſing there to abide his enimies, if they minded to aſſaile him. Conſtantine hereupon haſted thitherwards, and comming within ſight of his enimies, ſtreightwaies ioined battell with them; immediatlie wherewith there roſe ſuch an outragious tempeſt of wind, comming out of the eaſt, & driuing the ſand in the faces of Conſtantines men, that they were not able to ſée about them to make anie defenſe a-

King Conſtantine renued warre with Malcolme.

Conſtantine ioined battell with Kenneth the baſtard.

Malcolme goeth with an armie to fight with Conſtantine.

K. Conſtantine went to méete Malcolme.

gainſt their enimies that then preaſſed vpon them right eagerlie. By means whereof the diſcomfiture lighted vpon Conſtantines ſide, though neither part had anie great cauſe to reioiſe: for in the hoteſt of the fight, Conſtantine and Kenneth chanced to incounter togither, and ſo fighting man to man, either ſlue other. Thus Conſtantine ended his life by dint of the enimies ſword, in the third yeare of his reigne, & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, & his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongſt his predeceſſors.

King Conſtantine is ſlaine.

1002

Then Grime nephue to king Duffe, hearing of the ſlaughter made betwixt king Conſtantine and Kenneth, gathered togither the reſidue of Conſtantines armie, being ſcattered abroad after the ouerthrow, ſuppoſing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was ſore weakened, & therevpon he came vnto the abbeie of Scone, and there cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king, as lawfull ſucceſſor vnto Conſtantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to eſtabliſh himſelfe the more firmelie in the ſtate, he ſhewed great gentleneſſe towards all them that were friends vnto Conſtantine, and beſtowed vpon them manie bountious gifts. Neither was his liberalitie ſhut vp from other that had fauored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highlie both in lands and treaſure: but other of the ſame faction, whome he ſaw by no means could be woone, he cauſed them to be proclamed traitors, and confiſcated their goods as rebels to his perſon, and enimies to the crowne.

*Grime.*

Grime vſed liberalitie and gentleneſſe towards Conſtantines friends.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland ſore moued in his mind that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends togither, requiring to haue their aduiſe, which way he were beſt to worke in this ſo great a matter. They counſelled him in no wiſe he ſhould deſpiſe the force of his enimies, but rather to aſſaie by all means to draw thoſe nobles vnto his purpoſe, which were aſſiſtant vnto Grime. Wherevpon Malcolme following the counſell of his friends, ſent forth ſecret meſſengers vnto thoſe lords that tooke part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promiſed faith, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obſeruance of the law eſtabliſhed by their conſent for the ſucceſſion of their kings: which if they would do in renouncing their obeiſance vnto the vſurper Grime, he promiſed ſo to gouerne the realme with equall iuſtice, that no eſtate in reaſon ſhould find cauſe to miſlike with his doings. Manie of the nobles by means of this meſſage reuolted from the ſaid Grime ſoliciting their friends by earneſt trauell to do the like. But other & the greater number tooke thoſe that brought the meſſage, & ſent them as priſoners vnto Grime, who preſentlie committed them to priſon.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland is moued againſt Grime.

A good counſell.

Malcolme ſendeth priuilie to the lords of Scotland.

Malcolme his promiſe vnto the Scots.

Malcolme his meſſengers are committed to priſon.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an armie.

Malcolme ſore offended therewith, by counſell of his friends, aſſembled an armie to go againſt them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he ſeemed to take the matter) had impriſoned his purſeuants and meſſengers: but as he was marching forward on his purpoſed iournie, he heard by the way, how his aduerſarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onelie of all ſuch of the Scotiſh nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them alſo of the weſterne Iles. Malcolme doubting leaſt if the certeintie hereof were once bruted amongeſt his people, the fame would increaſe the terror more than néeded; he gaue commandement therfore that no maner of wight ſhould be ſuffered to come into his armie, vnleſſe he were firſt brought to his preſence. But this deuiſe nothing auailed him: for thereby, that which he deſired to be concealed and kept moſt ſecret, became the more manifeſt, by reaſon that ſuch as had ſome inkeling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was in déed. For there roſe a murmuring amongeſt them, that there was ſuch treaſon contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioine with his aduerſaries, he ſhould not be in danger onelie of them, which he knew to come againſt him in Grimes hoſt; but alſo of no ſmall number of them which were in his owne armie, who vpon the ioining had determined to turne their ſpeare points againſt him in Grimes quarell.

Grime is of greater force than Malcolme.

Malcolme would not haue his people to vnderſtand the trueth thereof.

His aduiſe auailed not.

A bruit ſpred in Malcolmes armie of treaſon.

This rumor paſſing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was firſt raiſed by certeine merchantmen, of whome there was a great number in Malcolms hoſt, hauing more ſkill in buieng and ſelling, than in anie warlike feats or enterpriſes. Theſe at the firſt ſuing for licence to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miſeries, in ſuch dolefull wiſe, that all the campe was troubled with the noiſe; inſomuch that euen the old men of warre, and diuerſe of the capteins were not a little diſcomfited and amazed with ſuch wailefull clamors. Malcolme being aduertiſed hereof, thought not good to match in battell againſt his fierce enimies with his people thus aſtonied through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the moſt part of his hoſt to depart for that time, and aboad onelie with certeine bands of his moſt faithfull friends néere to the water of Forth, to ſtop his enimies from paſſing ouer that riuer.

Merchantmen authors of the rumor.

Malcolme licenceth the moſt part of his armie to depart hence.

Malcolme intendeth to ſtop his enimie from paſſing ouer the Forth.

Whileſt the realme of Scotland was thus diſquieted and troubled with ciuill diſcord, Fothadus the great biſhop of Scotland, a man of right approued vertue and clemencie, ſore lamenting to ſée his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in péeces, got him into his pontificall veſtures, with a multitude of other reuerend prieſts and eccleſiaſticall miniſters, in humble wiſe comming and preſenting themſelues before king Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderſtand the cauſe of their comming. Then Fothadus anſwered, that he was come as the ſeruant of Chriſt, the author of all peace and concord, beſéeching him by way of humble ſupplication to take ruth and pitie of the great trouble and miſerie fallen to the realme, ſince the time he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the ſtate of things being ſuch, as if ſome redreſſe were not found in all ſpéedie wiſe, the vtter ruine of the common-wealth muſt néeds inſue, by reaſon of the ſundrie debats and factions dailie riſing among the people of all ſorts and degrées, ſo that murthers, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & miſchiefe were ſtill put in practiſe without reſtreint or puniſhment, in ſuch licentious ſort that no man could aſſure himſelfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owner. Neither was there anie hope of reformation ſo long as the ciuill wars laſted. Therefore if it might ſtand with the pleaſure of king Grime in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condeſcend vnto ſome neceſſarie agréement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to vndertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in ſuch wiſe as ſhould in no maner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honor and roiall maieſtie.

Fothadus ſéeketh to take vp the matter.

The fruits of ciuill warre.

Fothadus vndertaketh to conclude a peace betwixt the parties.

Grime moued with the words of the biſhop (who moſt inſtantlie beſought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in reſpect of his owne ſuertie, which might not continue if his people were once deſtroied, to remit part of his high diſpleaſure) anſwered, that peace he could be contented to haue, ſo the ſame might be concluded with his honor ſaued: for ſuerlie wars he neuer deſired but onelie in defenſe of

Grimes anſwere to Fothadus.

of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne deſcended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, and therefore he purpoſed not to leaue the ſame with life, but to fight for it againſt Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were ſo, that Malcolme would content himſelfe with the principalitie of Cumberland, and ſo therevpon breake vp his campe, and depart forth of the lands perteining vnto the crowne, he would gladlie come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refuſed thus to doo, he aſſured him that he would not leaue off to purſue him to the vttermoſt of his power, as his moſt cruell and fierce enimie.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, beſought him to ſtaie a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderſtand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reaſonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted ſtate of the land. Grime granting vnto this requeſt, Fothadus in like ſort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his preſence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scotiſh common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill ſedition onlie, and herewith declared alſo by great likelihood of ſubſtantiall reaſons, how infortunat and miſerable the end ſhould be of the warres, if the ſame were purſued to the vttermoſt. His tale being throughlie heard and well digeſted, wrought ſo with Malcolme, that he promiſed to withdraw into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like caſe breake vp his campe, and agree to haue a truce for three moneths ſpace, in which meane time they might by certeine commiſſioners appointed and authoriſed thereto, talke and common for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwirt them.

Grime refuſed not this offer, and ſo therevpon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himſelfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the caſtell of Forfair, there to take further aduiſe what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wiſe reſt, till the commiſſioners were met and aſſembled together in communication at Scone, where within few daies after (chieflie through his earneſt diligence) peace was concluded with theſe conditions. Firſt, that Grime during his life time ſhould inioy the crowne, and after his deceaſſe the ſame to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall deſcent for euer, according to the ordinance & decree made & eſtabliſhed by K. Kenneth. And whoſoeuer ſhould go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the ſaid ordinance and decree, ſhould be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwirt Louthian & Northumberland, and betwirt Clide and Weſtmerland, euen from the Almaine ſeas to the Iriſh ſeas, ſhould preſentlie remaine & be tranſported vnto the dominion & gouernement of Malcolme, with the which contenting himſelfe, during the naturall life of Grime, he ſhould continue in friendſhip with the ſaid Grime, & ſo in no wiſe ſtirre or moue anie warre or debate, either againſt him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he ſhould not onelie loſe thoſe lands which he now held, but alſo be depriued of all the right, title, claime, and intereſt which either he or his poſteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themſelues by ſolemne othes to performe euerie point and points in theſe articles compriſed, they laid armor aſide, and began to take order for reforming of all miſdemeanours, which had happened within the land, by reaſon of the ciuill contention moued betwirt them and their partakers. Howbeit, commandement was giuen by either of theſe princes, that their ſubiects ſhould be ſtill in a readineſſe with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themſelues againſt all ſudden inuaſions of their neighbours, whereby it might be gathered, that the one had the other ſtill in ſome miſtruſt, what countenance ſoeuer they ſhewed outwardlie. Yet notwithſtanding, for the ſpace of 8 yeares togither, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwirt them.

But Grime at length of a chaſt & liberall prince, through long ſlouth and increaſe of riches, became a moſt couetous tyrant, and ſo corrupted in maners and conditions, that it paſſed the bounds of all reaſon and equitie: inſomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerſe of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by atteindor, he oppreſſed the people by continuall exactions alſo each day more than other. His ſubiects being thus brought into extreame miſerie through his wicked and vniuſt gouernement, not knowing where to ſeeke for redreſſe, ſaue onelie at the hands of almightie God, the puniſher of all ſinne, beſought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miſeries, and to change the gouernment of the realme into ſome better ſtate. The lords alſo hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings miſgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambaſſadors from them, to require him to put awaie from him ſuch naughtie perſons as by euill counſell had peruerted his mind, & moued him to doo things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

One of theſe ambaſſadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings preſence, declared to him that they were ſent from the reſidue of the nobles and peeres of his realme, to admoniſh him of things perteining to the ſuertie of his eſtate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through perſuaſion of euill councellors he ſuffered manie enormities to be committed by his miniſters and officers againſt his ſubiects, to their vtter impoueriſhment and vndoing, the rebuke whereof did redound vnto his diſhonour; if it would pleaſe him to remoue out of his preſence and ſeruice all ſuch diſloiall perſons as ſought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he ſhould win therby the loue of all his liege ſubiects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the ſame brought into ſuch calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliue, if reformation were not the ſooner had againſt ſuch extortions as his ſeruants and officers did dailie practiſe, and for the which no doubt he muſt needs anſwer, ſith the ſword was committed vnto him, not to inrich couetous perſons, nor to oppreſſe innocent and true dealing people, but contrarilie to puniſh and correct guiltie and vniuſt dealers.

When king Grime had heard what meſſage theſe ambaſſadors had brought, he anſwered to the ſame with fained words, and willed them vnder the pretert of courteſie to a banket, in purpoſe to haue put them all in priſon: but they being aduertiſed thereof got them in all haſt to their horſſes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the reſidue of the nobles at the ſame time were aſſembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholeſome aduertiſement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forward with ſuch felicitie and hap as he wiſhed, not ceaſſing from raiſing new paiments and exactions ſtill of



Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agrément.

The conditions of the peace betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

The warres being ceaſſed, the princes

Malcolms offer.

Grime is contented with Malcolms motion.

Fothadus goeth vnto Malcolme.

The lords require Grime to reforme the miſdemeanor of his officers.

The office of the ſword.

King Grime purpoſed to haue ſlaine the meſſengers.

The common peoples praier

applie their ſtudies to reforme miſdemeanors.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities vnto deteſtable vices.

his subiects, till at length he was aduertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which newes being sore kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had so rebelled against him. Then followed more mischefe and trouble than euer had béene séene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this ciuill dissention, castels were raced and ouerthrowne, townes burned vp, corne destroied, fields wasted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

The lords of Scotland arrere warre against Grime their king.

what mischiefe insued.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the vtter euersion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all spéed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subiects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Howbeit, he was no soner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vnto him, beseeching him to take pitie vpon his miserable and torne countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remoue away from the people such imminent destruction as dailie hasted towards them, which to do they thought it was partlie euen his dutie, sith God had bestowed vpon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most plentiouslie appeared in him, not onelie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouernement of Grime and his vnhappie councellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme is required to receiue the Scotish estate.

Malcolme consenteth to make warres against Grime.

Malcolme moued with these and the like persuasions of the Scotish lords, which dailie resorted vnto him, resolued with promise of their support to leuie warre against Grime in this so necessarie a quarell, and so assembling a great puissance togither, he did set forth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still vnto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterprise, offering by solemne othes to become his liegemen and subiects. Grime likewise being aduertised of those newes, with all spéed got togther such people as hee might assemble for the time, and comming forward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Grime supposing that he might take his enimies at some aduantage, if he came vpon them on the sudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would looke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose forthwith to assaile them.

Grime assembleth an armie to incounter Malcolme.

The camps néere the one to the other.

Grimes policie.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being aduertised thereof, sent vnto Grime, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Grime would in no wise assent thereto, but néedes would come on without stop or staie; wherevpon both the armies rushing togither met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Grimes side was put to the worsse, and in the end clearelie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Grime was taken aliue standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eies put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certeine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yéere of his reigne, and was buried in Colme-

Macolmes request.

The battell betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

Grimes part discomfited.

The end of king Grime.

kill, after the incarnation 1010 yeeres.

1004. Io.M.
1010. H.B.

After this victorie thus obteined by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, vsing manie gentle words toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne apperteined vnto him, and that the warres which hée had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scotish estate, but rather in releefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Grime and his councellors. When he had thus vttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike assemblie to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scotish nobilitie comming togither at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterlie refused to receiue the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approued, wherevpon the lords bound themselues by solemne othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioising of all the people present.

Malcolmes words to the that were taken prisoners.

A parlement at Scone.

Malcolme refuseth the crowne but vpon condition.

The ordinãce of king Kenneth for the succession of the crowne is confirmed.

*Malcolme*

When the solemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and peeres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had béene assistant vnto his aduersarie Grime: and there vsed the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to auoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rootes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the ciuill discord had sprong vp among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discréet persons, skilfull in the laws and ordinances of the realme. Other offices perteining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministred on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and vprightnesse, as had not bene heard of in anie age before him. Whilest the Scotish estate was gouerned in such happie wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauie, in purpose to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Englishmen.

Malcolme agréeth the nobles of his realme.

Malcolmes wisdome in ordeining officers.

Sueno king of Denmarke landed in England.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, shewed by sundrie ouerthrowes receiued at the enimies hands, as in being thrise taken prisoner, and in the end driuen and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for releefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish beléefe, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortlie after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norweglans, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arriued (as is said) in England, and chased king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined effsones to trie the chance of battell with his enimies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Diwse, néere to the banks whereof, not farre from Yorke, he pitched downe

Sueno conuerted to the christian faith in Scotland.

Egeldred (or as the Scots write Eldred) chased into Northumberland, getteth aid from the Scots.

downe his tents.

Sueno meſſage to the Scots.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefits and pleaſures receiued but latelie at the Scotiſhmens hands, ſent an herald at armes vnto them, commanding them to depart their wates home, and to refuſe Egeldreds companie; either elſe to looke for moſt cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Norweglans, and others the people of Germanie, there readie bent to their deſtruction. Egeldred being aduertiſed that his aduerſaries meſſenger was thus come into his campe, cauſed him to be ſtaied and arreſted for a ſpie. And the ſame day he brought forth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of ſword, if Sueno were ſo minded; who berie deſirous to accept the offer, brought forth alſo his people in perfect order and well arraied to fight, ſo that there was no ſtaie on either part, but that togither they flue moſt fiercelie, & in ſuch eger wiſe, that neither ſide had leaſure to beſtow their ſhot, but euen at the firſt they buckled togither at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell ſlaughter, till at length the Engliſhmen were put to flight, leauing the Danes a verie déere and bloudie victorie. The murther alſo that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Engliſhmen. Egeldred himſelfe with a few other, got a bote and paſſed ouer Duſe, ſo eſcaping out of the enimies hands, but the reſt were for the moſt part either taken or ſlaine.

The battell betwixt Egeldred & Sueno

The Engliſh men put to flight by the Danes.

Egeldred eſcapeth by flight.

Thus Egeldred being vtterlie vanquiſhed and deſpairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie receiued of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchaſed ſuch fauour there amongſt the Normans, that he maried the ladie Emme, daughter vnto the ſaid duke, and begot of hir two ſonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the Engliſh chronicles more at large it doth appéere. Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enimies, and now put in poſſeſſion of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue deſtroied all the Engliſh generation, ſo to eſtabliſh the kingdome to him and his poſteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by ſuch as ſhould ſuccéed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of England aduertiſed of Suenos determination, came humblie before his preſence, & falling downe on their knées at his féet, beſought him in moſt pitifull wiſe to haue compaſſion on their miſerable eſtate, who in times paſt being a moſt puiſſant nation, both by ſea and land, were now ſatiſfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder what bondage and ſeruitude it ſhould ſtand with his pleaſure to preſcribe, for they deſired neither poſſeſſion of caſtels, townes, or other ſouereignties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder ſubiection within their owne natiue countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Suenos cruell imagination.

The nobles of England their humble petition vnto Sueno.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his diſpleaſure by this humble ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh nobilitie; in ſuch ſort, that he vſed the victorie farre more gentlie, than at the firſt he had purpoſed, commanding that the whole Engliſh nation ſhould remaine in the countrie, but in ſuch wiſe, as by no meanes they ſhould preſume to beare anie armor or weapon, but to applie themſelues vnto huſbandrie, and other ſeruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they ſhould reſigne and deliuer all their caſtels, forts, and ſtrong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their ſouereigne lord and king; they ſhould bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vſe) all their weapons and armor, with other munition for the warres, alſo all their gold and ſiluer, aſwell in plate as coine. If anie of the Engliſhmen refuſed thus to do, proclamation was made that he ſhould immediatlie loſe his life as a rebell and a diſobedient perſon. Theſe conditions were hard, and hardlie vrged. The Engliſhmen were brought vnto ſuch an extremitie, that they were faine to accept theſe conditions of peace, for other meane to auoid preſent death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the ſame 564 yéeres.

Under what conditions Sueno licenced the Engliſhmen to liue in their owne countrie.

529. H.B.

The miſerie of the Engliſhmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

Such tyrannie alſo after this was vſed by the Danes, that none of the Engliſh nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either ſpirituall or tempozall, but were vtterlie remoued from the ſame, and ſome of them caſt in priſon and dailie put in hazard of their liues. Finallie, the Engliſhmen were brought into ſuch miſerable thraldome, that euerie houſholder within the realme was conſtreined to receiue and find at his owne proper coſts and charges, one Dane, who ſhould continuallie giue good watch what was ſaid or done in the houſe, and to aduertiſe the king thereof, for doubt of conſpiracies or treaſons to be contriued and practiſed againſt his perſon and roiall eſtate. This Dane by the good man of the houſe and his familie, for honor ſake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of repzoch, as where anie idle perſon liued loitering, without the vſe of ſome honeſt exerciſe to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accuſtomed to call him a lordaine.

The name of lordain how it came vp.

¶ Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue ſhewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agrée not in all points with our Engliſh hiſtories, yet ſith the hiſtorie of Scotland in this place ſéemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to ſet it downe as we find it in the ſame Boetius: but aduertiſing the reader withall, that if our hiſtories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos inuading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scotiſh writers name Eldred, was driuen to flée into Normandie. For when that Sueno laſtlie returned into England, and conſtreined Egeldred ſo to forſake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yéere 1014 (as in the Engliſh hiſtories ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make anie ſuch iournie into Scotland: ſo that it may be thought, if he did enterpriſe anie ſuch exploit there, it was before this his laſt arriuall in England.

Sueno landed héere this laſt time of his comming forth of Denmarke into England in Julie, in the yéere 1013, & departed this life in the beginning of Februarie, in the yéere 1014

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foreſaid Boetius. Sueno hauing ſpoiled the Engliſhmen of their liberties (in manner before remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the firſt time of his arriuall here he did in deed, he thought it neceſſarie, for the more ſuertie of his eſtate in England, to conclude ſome peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they ſhould not ſupport anie Engliſhman againſt him. But forſomuch as he could not compaſſe his intention héerein, he furniſhed all the caſtels and fortreſſes on the ſea-coaſts, ouer againſt Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to reſiſt all ſudden inuaſions that might be attempted on that ſide. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the prouiſion he could deuiſe to make mortall wars vpon the Scots: and the more to annoie his enimies, he ſent commandement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norwaie, and to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leauie into Scotland, to make warres on his enimies there.

Sueno prepareth to inuade the Scots.

Olauus, and Onetus.

Whereupon ſhortlie after thoſe foreſaid capteins arriued with an huge armie in the mouth of Speie, and landed in ſuch puiſſant order, that the inhabitants of Murrey land fled out of their houſes, with their

The Danes land in Scotland.

their wiues, children, and goods (ſuch as they could conueie awaie with them) into places where they thought to remaine moſt out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and ſpoile all before them, aſwell churches and chappels, as other buildings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flée in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were ſlaine without all mercie. Alſo all the ſtrengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, three caſtels onelie excepted: that is to ſay, Elgin, Foꝛes, and Narne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and foꝛ that they truſted (when the ſame was wonne) the other two would yéeld without anie further defenſe, they firſt laid ſiege vnto this caſtell of Narne, inforſing themſelues with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scotiſh king was come within fiue miles of them with all the foꝛces of his realme to giue them battell.

The crueltie of the Danes.

The caſtell of Narne beſieged.

Incontinentlie herevpon they raiſed their ſiege, and haſted foꝛth to méet him, with no leſſe courage than if victoꝛie were alreadie preſent in their hands. Shoꝛtlie after, there came vnto them heralds alſo from Malcolme, to vnderſtand whie they had thus inuaded his realme with open and moſt cruell warre, hauing no occaſion giuen by him oꝛ his ſubiects ſo to doo: who ſcarſelie had donne their meſſage, but that they were ſlaine foꝛthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being ſoꝛe moued to vnderſtand the law obſerued by all nations foꝛ the ſafetie of meſſengers to be thus violated by the enimies, kept on his iournie with the moꝛe fierce courage, till he came to a meadow a little beſide Killos, where he incamped foꝛ that night. Great noiſe and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euerie man being deſirous of battell, to reuenge the iniuries donne by the Danes againſt their friends and countriemen: notwithſtanding on the moꝛrow, when they ſaw their enimies in farre greater number, and in better oꝛder than euer had béene ſéene by anie of them beforе that time, their hart began to waxe faint, hauing greater care which waie to ſaue their owne liues, than to giue the onſet vpon their enimies.

Malcolme ſendeth ambaſſadoꝛs to the Danes.

The Danes ſlea the ambaſſadoꝛs.

The Scots through feare are aſtonied.

Malcolme perceiuing ſuch dꝛead to be entred into the harts of his people, that they were now moꝛe like to run awaie than to fight, if he ſhould bꝛing them foꝛth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but deteſt their great cowardiſe, that were thus aſtonied at the firſt ſight of their enimies, without further triall of their foꝛces. ¶ At home (ſaid he) ye are moſt hardie and valiant, where no danger appéareth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted (now that ye are come where valiancie ſhould be ſhewed) in degenerating ſo far from your woꝛthie fathers and noble pꝛogenitoꝛs, the which at Loncart vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obteined ſo famous a victoꝛie of the ſelfe ſame nation, whoſe furious puiſſance ye ſéeme now ſo much to feare? There hath béene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and alſo of England, to the great honoꝛ and renowme of our elders. What diſcomfitures the Danes haue receiued are yet freſh in memoꝛie, ſo manie of them loſing their liues amongſt vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the ſepulture of Danes; as ſome of you can well recoꝛd by your owne remembꝛance, and other haue heard by repoꝛt of their foꝛefathers and anceſtoꝛs. Ye ought then (ſaid he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at néed, conſidering ye haue to doo with thoſe enimies, who are but the remnant of the other, which beforе haue béene vanquiſhed and ouerthꝛowne by Scotiſhmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerſe other

Loncart.

Albion the ſepulture of Danes.

places; yea and beſides that, ſuch as moouing warres now at this pꝛeſent without iuſt occaſion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deſeruing thereby iuſt vengeance at Gods hands, the puniſher of all ſuch vniuſt offendoꝛs. There is great hope therefoꝛe of victoꝛie (ſaid he) left vnto all ſuch as fight againſt theſe enimies, if we take manlie harts vnto vs, and ſhew oꝛr ſelues in valiant conſtancie like to our elders, whereby it ſhall then appéere what outragious follie remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occaſion of iniuries pꝛeceding. Therefoꝛe if ye haue not moꝛe regard to the ſafetie of your fraile bodies, which muſt néedes at length periſh, than to the defenſe and pꝛeſeruation of your common countrie; why paſſe ye not foꝛward, ſith there is now no place noꝛ time to take longer aduiſe in the matter, as ye may well vnderſtand by the pꝛeſence of the enimie readie to ioine?

The nobles moued with theſe woꝛds of their pꝛince, began boldlie to erhoꝛt their people to battell. Incontinentlie wherevpon roſe ſuch noiſe and raging furie thꝛough the armie, that without meaſuring either their owne foꝛces oꝛ their enimies, they ruſh foꝛth vpon them without anie oꝛder oꝛ good araie. Olaus & Onetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiouſlie againſt them, boldlie incountred them with arraied battels. Wherevpon inſued a verie terrible fight, with great manhood ſhewd on both ſides, nothing being let paſſe that might apperteine to woꝛthie capteins: the Scots inforcing themſelues to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one ſide, and the Danes doing their beſt indeuour by valiant hardineſſe to ſaue their liues and honoꝛs on the other. At length, after huge murther & ſlaughter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was ſoꝛe wounded, & had his helmet ſo faſt beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in maner foꝛ dead, and kept ſecret in a wood, till he was ſomewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victoꝛie, and gathered the ſpoile of the field, returned to beſiege eſtſoones the caſtell of Narne, with moꝛe foꝛce and violence than beforе.

The Scots without oꝛder ruſh foꝛth to battell.

The caſtell of Narne renduꝛed by compoſition.

The Danes breakers of faith and pꝛomiſe.

Elgin and Foꝛes left void.

This caſtell in thoſe daies was incloſed on each ſide with the ſea, hauing one narrow paſſage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bꝛidge. Thoſe that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthꝛow and loſſe of the field, rendered the foꝛtreſſe, on condition, that leauing all their aꝛmoꝛ, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods ſaued. Neuertheleſſe the Danes, contrarie to their faith giuen, being once entred the caſtell, hanged all thoſe which they found within it ouer the wals, in moſt deſpitefull manner. Thus was Narne wonne by the Danes, the ſtrongeſt hold within Murrey land, and ſo garniſhed with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impꝛegnable. Then thoſe ſouldiers which kept Elgin and Foꝛes, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus vſed, fled out of thoſe caſtels, and left them void without anie perſon to defend them. The Danes reioiſing at this good foꝛtune, truſted to eſtabliſh themſelues ſure ſeates in Murrey land, and thereupon ſent backe their ſhips into Noꝛwaie and Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wiues and children. In the meane time they conſtreined ſuch Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the coꝛne growing abꝛoad in the fields, vnto their vſe and commoditie.

K. Malcolme being aduertiſed of all theſe things, doubting leaſt by the arriuall of new aid, his enimies might waxe moꝛe puiſſant, in the beginning of the next ſummer he aſſembled a great multitude of warꝛioꝛs,

ors, and came in good order and moſt warlike arraie vnto Murthlake, a towne of Mar, where the firſt erection of the biſhops ſée of Abirden was founded. Héere the one armie comming in ſight of the other, they were ſuddenlie both amazed. For the Scots hauing had too much experience of the crueltie ſhewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no ſmall feare now at the plaine & open ſight of them. The Danes being farre off from the ſea ſide, and vpon an vnknowne ground, were more afraid of ſome guilefull practiſe, than of the open violence and force of their enimies. Yet neuertheleſſe in the end, by the incouragement of the capteins on both ſides, they buckled togither with great fiercenеſſe and moſt cruell malicious hatred on ech hand.

Murthlake.

The Scots and Danes are afraid of mother.

In the firſt brunt thrée valiant capteins, that is to ſay, Kenneth of Ila, Grime of Stratherne, and Patrike of Dunbar, ruſhing ouer fiercelie on their enimies, were ſlaine, and gaue occaſion to manie of the Scotiſhmen to flée, but the place was ſuch, that they could not well make their courſe anie waie forth, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe thereof, fenſed on either ſide with dæpe trenches full of water and mud: alſo in trauerſe were laid ſundrie trées, as it had béene of purpoſe to impeach the paſſage, deuiſed in that ſort (as was thought) in time of ſome ciuill warres. Yet though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his beſt to ſtaie them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preaſſe, till he came to the middeſt of this place, where ſtood a chappell dedicated in the honor of ſaint Moloke, the which Malcolme beholding, caſt vp his hands towards heauen, making his praier on this wiſe. ¶ Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and puniſher of ſinne, we thy people ſeeking to defend our natiue countrie granted to vs of thy benevolence, as now deſtitute of all mortall helpe, and thus oppreſſed with the iniurious inuaſion of Danes, do flée vnto thée in this our extreme neceſſitie, beſéeching thée to haue compaſſion vpon our miſerable eſtate: remoue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull terror from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the ſweet refuge of mortall people in their diſtreſſe and miſeries: and thou ſaint Moloke to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this preſent, and in the honor of you I héere make a vow to build a cathedrall church for a biſhops ſée, to remaine as a monument, to teſtifie vnto our poſteritie, that by your ſupport our realme hath béene defended.

The Scots forced to retire.

Malcolmes praier.

" Toyon, that is to God, and our ladie, and ſaint Moloke, for ſo he ioined them togither according to the manner of that time.

Scarſelie had Malcolme made an end of this praier, when diuers of the nobls with a lowd voice, as though they had béene aſſured that his praier was heard, cried to their companies; Stand good fellows, for ſuerlie it is the pleaſure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell againſt our enimies. Héerevpon roſe a wonderfull noiſe amongſt the ſouldiers, eth one incouraging other to withſtand the enimies, and to fight in moſt manfull wiſe in defenſe of their countrie and ancient liberties, & forthwith as it had béene by miracle they returned vpon their enimies, making great ſlaughter on ech ſide, without regard to their liues or bloudie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare receiued. Hérewith Malcolme with an ambuſhment of ſtout warriors came vpon Dnetus, who was prauncing vp and downe the field without anie helmet on his head, as though the Scots had béene alreadie without recouerie clearelie diſcomfited, and ſo there was he beaten downe beſide his horſſe, and amongſt the footmen ſlaine out of hand. The reſidue of the Danes beholding the ſlaughter of their capteine, ſtaied from further purſute on the Scots. Hereof inſued great boldneſſe to the Scots, and diſcouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued ſtill a long ſpace, the ſouldiers doing their beſt on either ſide, till

The Scots oftentimes renew battell.

Dnetus is ſlaine.

at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being ſlaine, and but few taken. Olauus beholding the diſcomfiture of his people, & how his companion in authoritie was ſlaine, fled into Murrey land with a ſmall companie about him.

The Danes put to flight.

Olauus fléeth into Murrey land.

The next day, Malcolme conſidering what a number of his moſt valiant capteins he had loſt in this battell, diuided the ſpoile of the field amongeſt his men, and ceaſſing from further purſute of the Danes at that time, went into Angus, where he remained the reſidue of the yéere within the caſtell of Forfair, taking counſell with his nobles touching the publike affaires of the realme, and how to recouer his countrie of Murrey land out of the enimies hands. King Sueno hearing in the meane time how infortunatelie his people had ſped thus in Scotland at the battell of Murthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie nauies, the one to be rigged in England, and to come forth of the riuer of Thames; and the other to be ſent from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be gouernor of all the men of warre that ſhould come from both thoſe parties.

Sueno prepareth a new armie to inuade Scotland.

Camus appointed capteine generall of the Danes.

The yeare next inſuing, both theſe fléets according to commandement and order giuen, arriued and met togither within the mouth of the Forth, néere to ſaint Ebbes head. Yere Camus going about to land his men, was kept off by the ſtout reſiſtance of the Scots, there aſſembled for the ſame intent. Camus then plucking vp the ſailes, directed his courſe vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor for the ſpace of one moneth, and abiding for ſome proſperous wind, at length when the ſame came once about, he paſſed from thence vnto the Redbraies, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to reſiſt him. Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of Montros, which a few yeares before had béene deſtroied by the Danes, he reioiſed not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the ſelfe ſame place, where the Danes had earſt vanquiſhed their enimies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterpriſe and preſent expedition.

Saint Ebbes head.

The Scots kéepe off the Danes from landing.

Camus with his armie landeth at the Redbraies.

After this, he toke his iournie through Angus, ſparing no maner of crueltie that might be deuiſed: cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all maner of other buildings publike and priuat were conſumed with fire. At his comming to Brechine, for that the caſtell there in thoſe daies was of ſuch ſtrength, that it might not be haſtilie woone, he cauſed the towne and church being right faire and ſumptuouſlie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom it was dedicated) to be ſpoiled, & ſo raced to the earth, that one ſtone was not left ſtanding vpon an other. With theſe and the ſemblable crueltie, Camus raging both againſt God and man, was finallie aduertiſed that king Malcolme was come to Dundée with all the power of Scotland. Then ſuddenlie he toke the next way towards the ſea ſide, comming the next day following vnto a village called Balbrid, where he pitched downe his tents. The ſame day, king Malcolme making all haſt poſſible to ſuccour his ſubiects, and preſerue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two little miles from the place, where his enimies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpoſe to giue them open battell.

Camus marcheth through Angus.

The crueltie of the Danes.

The towne and church of Brechine deſtroied.

King Malcolme haſteth forward to fight with the Danes.

But before he arraied his battels, he called his nobles and capteins togither, deſiring them to conſider how they ſhould match in fight againſt people blinded with vile auarice, liuing on the ſpoile and pil-

Malcolmes oration.

lage

lage got by theeuerie, and not by anie iust warres: enimies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniustlie to inuade, without hauing occasion so to do, saue onelie vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no maner of property. He willed them therfore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their native countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhod and valiancie of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it behoued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vncouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Camus exhorteth his Danes.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth stronglie ranged in good order to incounter the Danes, which likewise approched towards him in good arrate of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthie attempts. The armies herevpon on both sides, fiercelie rushing togither, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certeine houres with such bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochtè ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of bloud spilled in the same. Manie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would run themselues forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, inforcing their vttermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground togither fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their harts, that thus were they wholie set on reuenge. At length yet the honor of the field remained with Malcolme.

The nature of valiant hearts and noble stomachs.

A bloudie battell.

Malcolme winneth the field.

Camus perceiuing the discomfiture to light on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slaine by them yer he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camestone, where is an obelisk set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall slear of Camus was one Keith, a yong gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Louthian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honor amongest Scotishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshalship of Scotland, to the high renowme and fame thereof, amongest the chiefest péers of the realme.

Camus is slaine.

An obelisk.

The house of Keithes aduanced to honor.

Danes slaine at Abirlemnon.

An other companie of the Danes flieng from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirlemnon, not past foure miles from Brechin, where is set vp a great stone or obelisk, grauen with certeine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certeine Scotishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellowes what mishap had fortuned. King Malcolme after he obteined this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongest his souldiers, according to the laws of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had béene fought, and the bodies of the Scotishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian buriall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are séene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blowen from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled vp sailes to haue passed into Murrey land vnto Olauus, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies togither, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchquhan, and through want of conuenable harbrough were in present danger to haue béene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the Firth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their vittels began to faile them, they set fiue hundered of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some bootie or preie of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got togither a great number of beasts, with the which drawing towards their ships, they were incountred by the way by Marnachus the thane of Buchquhane accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scotishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them somewhat to staie; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Marnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despight of their enimies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

The diuiding of the spoile.

Bones of Danes.

Marnachus thane of Buchquhane.

This conflict was fought néere vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhane, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be séene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship bord, vnderstanding what had happened to their fellowes (because they returned not againe to the ships) so soone as the wind came about for their purpose, hoised vp sailes, and toke their course forthright towards Murrey land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scotishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie ouercome with anie aduerse fortune, made preparation in all spéedie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke; to come from thence with a new fléete and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhane, and destroied

Danes slaine néere vnto Gemmer.

Sueno prepareth the third time to inuade Scotland.

Canute brother vnto Sueno, ap-

pointed generall to come against the Scots.

destroied a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countriemen the Danes, which had béene there made latelie before.

Malcolme sore kindled in wrath by these iniuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatlie decaied, yet did he assemble an armie with all spéed he could deuise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them with often skirmishes and light incounters, but in no wise to ieopard with them in anie pitcht field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the ouerthrow, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the enimies. For the space therefore of fifteene daies togither, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge murder of their countriemen and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the townes and villages, burning and blasing on each side before their faces, they come to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their enimies, protesting plainelie, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

King Malcolmes determination.

The Scotishmens request vnto their king for licence to fight.

Malcolme perceiuing the earnest minds of his people to incounter their enimies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beséeching them to remember their honors and dueties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they inforced themselues to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well néere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots, who were so féeble and faint with long fight & slaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell, they lodged hære and there in seuerall places, at aduenture as well as they might.

The onset is giuen.

The Scots won the name of victorie, rather than victorie it selfe.

On the morow after, when it was vnderstood on both parties, what losse they had susteined, their minds were conuerted rather to peace than to renew battell, bicause they were not of power longer to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as toke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was concluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Murrey land, Buchquhan, and all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres should clearelie ceasse betwixt the Danes and Scotishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others enimies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed forth for the maintenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then vsed by both the people: for the Danes latelie before that season had also receiued the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemne othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes resigning vp the possession of such holds and places as they held in Murrey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scotish dominions, got him to his fléet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke.

Peace concluded for want of power to mainteine battell.

The articles of the peace betwixt the Danes and Scotishmen.

The holds in Scotland deliuered vp by the Danes into the Scotishmens hands.

Canute returneth into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie vnto ioifull peace, thought nothing so good as to performe the articles of the agréement accorded betwixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the same in honor of saint Olaus patrone of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called euen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be ouercast with sands, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Scotish chronicle) beheld in the yeere 1521, which séemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of common stature (as he auoucheth) whereby it should appeare, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies.

A church builded.

Crowdan, what it signifieth.

Bones of Danes.

Publike praiers.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, caused publike praiers generallie to be made throughout the realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He toke order also, that churches should be repared, which by the enimies in time of the warres had béene destroied. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholsome ordinances of the realme to be vsed and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yéeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assemblie of all the estates of his realme to be called at Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting forth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme won much praise amongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his name.

The repairing of churches.

The restoring of lawes and iustice.

A parlement at Bertha.

After this, supposing it most honorable to aduance the bloud of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parlement at Scone, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by dividing it into baronies, he bestowed it amongest the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common entries onelie excepted, with the mounteine wherin the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chappels. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue sufficient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, granted vnto him and his successors for euer the custodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leauing them vnder the age of 21 yéeres: and in the meane time till the same heires came to the said age, they agréed that the king and his successors should inioy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yeeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, yéelding vnto him or his successors one yéeres rent in name of a relefe; and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers decease, then also should they marrie at the kings appointment, or else compound with him for the same.

A parlement at Scone.

Diuision of the realme into baronies.

The wardship of heires granted to the king.

Mariage of wards.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberall bountiousnesse towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had declared

declared such b' euolent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is expressed. Neither did Malcolme forget the vow which he made at Murthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same vow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and indowed it with the lands & possessions of these three places, Murthlake, Cleometh, and Dummeth, with all ecclesiasticall iurisdictions and tithes apperteining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Murthlake, till the daies of king Dauid the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

The see of Murthlake, otherwise Aberden.

Malcolme thus hauing purchased rest from further troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to bee set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, conteining the lawes and ordinances whereby the realme should be gouerned: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be giuen vnto the chancellor, secretarie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, treasuror, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie doings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthie fame: neuertheles his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, couetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had beene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he surmized feigned matter by vntrue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefest nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inioy their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offenses.

The booke called *Regia maiestas*.

Malcolme waxeth auaritious.

Couetousnes and age arriuing togither.

Malcolmes crueltie to purchase riches.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such crueltie vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie meetings secretlie appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inkling whereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Glammis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murtherers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Forfair, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ise brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawne forth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse townes of the realme, and there hong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yeere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1034 yeeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

The conspiracie of the Scotish nobilitie against Malcolme.

Malcolme slaine at Glammis.

The murtherers drowned.

31. H.B.
1040. H.B.

In this season was seene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth made therewith in the midst of Striueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adioining to the riuer of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had beene seene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of saint Iohn Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

Strange sights.

*Duncane.*

After Malcolme succeeded his nephue Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Iles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that mariage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doada, was maried vnto Sinell the thane of Glammis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not beene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue beene thought most worthie the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to haue beene so tempered and interchangeablie bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a worthie king, and Makbeth an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offendors, manie misruled persons take occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Duncan king of Scotland.

Makbeth.

Duncan of too soft a nature.

Banquho the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioied the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offendors, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much a do to get awaie with life, after he had receiued sundrie grieuous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after hee was somewhat recouered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offendors were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischieuous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

Banquho thane of Lochquhaber.

The house of the Stewards.

A mutinie amongst the people of Lochquhaber.

A sergeant at armes slaine by the rebels.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanor against the kings regall authoritie, they should be inuaded with all the power the king could make, Makdowald one of great estimation among them, making first a confederacie with his nearest friends and kinsmen, take vpon him to be chiefe capteine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grieuous offenses latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing tants this Makdowald vttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle monks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He vsed

Makdowald offereth himselfe to be capteine of the rebels.

vſed alſo ſuch ſubtill perſuaſions and forged allurements, that in a ſmall time he had gotten togither a mightie power of men: for out of the weſterne Iles there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themſelues to aſſiſt him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the ſpoile came no ſmall number of Kernes and Galloglaſſes, offering gladlie to ſerue vnder him, whither it ſhould pleaſe him to lead them.

Makdowald diſcomfiteth the kings power.

Makdowald thus hauing a mightie puiſſance about him, incountered with ſuch of the kings people as were ſent againſt him into Lochquhaber, and diſcomfiting them, by mere force toke their capteine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell ſmote off his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king, did put him in wonderfull feare, by reaſon of his ſmall ſkill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a councell, he aſked of them their beſt aduiſe for the ſubduing of Makdowald & other the rebels. Here, in ſundrie heads (as euer it happeneth) were ſundrie opinions, which they vttered according to euerie man his ſkill. At length Makbeth ſpeaking much againſt the kings ſoftnes, and ouermuch ſlacknelle in puniſhing offendors, whereby they had ſuch time to aſſemble togither, he promiſed notwithſtanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and vnto Banquho, ſo to order the matter, that the rebels ſhould be ſhortly vanquiſhed & quite put downe, and that not ſo much as one of them ſhould be found to make reſiſtance within the countrie.

The ſmal ſkill of the king in warlike affaires.

Makbeths offer.

And euen ſo it came to paſſe: for being ſent forth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his comming put the enimies in ſuch feare, that a great number of them ſtale ſecretlie awaie from their capteine Makdowald, who neuertheleſſe inforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Makbeth, with the reſidue which remained with him: but being ouercome, and fleeing for refuge into a caſtell (within the which his wife & children were incloſed) at length when he ſaw how he could neither defend the hold anie longer againſt his enimies, nor yet vpon ſurrender be ſuffered to depart with life ſaued, hée firſt ſlue his wife and children, and laſtlie himſelfe, leaſt if he had yeelded ſimplie, he ſhould haue béene executed in moſt cruell wiſe for an example to other. Makbeth entring into the caſtell by the gates, as then ſet open, found the carcaſſe of Makdowald lieng dead there amongſt the reſidue of the ſlaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull ſight, he cauſed the head to be cut off, and ſet vpon a poles end, and ſo ſent it as a preſent to the king, who as then laie at Bertha. The headleſſe trunke he commanded to bée hong vp vpon an high paire of gallowes.

The rebels forſake their capteine.

Makbeth and Banquho are ſent againſt the rebels.

Makdowalds head ſent to the king.

Makbeths cruelitie.

Them of the weſterne Iles ſuing for pardon, in that they had aided Makdowald in his traitorous enterpriſe, he fined at great ſums of monie: and thoſe whome he toke in Lochquhaber, being come thither to beare armor againſt the king, he put to execution. Herevpon the Ilandmen conceiued a deadlie grudge towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murtherer of them whome the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Makbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire againſt them, had paſſed ouer with an armie into the Iles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their liberall talke, had he not béene otherwiſe perſuaded by ſome of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts preſented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, ſéeking to auoid his diſpleaſure. Thus was iuſtice and law reſtored againe to the old accuſtomed courſe, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediatlie whereupon word came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fife with a puiſſant armie, to ſubdue the whole realme of Scotland.

Makbeth deſamed by the Ilandmen.

Iuſtice & law reſtored.

Sueno king of Norway landed in Fife

But here to the intent it maie be the better perceiued, what this Sueno was, I will ſomwhat touch from whence he deſcended. That Sueno, who (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being alſo king of Denmarke and Norwaie, had three ſonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the firſt he made king of England, the ſecond king of Norwaie, and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioſed not the ſame dominion of England paſt three yeeres after his fathers deceaſſe, but was ſlaine by Ethelred or Egelred, whom his father Sueno had chaſed into Normandie. But the ſame Ethelred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mightie hoſt, and ſleaing Ethelred, recouered the kingdome to the vſe of the Danes: but yet one Edmund ſonne to the foreſaid Ethelred, ſurnamed Ironſide, mainteined the warre againſt Canute for a ſeaſon, till at length by both their conſents they agréed to fight a combat ſingularlie man to man, ſo to trie the matter betwixt them, who ſhould reigne as king ouer the Engliſhmen.

This agreeth not with our Engliſh writers.

Harold that reigned king of England, was not the ſon of Sueno but of Canute and was not ſlaine, but died of naturall diſeaſe. Sée more hereof in England.

Canute king of Denmarke.

Edmund Ironſide.

In this fight when they had continued a long ſpace, and ſhewed right notable proofes of their manhood: Edmund (ſaith Canute) ſith it hath pleaſed almightie God, that thou ſhouldeſt thus trie the force of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it bée likewiſe his pleaſure, that thou ſhouldeſt inioy part of the realme: go to therefore, I receiue thée as partener with me in the king dome, ſo that (if thou be contented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs without anie more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted this condition of agreement, ſuppoſing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to ſtand to the doubtfull triall of loſing the whole: for hé had receiued a wound at Canutes hands, though Canute vnderſtood not ſo much: againe, he foreſaw that occaſion hereafter might be offered, whereby he might without all trouble come to inioy the whole. Herevpon either of them lept beſide their wearied horſſes in that fierce & earneſt fight, & imbracing each other became good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of England that lieth ouer againſt France was aſſigned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Ethelred, with hir two ſonnes (which ſhe had by the ſame Ethelred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting leaſt this concord betwixt Canute and Edmund ſhould turne ſmallie to hir aduancement.

Canutes words to Edmund Ironſide.

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The diuiſion of the realme of England betwixt Canute and Edmund Ironſide.

Alured & Edward the ſons of king Ethelred.

But now touching the arriuall of Sueno the Norwegian king in Fife (as before is expreſſed) ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the pretenſe of his comming was to reuenge the ſlaughter of his vncle Camus, and other of the Daniſh nation ſlaine at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sueno was ſuch, that he neither ſpared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degrée ſoeuer they were. Whereof when K. Duncane was certified, he ſet all ſlouthfull and lingering delaies apart, and began to aſſemble an armie in moſt ſpéedie wiſe, like a verie valiant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and ſlouthfull perſon, conſtreined by neceſſitie, becommeth verie hardie and actiue. Therefore when his whole power was come togither, he diuided the ſame into three battels. The firſt was led by Makbeth, the ſecond by Banquho, & the king himſelfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait vpon his perſon the moſt part of all the reſidue of the Scotiſh nobilitie.

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norwaie.

Duncane beſtirreth himſelfe in aſſembling an armie.

The Scotiſh armie diuided into three battels.

The armie of Scotiſhmen being thus ordered,

came vnto Culros, where incountering with the enmies, after a ſore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots diſcomfited. Howbeit the Danes were ſo broken by this battell, that they were not able to make long chaſe on their enimies, but kept themſelues all night in order of battell, for doubt leaſt the Scots aſſembling togither againe, might haue ſet vpon them at ſome aduantage. On the morrow, when the fields were diſcouered, and that it was perceiued how no enimies were to be found abrode, they gathered the ſpoile, which they diuided amongſt them, according to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by commandement of Sueno, that no ſouldier ſhould hurt either man, woman, or child, except ſuch as were found with weapon in hand readie to make reſiſtance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme without further bloudſhed.

Sueno banquiſheth the Scots.

Suenos commandement to ſpare fire and ſwerd.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane was fled to the caſtell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withſtand the incurſions of the Danes, Sueno raiſed his tents, & comming to the ſaid caſtell, laid a ſtrong ſiege round about it. Duncane ſeeing himſelfe thus enuironed by his enimies, ſent a ſecret meſſage by counſell of Banquho to Makbeth, commanding him to abide at Inchcuthill, till he heard from him ſome other newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained communication with Sueno, as though he would haue yelded vp the caſtell into his hands, vnder certeine conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to put his enimies out of all ſuſpicion of anie enterpriſe ment againſt them, till all things were brought to paſſe that might ſerue for the purpoſe. At length, when they were fallen at a point for rendring vp the hold, Duncane offered to ſend forth of the caſtell into the campe great prouiſion of vittels to refreſh the armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the Danes, for that they had béene in great penurie of ſuſtenance manie daies before.

Duncane fled to the caſtell of Bertha.

Sueno beſiegeth king Malcolme.

Fained treatie.

The Scots hereupon toke the iuice of mekilwort berries, and mired the ſame in their ale and bread, ſending it thus ſpiced & confectioned, in great abundance vnto their enimies. They reioiſing that they had got meate and drinke ſufficient to ſatiſfie their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after ſuch greedie wiſe, that it ſeemed they ſtroue who might deuoure and ſwallow vp moſt, till the operation of the berries ſpread in ſuch ſort through all the parts of their bodies, that they were in the end brought into a faſt dead ſleepe, that in manner it was vnpoſſible to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane ſent vnto Makbeth, commanding him with all diligence to come and ſet vpon the enimies, being in eaſie point to be ouercome. Makbeth making no delaie, came with his people to the place, where his enimies were lodged, and firſt killing the watch, afterwards entered the campe, and made ſuch ſlaughter on all ſides without anie reſiſtance, that it was a wonderfull matter to behold, for the Danes were ſo heauie of ſleepe, that the moſt part of them were ſlaine and neuer ſtirred: other that were awakened either by the noiſe or other waies forth, were ſo amazed and dizzie headed vpon their wakening, that they were not able to make anie defenſe: ſo that of the whole number there eſcaped no more but onelie Sueno himſelfe and ten other perſons, by whoſe helpe he got to his ſhips lieng at rode in the mouth of Taie.

Spiced cups prepared for the Danes.

The ſlaughter of Danes.

Sueno with ten other eſcaped.

The moſt part of the mariners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had ſent vnto the campe, came from the ſea thither to be partakers thereof, and ſo were ſlaine amongſt their fellowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceiued how through lacke of mariners he ſhould not be able to conuete awaie his naule, he furniſhed one ſhip throughlie with ſuch as were left, and in the ſame ſailed backe into Norwaie, curſing the time that he ſet forward on this infortunate iournie. The other ſhips which he left behind him, within three daies after his departure from thence, were toſſed ſo togither by violence of an eaſt wind, that beating and ruſhing one againſt another, they ſunke there, and lie in the ſame place euen vnto theſe daies, to the great danger of other ſuch ſhips as come on that coaſt: for being couered with the floud when the tide commeth, at the ebbing againe of the ſame, ſome part of them appéere aboue water.

Sueno fleeth with one ſhip, leauing the reſidue of his naule behind him.

The fleete of the Norwegians ſunke by behement rage of winds.

The place where the Daniſh veſſels were thus loſt, is yet called Drownelow ſands. This ouerthrow receiued in manner afore ſaid by Sueno, was verie diſpleaſant to him and his people, as ſhould appéere, in that it was a cuſtome manie yeeres after, that no knights were made in Norwaie, except they were firſt ſworne to reuenge the ſlaughter of their countriemen and friends thus ſlaine in Scotland. The Scots hauing woone ſo notable a victorie, after they had gathered & diuided the ſpoile of the field, cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be made in all places of the realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God, that had ſent them ſo faire a day ouer their enimies. But whileſt the people were thus at their proceſſions, word was brought that a new fleet of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne, ſent thither by Canute king of England, in reuenge of his brother Suenos ouerthrow. To reſiſt theſe enimies, which were alreadie landed, and buſie in ſpoiling the countrie; Makbeth and Banquho were ſent with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, incountred the enimies, ſlue part of them, and chaſed the other to their ſhips. They that eſcaped and got once to their ſhips, obteined of Makbeth for a great ſumme of gold, that ſuch of their friends as were ſlaine at this laſt bickering, might be buried in ſaint Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old ſepultures are yet in the ſaid Inch, there to be ſeene grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burieng noble men ſtill is, and héeretofore hath béene vſed.

Drownelow ſands.

The oth that knights toke in Norwaie, to reuenge the death of their friends.

Solemne proceſſions for victorie gotten.

A power of Danes arriue at Kingcorne out of England.

The Danes banquiſhed by Makbeth and Banquho.

Danes buried in S. Colmes Inch.

A peace was alſo concluded at the ſame time betwixt the Danes and Scotiſhmen, ratified (as ſome haue written) in this wiſe: That from thenceforth the Danes ſhould neuer come into Scotland to make anie warres againſt the Scots by anie maner of meanes. And theſe were the warres that Duncane had with forren enimies, in the ſeuenth yéere of his reigne. Shortlie after happened a ſtrange and vncouth wonder, which afterward was the cauſe of much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye ſhall after heare. It fortuned as Makbeth and Banquho iourned towards Fores, where the king then laie, they went ſporting by the waie togither without other companie, ſaue onelie themſelues, paſſing thorough the woods and fields, when ſuddenlie in the middeſt of a launde, there met them three women in ſtrange and wild apparell, reſembling creatures of elder world, whome when they attentiuelie beheld, wondering much at the ſight, the firſt of them ſpake and ſaid; All haile Makbeth, thane of Glammis (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell.) The ſecond of them ſaid; Haile Makbeth thane of Cawder. But the third ſaid; All haile Makbeth that héereafter ſhalt be king of Scotland.

A peace concluded betwixt Scots and Danes.

The prophecie of three women ſuppoſing to be the weird ſiſters or feiries.

Then Banquho; What manner of women (ſaith he) are you, that ſéeme ſo little fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow héere, beſides high offices, ye aſſigne alſo the kingdome, appointing forth nothing for me at all? Yes (ſaith the firſt of them) we pro-

miſe

"miſe greater benefits vnto thée, than vnto him, for he
"ſhall reigne in déed, but with an vnluckie end: nei-
"ther ſhall he leaue anie iſſue behind him to ſuccéed in
"his place, where contrarilie thou in déed ſhalt not
"reigne at all, but of thée thoſe ſhall be borne which
"ſhall gouerne the Scotiſh kingdome by long order
"of continuall deſcent. Herewith the foreſaid women
vaniſhed immediatlie out of their ſight. This was
A thing to wonder at. reputed at the firſt but ſome vaine fantaſticall illuſ-
on by Mackbeth and Banquho, inſomuch that Ban-
quho would call Mackbeth in teſt, king of Scotland;
and Mackbeth againe would call him in ſport like-
Banquho the father of manie kings. wiſe, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the
common opinion was, that theſe women were ei-
ther the weird ſiſters, that is (as ye would ſay) the
goddeſſes of deſtinie, or elſe ſome nymphs or feiries,
indued with knowledge of prophetie by their necro-
manticall ſcience, bicauſe euerie thing came to paſſe
The thane of Cawder condemned of treaſon. as they had ſpoken. For ſhortlie after, the thane of
Cawder being condemned at Fores of treaſon a-
gainſt the king committed; his lands, liuings, and
offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mack-
Mackbeth made thane of Cawder. beth.

The ſame night after, at ſupper, Banquho ieſted
with him and ſaid; Now Mackbeth thou haſt obtei-
ned thoſe things which the two former ſiſters prophe-
ſied, there remaineth onelie for thée to purchaſe that
Mackbeth deuiſeth how he might atteine the kingdome. which the third ſaid ſhould come to paſſe. Whereupon
Mackbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began
euen then to deuiſe how he might atteine to the
kingdome: but yet he thought with himſelfe that he
muſt tarie a time, which ſhould aduance him there-
The daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, wife to king Duncane. to (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to paſſe
in his former preferment. But ſhortlie after it chan-
ced that king Duncane, hauing two ſonnes by his
wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of
Northumberland, he made the elder of them called
Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were there-
by to appoint him his ſucceſſor in the kingdome, im-
mediatlie after his deceaſſe. Mackbeth ſore trou-
bled herewith, for that he ſaw by this means his
hope ſore hindered (where, by the old lawes of the
realme, the ordinance was, that if he that ſhould
ſuccéed were not of able age to take the charge vpon
himſelfe, he that was nert of bloud vnto him ſhould
Mackbeth ſtudieth which way he may take the kingdome by force. be admitted) he began to take counſell how he might
vſurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iuſt quarell
ſo to do (as he tooke the matter) for that Duncane
did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of
title and claime, which he might in time to come,
pretend vnto the crowne.

Prophecies moue men to vnlawfull attempts. The words of the three weird ſiſters alſo (of whom
before ye haue heard) greatlie incouraged him here-
vnto, but ſpeciallie his wife lay ſore vpon him to at-
tempt the thing, as ſhe that was verie ambitious,
women deſirous of high eſtate. burning in vnquenchable deſire to beare the name
of a queéne. At length therefore, communicating
his purpoſed intent with his truſtie friends, amongſt
whome Banquho was the chiefeſt, vpon confidence
Mackbeth ſleeth king Duncane. of their promiſed aid, he ſlue the king at Enuerns,
or (as ſome ſay) at Botgoſuane, in the firſt yeare of
his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of
ſuch as he had made priuie to his enterpriſe, he cau-
Mackbeth vſurpeth the crowne. ſed himſelfe to be proclamed king, and forthwith
went vnto Scone, where (by common conſent) he
receiued the inueſture of the kingdome according to
the accuſtomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was
firſt conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in king-
lie wiſe; but afterwards it was remoued and con-
Duncanes buriall. 1046. H.B. ueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a ſepulture
amongſt his predeceſſors, in the yeare after the birth
of our Sauiour, 1046.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the ſons
of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they
might well know that Mackbeth would ſéeke to
bring to end for his more ſure confirmation in the
eſtate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme re-
mained, till time that ſaint Edward the ſonne of
Ethelred recouered the dominion of England from
the Daniſh power, the which Edward receiued Mal-
colme by way of moſt friendlie enterteinment: but
Donald paſſed ouer into Ireland, where he was ten-
derlie cheriſhed by the king of that land. Mackbeth,
after the departure thus of Duncanes ſonnes, vſed
great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme,
thereby to win their fauour, and when he ſaw that
no man went about to trouble him, he ſet his whole
intention to mainteine iuſtice, and to puniſh all en-
ormities and abuſes, which had chanced through the
Mackbeth ſtudieth to aduance iuſtice. feéble and ſlouthfull adminiſtration of Duncane.
And to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe without
Mackbeths policie. anie trouble or great buſineſſe, he deuiſed a ſubtill
wile to bring all offendors and miſdoers vnto iu-
ſtice, ſolliciting ſundrie of his liege people with high
rewards, to challenge and appeale ſuch as moſt op-
preſſed the commons, to come at a day and place ap-
pointed, to fight ſingular combats within barriers,
in triall of their accuſations. When theſe théeues,
Streict iuſtice. barrettors, and other oppreſſors of the innocent peo-
ple were come to darren battell in this wiſe (as
is ſaid) they were ſtreight waies apprehended by
armed men, and traſſed vp in halters on gibbets,
according as they had iuſtlie deſerued. The reſidue
of miſdoers that were left, were puniſhed and ta-
med in ſuch ſort, that manie yeares after all theft
and reiffings were little heard of, the people inioieng
the bleſſefull benefit of good peace and tranquillitie.
Mackbeth ſhewing himſelfe thus a moſt diligent
A kinglie en-deuour. puniſher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by a-
nie diſordered perſons within his realme, was ac-
counted the ſure defenſe and buckler of innocent
people; and hereto he alſo applied his whole indeuor,
to cauſe yong men to exerciſe themſelues in vertu-
ous maners, and men of the church to attend their
Iuſtice miniſtred without reſpect of perſons. diuine ſeruice according to their vocations.

He cauſed to be ſlaine ſundrie thanes, as of Caith-
nes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, becauſe
through them and their ſeditious attempts, much
trouble dailie roſe in the realme. He appeaſed the
troubleſome ſtate of Galloway, and ſlue one Mak-
gill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before paſſed no-
thing of the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe,
ſuch were the worthie doings and princelie acts of
this Mackbeth in the adminiſtration of the realme,
that if he had atteined thereunto by rightfull means,
and continued in vprightneſſe of iuſtice as he began,
till the end of his reigne, he might well haue béene
numbred amongeſt the moſt noble princes that anie
where had reigned. He made manie holeſome laws
and ſtatutes for the publike weale of his ſubiects.

## Lawes made by king Makbeth ſet *foorth according to Hector* Boetius.

Liberties of them that haue taken orders. HE that is within orders of the church, ſhall not be compelled to anſwere before a temporall iudge, but be remitted to his ordinarie.

Tithes to be paid to the church. The tenth part of all fruits that increaſe on the ground, ſhall be giuen to the church, that God may be worſhipped with oblations and praiers.

Perſons accurſed. He that continueth obſtinatlie in the curſſe of the church by the ſpace of one

whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enimie to the commonwealth: and if he perseuere with indurat mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The order of knighthood.

He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oth to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the communaltie. And he that is made king, shall be sworne in semblable maner.

Eldest daughters.

The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

The kings gift.

No man shall inioy anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance.

No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

Judges.

No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporall court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

All conuentions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Reteiners.

He that is reteined or becommeth a sworne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it; and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

Raisers of the kings people, or vnlawfull assemblies.

He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they dow that assemble togither by his procurement.

Waiters vpon other men.

He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publike assemblie, as a reteiner, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

Keeping of horsses.

A horsse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vse than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

Counterfeit fooles, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing; if they refuse so to dow, they shall be drawen like horsses in the plough and harrows.

Counterfeit fooles, with minstrels and such like.

Possession of lands.

Though the sonne chance to be put in possessiō of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards conuicted of treason committed against the kings person.

Dowrie of wiues.

All such women, that are maried to anie lord or baron (though she haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his decease, and the remanent shall go to his heires.

Marriage of lords and barons.

All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and roomes lie neere togither.

Wearing of armour.

All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of warre, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.

Captains.

Such as be appointed gouernors, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy within those limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both

Vnieng of lands.

lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.

And if anie of the said capteins or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their rowmes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or coparteners to occupie the same office.

Makbeths counterfeit zeale and equitie.

These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortlie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by vnrighteous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessor. The words also of the three weird sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the same Banquho with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquho and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

Makbeths guiltie conscience.

Makbeths deuise to slea Banquho and his sonne.

Banquho is slaine, but his sonne escapeth.

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancemedlie (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen vpon a prepensed deuise: whereupon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales. ¶ But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if (according to th'order which I find obserued in the Scotish historie) I shall in few words rehearse the

Fleance Banquhos sonne flieth into Wales.

The line of the Scotish kings.

originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquho, that they which haue inioied the kingdome by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be knowen from whence they had their first beginning.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortlie after by his courteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtesie in the

end

Fleance deſloureth the prince of Wales his doughter.

Fleance is ſlaine.

Walter the ſonne of Fleance.

his bringing vp.

The ſtout ſtomach appearing in Walter from his childhood.

end ſuffered him to get hir with child; which being once vnderſtood, hir father the prince conceiued ſuch hatefull diſpleaſure towards Fleance, that he finallie ſlue him, & held his daughter in moſt vile eſtate of ſeruitude, for that ſhe had conſented to be on this wiſe defloured by a ſtranger. At the laſt yet, ſhe was deliuered of a ſonne named Walter, who within few yeares prooued a man of greater courage and valiancie, than anie other had commonlie beene found, although he had no better bringing vp than (by his grandfathers appointment) among the baſer ſort of people. Howbeit he ſhewed euer euen from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certeine ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach, readie to attempt high enterpriſes.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie tawnting words which paſſed betwixt them, the other to his reproch obiected that he was a baſtard, and begotten in vnlawfull bed; wherewith being ſore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpon him and ſlue him out of hand. Then was he glad to flée out of Wales, and comming into Scotland to ſéeke ſome friendſhip there, he happened into the companie of ſuch Engliſhmen, as were come thither with quéene Margaret, and behaued himſelfe ſo ſoberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highlie eſtéemed amongeſt them. Not long after by ſuch means atteining to the degrée of high reputation, he was ſent with a great power of men into the weſterne Iles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliuer the ſame from the tyrannie and iniurious oppreſſion there exerciſed by diuers miſgouerned perſons; which enterpriſe according to his commiſſion he atchiued, with ſuch prudent policie and manhood, that immediatlie vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord ſteward of Scotland, with aſſignement to receiue the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

Walter fleeth into Scotland.

Saint Margaret.

Walter ſent with an armie to daunt rebels.

Walter made lord ſteward of Scotland.

This Walter Steward had a ſonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfreie of Bullogne duke of Lorraine, & Robert duke of Normandie ſonne to king William the baſtard that conquered England, into the holie land, at what time they with other weſterne princes made the great iournie thither, in the yeare 1099. Alane had iſſue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbeie of Paſleie of ſaint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whoſe valiancie was well notified at the battell of Largis, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed, was the ſonne of the ſaid Alexander. The ſame Walter had iſſue two ſons, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantlie in defenſe of his father at the foreſaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terbolwtoune, and maried the heire of Crukeiſtoune, from whom deſcended the earles of Leuenor and Dernlie. Moreouer, the aboue mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Paſleie, had diuerſe mo ſonnes, as John and James, with ſundrie other. Howbeit they tooke new ſurnames by the name of thoſe lands, vnto the which they ſucceéded. The afore recited John Steward, after the death of his brother James, maried the heire of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hir Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonkill, Ranfrew, Rotheſſaie, Bute, and Stewatoune, after that his father the forenamed John was ſlaine at Falkirke.

Alane Steward.

The iournie into the holie land.

Alexander Steward.

Walter Steward.

Alexander Steward the ſonne of Walter.

Robert Steward.

John Steward and James Steward.

Walter inheritor of Bonkill, &c.

He maried Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had iſſue king Robert the ſecond of that name. This Robert the ſecond tooke to wife one Iſabell Mure, a damſell of right excellent beautie, ſhe was daughter to ſir Adham Mure knight, and brought forth iſſue, three ſonnes and three daughters. The eldeſt ſonne hight John Steward otherwiſe named Robert, who ſucceéded immediatlie after his fathers deceaſſe in gouernance of the crowne. The ſecond called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, alſo he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland vnder the name of gouernour, for the ſpace of fifteéne yeares. The third ſonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudzenot. The eldeſt daughter was maried to James that was the ſonne and heire of William earle of Dowglas. The ſecond daughter was maried to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murrey. He begot on hir one onelie daughter, that was maried to the Dowglas, and ſo Dowglas came to the earledome of Murrey. The third daughter was maried vnto John Lioun, that was after made lord of Glammis.

King Robert the ſecond.

John Steward otherwiſe named Robert.

Duke of Albanie.

Alexander Steward, ſonne to king Robert the ſecond.

John Dunbar.

Moreouer, the foreſaid Robert that was the firſt of the Stewards which ware the crowne in Scotland, maried Ewſame daughter to the earle of Roſſe, and got on hir two ſonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and Dauid earle of Stratherne. This Walter ſollicited Robert duke of Albanie, to ſlea Dauid Steward duke of Rothſaie. And after that James the firſt was returned home forth of England, hée did what he could to moue him to ſlea all the linage of the ſaid duke ſtill being in hope after the diſpatch of his kinſmen to come to the crowne himſelfe, which hope moued him to procure his nephue Robert Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters ſon, to ſlea king James the firſt alſo, for the which crime the ſame Walter was after conuicted and deſtroied with all his ſonnes. His brother Dauid earle of Buchquhane died without iſſue, and ſo the lands of both theſe brethren returned againe to the crowne, without anie memorie of their blood. Of Robert Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdo, who maried the earle of Lennor daughter, and got on hir three ſonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Ewſame.

Walter and Dauid ſonnes to king Robert.

Robert duke of Albanie.

James the firſt.

Graime or Graham.

Duke Murdo

Duke Murdo himſelfe with his two firſt ſonnes were ſlaine at Striueling by king James the firſt, & the third brother James in reuenge thereof burnt Dunbertane, and was after chaſed into Ireland, where he deceaſſed without iſſue. Robert the third of that name maried Annabill Drommond, daughter to ſir John Drommond of Strobhall knight, and got on hir Dauid and James. The firſt died in Falkland, and the other atteined the crowne, and was called James the firſt, and maried the ladie Jane daughter to John Beaufort erle of Summerſet in England. He had by hir two ſonnes borne at one birth, Alexander and James. The firſt died yong, the ſecond atteined the crowne, named James the ſecond. James the firſt had alſo ſir daughters, of the which the eldeſt was giuen in mariage to the Dolphine of France, the ſecond to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Feir, the fourth to the lord of Dalkeith, the fift to the earle of Huntley, and the firt had no ſucceſſion. James the ſecond maried Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three ſonnes, and two daughters.

King Robert the third.

Dauid and James, ſons to kings Robert the third

John Beaufort earle of Summerſet.

James the firſt and his iſſue.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

The firſt ſucceéded him in the kingdome, and was called James the third: the ſecond named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and maried firſt the earle of Dykenies daughter, and got on hir Alexander, that was afterward biſhop of Murrey, and then parting with hir went into France, where he maried the counteſſe of Bullogne, and begot on hir John Steward duke of Albanie, that was gouernor of Scotland manie yéeres in the minoritie of James the fift. The third ſonne, John Steward was earle of Mar, whoſe chance was to be ſlaine in the Cannogat in a bathſtat. The firſt daughter of James the ſecond, was maried to the lord Boid, who begot on hir

James and Alexander.

Duke of Albanie the gouernor of Scotland.

The lord Boid.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Dongumrie, and a daughter that was maried to the earle of Cassels. After the death of the lord Boid, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, she was efterwards maried to the lord Hammilton, and by that means was the house of the Hammiltons honored with the kings bloud. The other sister was maried to the lord Creichton, of whom came small succession worthie to be mentioned. James the third maried Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which mariage was borne James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanie, and John Steward earle of Mar, but these two died without issue.

The lord Hammilton.

Lord Creichton.

James the third and his issue.

James the fourth maried Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seuenth of England, and begot on hir James the fift, who marieng first the ladie Magdalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yeere next after hir comming into Scotland, and then shortlie after the said James the fift maried the ladie Marie de Lorrein, duchesse of Lonuile, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie quéene of Scotland, that toke to husband Henrie Steward lord Dernlie, by whome she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland. But to returne vnto Makbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall vnderstand that after the contriued slaughter of Banquho, nothing prospered with the foresaid Makbeth: for in maner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence; and euen as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surmized cauillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

James the fourth.

Makbeths dread.

His crueltie caused through feare.

At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after bloud in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as hée thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were inriched by their goods which were forfeited to his vse, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunsinane, situate in Gowrie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well neere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stermond, and Ernedale, as it were lieng vnderneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stuffe necessarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Makbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

The castell of Dunsinane builded.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Makduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull prouision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bée giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done, which he refused to do, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partlie vnderstood) no great good will, would laie violent hands vpon him, as he had done vpon diuerse other. Shortlie after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and bicause he found not Makduffe there, he was sore offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Makduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the three faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take héed of Makduffe, who in time to come should séeke to destroie him.

Makduffes thane of Fife.

Makbeth is offended with Makduffe.

Makbeths confidence in wizzards.

And suerlie herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might do what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beléeued it was vnpossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other vnpossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to do manie outragious things, to the gréeuous oppression of his subiects. At length Makduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long eares like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had in euerie noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fée with him, to reueale all that was said or done within the same, by which slight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Lynxs eies and Midas eares.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where Makduffe dwelled; trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclamed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Makduffe was alreadie escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase hée might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Makbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they sustained at such a caitifes hands.

Makbeths crueltie bred against Makduffs familie.

Makduffe escapeth into England vnto Malcolme Cammore.

Makduffes words vnto Malcolme.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes words, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for mére compassion and verie ruth that pearsed his sorowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Makduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scotish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some occasion

Malcolme sigheth.

caſion miniſtred, whereby they might be reuenged of thoſe notable iniuries, which they dailie ſuſteined by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths miſgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie ſorowfull for the oppreſſion of his countriemen the Scots, in maner as Makduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfeinedlie as he ſpake, or elſe as ſent from Makbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue ſome further triall, and thereupon diſſembling his mind at the firſt, he anſwered as followeth.

Malcolme Cammore his anſwer.

I am trulie verie ſorie for the miſerie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer ſo great affection to relieue the ſame, yet by reaſon of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. Firſt, ſuch immoderate luſt and voluptuous ſenſualitie (the abhominable fountein of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I ſhould ſeeke to deflоure your maids and matrones, in ſuch wiſe that mine intemperancie ſhould be more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is. Hereunto Makduffe anſwered: This ſuerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue loſt both liues and kingdomes for the ſame; neuertheleſſe there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counſell. Make thy ſelfe king, and I ſhall conueie the matter ſo wiſelie, that thou ſhalt be ſo ſatiſfied at thy pleaſure in ſuch ſecret wiſe, that no man ſhall be aware thereof.

Makduffes anſwer.

Then ſaid Malcolme, I am alſo the moſt auaritious creature on the earth, ſo that if I were king, I ſhould ſeeke ſo manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would ſlea the moſt part of all the nobles of Scotland by ſurmized accuſations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and poſſeſſions; and therefore to ſhew you what miſchiefe may inſue on you through mine vnſatiable couetouſnes, I will rehearſe vnto you a fable. There was a fox hauing a ſore place on him ouerſet with a ſwarme of flies, that continuallie ſucked out hir blood: and when one that came by and ſaw this manner, demanded whether ſhe would haue the flies driuen beſide hir, ſhe anſwered no: for if theſe flies that are alreadie full, and by reaſon thereof ſucke not verie egerlie, ſhould be chaſed awaie, other that are emptie and fellie an hungred, ſhould light in their places, and ſucke out the reſidue of my bloud farre more to my greeuance than theſe, which now being ſatiſfied do not much annoie me. Therefore ſaith Malcolme, ſuffer me to remaine where I am, leaſt if I atteine to the regiment of your realme, mine vnquenchable auarice may prooue ſuch; that ye would thinke the diſpleaſures which now grieue you, ſhould ſeeme eaſie in reſpect of the vnmeaſurable outrage, which might inſue through my comming amongſt you.

A fable of a fox.

Couetouſneſſe the root of all miſchiefe

Makduffe to this made anſwer, how it was a far worſe fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all miſchiefe, and for that crime the moſt part of our kings haue béene ſlaine and brought to their finall end. Yet notwithſtanding follow my counſell, and take vpon thée the crowne. There is gold and riches inough in Scotland to ſatiſfie thy grædie deſire.

Diſſimulation and deſiting in lies.

Then ſaid Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to diſſimulation, telling of leaſings, and all other kinds of deceit, ſo that I naturallie reioiſe in nothing ſo much, as to betraie & deceiue ſuch as put anie truſt or confidence in my words. Then ſith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than conſtancie, veritie, truth, and iuſtice, with the other laudable fellowſhip of thoſe faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in ſothfaſtneſſe, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the ſame; you ſée how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or region: and therefore ſith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the reſt of my other vices, I praie you find ſhift to cloke this vice amongſt the reſidue.

Then ſaid Makduffe: This yet is the worſt of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore ſaie; Oh ye vnhappie and miſerable Scotiſhmen, which are thus ſcourged with ſo manie and ſundrie calamities, ech one aboue other! Ye haue one curſſed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppreſſing you with his moſt bloudie crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is ſo repleet with the inconſtant behauiour and manifeſt vices of Engliſhmen, that he is nothing worthie to inioy it: for by his owne confeſſion he is not onelie auaritious, and giuen to vnſatiable luſt, but ſo falſe a traitor withall, that no truſt is to be had vnto anie word he ſpeaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my ſelfe a baniſhed man for euer, without comfort or conſolation: and with thoſe words the blackiſh teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantlie.

Makduffes exclamation.

Makduffe weepeth.

At the laſt, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the ſleeue, and ſaid: Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of theſe vices beforе remembred, but haue ieſted with thée in this manner, onelie to proue thy mind: for diuerſe times heeretofore hath Makbeth ſought by this maner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more ſlow I haue ſhewed my ſelfe to condeſcend to thy motion and requeſt, the more diligence ſhall I vſe in accompliſhing the ſame. Incontinentlie heerupon they imbraced ech other, and promiſing to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in conſultation how they might beſt prouide for all their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good effect. Soone after, Makduffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addreſſed his letters with ſecret diſpatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come haſtilie into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, ſith he was right inheritor thereto, to aſſiſt him with their powers to recouer the ſame out of the hands of the wrongfull vſurper.

Malcolme comforteth Makduffe.

Makduffe & Malcolme imbrace ech other.

Makduffe writeth letters to his friends in Scotland.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchaſed ſuch fauor at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thouſand men to go with him into Scotland, to ſupport him in this enterpriſe, for recouerie of his right. After theſe newes were ſpread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two ſeuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Heerupon inſued oftentimes ſundrie bickerings, & diuerſe light ſkirmiſhes: for thoſe that were of Malcolmes ſide, would not ieopard to ioine with their enimies in a pight field, till his comming out of England to their ſupport. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to increaſe, by ſuch aid as came to them forth of England with his aduerſarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purpoſing to abide in campe fortified, at the caſtell of Dunſinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to purſue him; howbeit ſome of his friends aduiſed him, that it ſhould be beſt for him, either to make ſome agreement with Malcolme, or elſe to flée with all ſpeed into the Iles, and to take his treaſure with him, to the end he might wage ſundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & reteine ſtrangers, in whome he might better truſt than in his owne ſubiects, which ſtale dailie from him: but he had ſuch confidence in his propheſies, that he beléeued he ſhould neuer be vanquiſhed, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunſinane; nor yet to be ſlaine with anie man, that ſhould be or was borne of anie woman.

Siward earle of Northumberland.

The nobles of Scotland diuided.

Makbeth recoileth.

Makbeth is counſelled to flée into the Iles.

Makbeths truſt in propheſies.

Malcolme

Malcolme following haſtilie after Makbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood, and when his armie had reſted a while there to refreſh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of ſome trée or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in ſuch wiſe, that on the next morrow they might come cloſelie and without ſight in this manner within view of his enimies. On the morrow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this ſort, he firſt maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himſelfe that the prophecie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunſinane caſtell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Neuertheleſſe, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doo valiantlie, howbeit his enimies had ſcarſelie caſt from them their boughs, when Makbeth perceiuing their numbers, betooke him ſtreict to flight, whom Makduffe purſued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfannaine, where Makbeth perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beſide his horſſe, ſaieng; Thou traitor, what meaneth it that thou ſhouldeſt thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be ſlaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receiue thy reward which thou haſt deſerued for thy paines, and therwithall he lifted vp his ſword thinking to haue ſlaine him.

But Makduffe quicklie auoiding from his horſſe, yer he came at him, anſwered (with his naked ſword in his hand) ſaieng: It is true Makbeth, and now ſhall thine inſatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizzards haue told thée of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: therewithall he ſtept vnto him, and ſlue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his ſhoulders, he ſet it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had reigned 17 yéeres ouer the Scotiſhmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accompliſhed manie worthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illuſion of the diuell, he defamed the ſame with moſt terrible crueltie. He was ſlaine in the yéere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yéere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Engliſhmen.

Branches of trées.

Makbeth ſetteth his men in order of battell.

Makbeth fleeth, & is purſued of Makduffe.

Makbeth is ſlaine.

1057. Io.M. 1061. H.B. 8. H.B.

*Malcolme*

Malcolme Cammore thus recouering the relme (as ye haue heard) by ſupport of king Edward, in the 16 yéere of the ſame Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yéere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had aſſiſted him againſt Makbeth, aduancing them to fées and offices as he ſaw cauſe, & commanded that ſpeciallie thoſe that bare the ſurname of anie offices or lands, ſhould haue and inioy the ſame. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Menteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Murrey, Cathnes, Roſſe, and Angus. Theſe were the firſt earles that haue béene heard of amongſt the Scotiſhmen (as their hiſtories doo make mention.) Manie new ſurnames were taken vp at this time amongſt them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seiton, Lauder, Wawane, Meldrun, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachquhen, Cargill, Kattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Mirtoun, Menzeis, Abercrummie, Liſlie, with manie other that had poſſeſſions giuen them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their ſurnames by offices, as Steward, Durward, and Banerman. Alſo the proper names of manie valiant capteins were turned into generall ſurnames, as Kennedie, Graham,

A parlement at Forfair.

Thanes changed into earles.

Surnames.

Haie, with diuerſe other ſo long héere to rehearſe. So that it came to paſſe then, as it hath done manie times ſince, that new ſurnames haue worne the old out of vſe.

In the foreſaid parlement thus holden at Forfair, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie holeſome ordinances eſtabliſhed, both apperteining to ciuill adminiſtration, and alſo to the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction. In reward alſo of Makduffes ſeruice, who (as ye haue heard) chieflie aided him to the atteining of the crowne, he honored him and his poſteritie with three ſorts of priuileges. Firſt, that the earle of Fife for the time being, at the coronation of a king, ſhould by his office ſet the crowne on the kings head. The ſecond was, that when the king ſhould giue battell to his enimies, the ſame earle ſhould lead the vauntgard of his hoſt. The third, that the linage of Makduffe ſhould inioy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and rowmes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuerſies (treaſon onelie excepted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were called to anſwer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expreſſed.

Makduffe earle of Fife his aduancement.

Priuileges granted vnto Makduffes linage.

Iohannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted vnto this Makduffe and his poſteritie, was this, that for euerie gentleman that anie of them ſhould hap to kill by chancemedlie, and not vpon pretenied malice, for the ſumme of 24 marks he ſhould redéeme his puniſhment due for the ſame: & for the caſuall ſlaughter of a meaner perſon he ſhould be fined at twelue marks. So that murtherers were wont to ſay, that if they were able to paie that ſumme to the Kinboc, they ought to be releaſed of further puniſhment, by Makduffes priuilege. But this third priuilege, together with the other two former grants, the ſaid Maior ſore repugneth, and not without cauſe, as may appéere, conſidering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murther, which by this meanes nouriſhing ſecret hatred and malice in their harts, might vnder the cloke of caſuall falling out, ſlea whom they liſted.

Iohannes Maior.

It was ordeined alſo at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themſelues, ſhould make gibbets, whereon men that deſerued death ſhould ſuffer execution: and alſo draw-wels, wherein women that were condemned ſhould be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vſed in Scotland. Moreouer, all the lawes that Makbeth had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whileſt Malcolme was buſied in ſetting orders amongſt his ſubiects, tidings came that one Lugtake ſurnamed the fole, being either the ſonne, or (as ſome write) the coſen of the late mentioned Makbeth, was conueied with a great number of ſuch as had taken part with the ſaid Makbeth vnto Scone, and there by their ſupport receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appeaſe this buſineſſe, was Makduffe earle of Fife ſent with full commiſſion in the kings name, who incountring with Lugtake at a village called Eſſen in Bogdale, ſlue him, and diſcomfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in ſuch wiſe, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

Gibbets and draw-wels.

Makbeths lawes abrogated.

Lugtake.

Lugtake crowned at Scone.

Lugtake is ſlaine.

After this, the realme continued in peace certeine yeares, till it chanced a great number of théeues and robbers aſſembling themſelues togither at Cockbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and ſpoiling the people in the countries of Mers and Louthian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, ſlue their capteine, with ſix hundred of his companie,

A band of théeues.

Patrike Dunbar vanquiſheth the théeues and

robbers of the countrie.

companie, and toke foureſcore priſoners, the which he cauſed to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrie of thoſe pilers, with loſſe of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: ſo that for his manhod herein ſhewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his eſtate, had the lands of Cockbourne Bethes giuen to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March ſhould purge Mers and Louthian of all théeues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commanded to beare in his armes a fellons head ſprinkled with bloud.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March.

The head of a théefe or fellon giuen in armes

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conſpired to ſlea him, & therefore taking occaſion to go on hunting, where this act ſhould haue béene executed, he calleth the chiefe author of the conſpiracie apart into a certeine vallie, which was cloſed on euerie ſide with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reproouing him verie ſharpelie, for that he had ſo traitorouſlie conſpired his death, whoſe preſeruation he ought chiefelie to haue wiſhed, conſidering the manifold benefits he had receiued at his hands. And herewith leaping from his horſſe, drew his ſword, commanding the other likewiſe to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who ſhould be thought moſt worthie of life, by open force of knightlie proweſſe. The conſpirator hearing theſe words, as a man altogither aſtoniſhed, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings féet; beſeeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpoſe and heinous offenſe: who ſéeing him thus penitent, bad him ariſe, and ſaid; I am content hérevpon to forgiue thée, ſo that thou be not of counſell hereafter in anie ſuch traitorous practiſe.

A conſpiracie.

The manlie courage of K. Malcolme.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, great and maruellous chances came to paſſe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſor, Harold the ſonne of earle Godwine toke on him the kingdome. But William baſtard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length inuaded the land, and ſleaing Harold in field, made a full conqueſt of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbiſhop of Yorke. Here ye haue to vnderſtand, that king Edward in his life time had ſent for his nephue Edward, the ſonne of his brother Edmund Ironſide, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers deceaſſe) he and his brother Edwine had béene ſent awaie, as in the hiſtorie of England it appéereth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, ſiſter to the quéene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scotiſh writers do ſo affirme. By hir he had iſſue a ſonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Chriſten.

Hé more heires in England

Wil. Malm.

King Edward ment that his nephue the ſaid Edward ſhould haue ſucceeded him, and (as ſome write) he would in his life time haue reſigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthie of admiration) vtterlie refuſed it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whileſt his vncle king Edward was yet liuing. His ſonne Edgar therefore, to whom it ſeemed that the crowne was due, when he ſaw the realme conquered by the Normans, deſpairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ſhip, and determined with his mother and ſiſters to paſſe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinſfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to ſhore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the queenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the ſame time at Dunfermeling, when he heard of the arriuall of this ſhip, and vnderſtood what they were that were aboord in hir, he reſorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to viſit them for honors ſake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were deſcended of that noble prince king Edward, in whome afore time he had found ſo much gentleneſſe and friendſhip.

Hector Boet.

The queenes ferrie.

Finallie, when he vnderſtood their eſtate, he brought them home with him to his palace, ſhewing them all the loue and friendſhip he could deuiſe; and in the end conſidering the excellent beautie, wiſdome, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, ſiſter to the ſame Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, wherevnto Agatha gladlie condeſcended. Shortlie after, with an aſſemblie of all the nobles of Scotland, this mariage was made and ſolemnized after the octaues of Eaſter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuiſed. K. William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared leaſt this aliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might bréed ſome trouble and diſquietneſſe to his eſtate, ſith the ſame Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To preuent therefore the occaſions of inteſtine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foreſaid Edgar, by reaſon whereof, a great number of Engliſhmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obteining liuings at his hands, remained there continuallie during their liues, leauing to their poſteritie their names & poſſeſſions. Amongſt whome were theſe, Lindſeie, Vaus, Ramſeie, Louell, Touthris, Preſtoune, Sandlands, Billart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Parwell, with diuerſe other.

Malcolme Cammore marieth Margaret ſiſter to Edgar Atheling.

1067. H.B.

Engliſhmen fled into Scotland.

Surnames of Engliſhmen in Scotland.

There came diuerſe alſo out of Hungarie with quéene Margaret, who likewiſe left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoune, Fotringham, Giffart, Melvill, Worthwike, and others. Alſo there haue come at ſundrie ſeaſons out of France diuers ſurnames into Scotland, as Fraſeir, Sinclare, Boſwell, Powtray, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bois, Betoun, or Betuin, Tailleſer, and Bothwell, beſides ſundrie other which were but ſuperfluous to rehearſe at this time. ¶ But to the order of the hiſtorie. It is recorded by writers, that theſe (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and ſiluer with them; alſo manie relikes of ſaints, and (amongſt other) that blacke croſſe which king Dauid gaue vnto the abbeie of Holie rood houſe in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proſcription of theſe Engliſhmen, William the conqueror ſent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatning that if he refuſed to deliuer him, he would ſuerlie fetch him, and that ſmallie for Malcolms commoditie.

Surnames of Hungarians.

Surnames of Frenchmen.

The blacke croſſe.

William conqueror threatneth king Malcolme.

But Malcolme, though he vnderſtood that he ſhould be ſure of wars at K. Williams hands for his deniall; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his maiſters requeſt was vnreaſonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wiſe to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this anſwere from king Malcolme, proclamed open warre againſt Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland toke part with K. Malcolme, for that he was their earles ſiſters ſonne. Whereupon K. William ſent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came haſtilie into that countrie, howbeit he abode a ſhort time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was diſcomfited, and he himſelfe traitorouſlie ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

Malcolms anſwere.

Open warre proclaimed by william conqueror.

Northumberland taketh part with K. Malcolme.

Roger a Norman capteine or rather earle Roger (as I take it.)

Slaine in England.

But

The earle of Gloceſter.

But king William nothing diſcouraged with this ouerthrow: ſent one Richard earle of Gloceſter (whome amongeſt all the Engliſhmen he had moſt in truſt) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, a gainſt whome were ſent the earles of March and Menteith, who defended the countrie right manlie from the inuaſion of the ſaid earle, ſo that he was not able to take anie aduantage of them. King William aduertiſed hereof, waxed wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done againſt his enemies, whereupon he ſent a new power thither with all ſpæd, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both biſhop of Baieux, and earle of Kent. By this laſt armie, the countrie of Northumberland was ſore ſpoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen diſcomfited and ſlaine. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giuing an onſet vpon his enimies, ſlue a great number of them, and recouered all the bootie which Odos men had got in the countrie, and ſo right ioifull of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abaſhed for theſe miſhaps, ſent his ſonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anie time he had ſent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long ſeaſon in campe neere to the riuer of Tine, attempted no notable enterpriſe, ſauing that he repaired and newlie fortified the towne of Newcaſtell, which ſtandeth vpon the ſame riuer of Tine; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings vnder theſe conditions, that king Malcolme ſhould inioy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Tweed, Cumberland, and Stainmore, and to do homage to the K. of England for the ſame. In the midſt of Stainmore there ſhall be a croſſe ſet vp, with the king of Englands image on the one ſide, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to ſignifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This croſſe was called the roiſcroſſe, that is, the croſſe of the kings. Moreouer, it was concluded that Waltheof or Waldoſius (as the Scotiſh writers name him) the ſonne of Siward earle of Northumberland ſhould marie king Williams neece, borne of his daughter, and to be free from all paiments and exactions due to the king by anie maner of prerogatiue or meanes, for the ſpace of twentie yeares next inſuing.

Goſpatrike ſaith Simon Dunel.

Odo biſhop of Baieux and earle of Kent.

Malcolms enterpriſe againſt his enimies.

Robert the ſonne of William conqueror.

Newcaſtell vpon Tine fortified.

A peace concluded betwixt William Conqueror, and Malcolme Cammore.

The roiſcroſſe.

Waltheof.

Siward earle of Northumberland.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reaſon of inteſtine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Iland men, roſe in great numbers, and ſpoiled the borders of their neighbors, not ſparing from ſlaughter in all parts, where they were anie thing reſiſted. Againſt theſe rebels was ſent by king Malcolme, Walter the ſonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a conuenient armie, who at his comming into Galloway, firſt gaue the people of that countrie an ouerthrow, and ſlue their chiefe capteine Makglaue. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Iles, he ſubdued them in ſuch wiſe, that all things were pacified euen at commandement. For which high prowes and diligence in this peece of ſeruice ſhewed, he was created by Malcolme high ſteward of the realme, ſo that afterwards both he and his poſteritie euer ſince haue borne that ſurname, euen vnto theſe our daies.

Rebellion in Galloway.

Walter the ſonne of Fleance.

Makglaue.

Walter created high ſteward of Scotland.

After the quieting of this buſineſſe, there ſprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murreyland men, procuring them of Roſſe and Cathnes, with diuers other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onelie ſlea the kings ſeruants, and thoſe that were appointed vnder him to ſee iuſtice miniſtred, but through ſupport of one Makduncane, whome they choſe to be their capteine, they alſo walked and deſtroied the kings poſſeſſions, with more crueltie than euer had beene heard of before. Wherefore to puniſh theſe traitorous attempts, Makduffe was ſent with an armie into War. But the traitors doubting leaſt they ſhould not be able to withſtand his puiſſance, thought nothing more auailable than to ſtop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himſelfe in good ſeaſon into Monimuſke, where he was aduertiſed, that in maner all the north parts of Scotland with the Iles, were confederat with the Murreyland men againſt him. The king aſtoniſhed ſomething at theſe newes, vowed to giue the baronnie of Monimuſke (which he vnderſtood to be lands perteining to the crowne) vnto the church of ſaint Andrew in Fife, if it might pleaſe God to ſend him victorie ouer his enimies.

A new rebellion in Murreyland.

Makduffe.

The kings vow.

At length comming vnto the water of Speie, he beheld his enimies on the further ſide, in greater number, and in better furniture for armor than he thought had beene poſſible to haue found in all Scotland: he perceiued alſo that his ſtandard-bearer began to ſhrinke, and not to ſhew the like cheerefull countenance as he ought to haue done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gaue it to ſir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obteined ſundrie faire lands and poſſeſſions, to him and to his heires for euer: but his ſurname was afterwards changed, and called Skrimgeour; of the which is deſcended a noble houſe, continuing yet in great honor in the ſame ſurname and office. When the king was once paſſed the water, and the armies on both ſides readie to haue ioined, through mediation of biſhops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on theſe conditions; That the commons that toke part with the rebels, ſhould returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to ſubmit themſelues to the kings pleaſure, their liues and lands ſaued. Howbeit manie of them were kept in perpetuall priſon during their liues, and all their goods confiſcated to the kings vſe.

Standard bearer.

Sir Alexander Carron.

A peace concluded.

The ſubmiſſion of gentlemen.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (ſpeciallie by the good admoniſhment and exhortation of his wife queene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himſelfe in maner altogither vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by prouiding for the poore, and ſuch like godlie exerciſes: ſo that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be briefe, herein there ſeemed to be in maner a certeine ſtrife betwixt him, and that vertuous queene his wife, which of them ſhould be moſt feruent in the loue of God, ſo that manie people by the imitation of them were brought vnto a better life. Agatha and hir daughter Chriſtine alſo, by the example of theſe two holie liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuat and ſolitarie life, wherein they gaue themſelues wholie to diuine contemplation. Furthermore, Malcolme by the ſetting on of the queene his wife, ceaſſed not to ſet his indeuor wholie to the aduancement of the chriſtian religion, and to reſtore things that were decaied by the negligence of his predeceſſors. Therefore whereas before his time, there were but foure biſhops ſees in Scotland, as ſaint Andrews, Glaſcow, Galloway, and Murthlake, and two of them, that is to ſay, ſaint Andrews and Murthlake remaining onelie in good reparation (the other being decaied) he reſtored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murrey and Cathnes, placing men of ſingular vertue and puritie of life in the ſame.

King Malcolme through exhortation of his wife, giueth himſelfe to deuotion.

A godlie ſtrife.

Agatha and Chriſtine renounce the world.

Biſhops ſees reſtored and newlie created by king Malcolme.

But

But to proceed. It is ſaid, that ſuch outragious riot entred at this time, and began to grow in vſe among the Scotiſhmen, togither with the language and maners of the Engliſh nation (by reaſon that ſuch a multitude of the ſame, fleing out of their countrie, were dailie receiued as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is ſhewed) that diuerſe of the nobles perceiuing what diſcommoditie and decaie to the whole realme would inſue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting greeuouſlie the caſe, for that this venemous infection ſpred ſo faſt ouer the whole realme, to the peruerting and vtter remouing of the ancient ſobrietie of diet vſed in the ſame. Wherefore they beſought him to prouide ſome remedie in time, before hope of redreſſe were paſt, that the people might be againe reduced vnto their former frugalitie, who hitherto vſed not to eat but once in the day, and then deſiring no ſuperfluous meates and drinks to be ſought by ſea and land, nor curiouſlie dreſſed or ſerued forth with ſawces, but onelie feeding to ſatiſfie nature, and not their greedie appetites.

Riot and ſuperfluous chere brought into Scotland.

The lamentation of the Scotiſh nobilitie for the intemperate ſurfetting begun to grow in vſe in their countrie.

The ancient ſparenelle of diet amongſt the Scots.

Through this their ſober fare, with the exerciſing of their bodies herewith in continuall trauell, they grew more ſtrong and greater of bodie, than their offspring are found to be in theſe daies: for they were more in reſemblance like vnto giants than vnto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and lims, preſſing vpon their enimies like vnto fierce lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of anie danger, for that they exceeded all humane ſtrength and power. Herevpon king Malcolme toke great paines to haue redreſſed this infectiue poiſon, and vtterlie to haue expelled it forth of his realme. Howbeit the nature of man is ſo prone and readie to imbrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scotiſh people before had no knowledge nor vnderſtanding of fine fare or riotous ſurfet; yet after they had once taſted the ſweet poiſoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to reſtreine their licorous deſires. ¶ And yet thoſe corrupted abuſes and riotous ſuperfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Engliſhmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in exceſſe with things vſed in our time. For in thoſe daies, as yet the nature of man was not ſo ouercome with the abuſe of ſuperfluities, as it is now adaies; for then though they were gone from the ancient ſparenelle of diet, they yet did not eat paſt twiſe a day, and had but two diſhes at a meale: but now the greedie taſte of mens inſatiable luſt is ſuch, that no kind of fleſh, fiſh, fruit, or whatſoeuer may be gotten, is vnneth able to quench their gluttonous appetit & rauenous gormandizing; ſo that neither land, ſea, nor aire, is left vnſought to ſatiſfie the ſame, as though they were worthie of moſt high commendation that may deuour moſt: wherein they may be iuſtlie compared to greedie wolues and cormorants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a follie: for the infection is ſo entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor ſearing, it may be holpen. Sooner ſhall you deſtroie the whole nation, than remoue this vice.

Hobers fare cauſe of ſtrength and hagenelle of bodie.

Mans nature prone to vice.

The greedie taſte of mens inſatiable luſt.

Men compared to wolues & cormorants.

In the meane time whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 1087. About which time king Malcolme cauſed the old church of Durham to be plucked downe and builded vp a new, beginning euen at the firſt floore. In which ſeaſon, one Egelwin or William (as the Scotiſh writers ſay) was biſhop of that ſee, and prior of the abbeie was one Turgot, who afterward was made biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and wrote the liues of queene Margaret and Malcolme hir husband in the Scotiſh tong. Afterward he deceaſſed in ſaint Andrews, but his bodie was brought vnto Durham, and there buried, becauſe he was firſt prior thereof. King Malcolme by perſuaſion of this Turgot, builded alſo a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordeining from thenceforth that the common ſepulture of the kings ſhould be there, in like maner as it had béene afore time in the Ile of Iona at the abbeie of Colmekill.

1086. H.B.

The church of Durham built by king Malcolme.

Turgot.

The church of Dunfermling

The ſepulture of the Scotiſh kings.

Amongſt other vertuous ordinances alſo, which were deuiſed and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wiſe queene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their liues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, eſtabliſhed by king Ewin the third, appointing halfe a marke of ſiluer to be paid to the lord of the ſoile, in redemption of the womans chaſtitie, which is vſed to be paied yet vnto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwiſe by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the vſe of their bodies all the firſt night after their mariage. King William ſurnamed the Red, the ſecond ſonne of king William the Conqueror, and ſucceſſor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleaſed in his mind, that the Scots ſhould inioy a great portion of the north parts of England, anciently belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raiſed a great armie, and before anie denouncing of warre by him made, inuaded Northumberland, and toke the caſtell of Anwike, putting all ſuch to the ſword as were found in the ſame.

King Ewins law abrogated or rather altered.

William Rufus.

The caſtell of Anwike won by the Engliſhmen.

King Malcolme, to withſtand ſuch exploits attempted by his enimie, leuied a great hoſt of his ſubiects, and comming with the ſame into Northumberland, beſieged the ſaid caſtell of Anwike. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to haue made ſurrender, a certeine Engliſh knight conceiuing in his mind an hardie and dangerous interpriſe, mounted on a ſwift horſſe without armor or weapon, ſauing a ſpeare in his hand, vpon the point whereof he bare the keies of the caſtell, and ſo iſſued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scotiſh campe. They that warded, miſtruſting no harme, brought him with great noiſe and clamour vnto the kings tent. Who hearing the noiſe, came forth of his pauilion to vnderſtand what the matter ment. The Engliſhman herewith couched his ſtaffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receiue the keies which he had brought. And whileſt all mens eies were earneſt in beholding the keies, the Engliſhman ran the king through the left eie, and ſuddenlie daſhing his ſpurres to his horſſe, eſcaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the ſpeare entered ſo farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongſt his men, hée yelded vp the ghoſt. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midſt of his armie.

The caſtell of Anwike beſieged by the Scots.

An hardie enterpriſe.

K. Malcolme is ſlaine.

It is ſaid, that king William changed the name of this aduenturous knight, & called him Perſe eie, for that he ſtroke king Malcolme ſo right in the eie, and in recompenſe of his ſeruice gaue him certeine lands in Northumberland: of whome thoſe Percées are deſcended, which in our daies haue inioied the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the ſlaughter of their king, brake vp their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbeie of Tinmouth in England. But his ſonne Alexander cauſed it afterwards to be taken vp, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the ſame time was Scotland wounded with another miſhap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldeſt ſonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt

The name of the Percées had no ſuch beginning, for they came forth of Normandie at the conqueſt.

Erles of Northumberland.

K. Malcolme buried at Tinmouth.

Edward prince of Scotland died.

hurt which he receiued in a ſkirmiſh not farre from Anwike, and was buried in Dunfermling, the firſt of the bloud roiall that had his bones laid in that place. Quéene Margaret being aduertiſed of the death both of hir huſband and ſonne, as then lieng in Edenburgh caſtell, hir diſeaſe increaſed through griefe therof ſo vehementlie, that within thrée daies after ſhe departed out of this life, vnto an other more ioifull and bleſſed. King Malcolme was ſlaine in the yéere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of November, and in the 36 yéere of his reigne.

Quéene Margaret died.

1097. H.B.

The Ides of October H.B.

In the ſame yéere, manie vncouth things came to paſſe, and were ſéene in Albion. By the high ſpring-tides which chanced in the Almaine ſeas, manie townes, caſtels, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceaſſing of which tempeſt, the lands that ſometime were earle Godwins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the ſea, were made a ſand-bed, and euer ſithens haue bene called Godwins ſands. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that péece of ground being poſſeſſed by his poſteritie, for the wicked ſlaughter of Alured, which he traitorouſlie contriued. Moreouer ſundrie caſtels and townes in Surrey land, were ouerthrowne by the ſea tides. Such dreadfull thunder happened alſo at the ſame time, that men and beaſts were ſlaine in the fields, and houſes ouerturned euen from their fundations. In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trées and corne were burned vp by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

Strange wonders.

In huge tide.

Godwins ſands.

Thunder.

Trées and corne burnt.

In the daies of this Malcolme Cammore, liued that famous hiſtoriographer Marianus a Scotiſhman borne, but profeſſed a monke in the monaſterie of Fulda in Germanie. Alſo Veremond a Spaniſh prieſt, but dwelling in Scotland, floriſhed about the ſame time, and wrote the Scotiſh hiſtorie, whome Hector Boetius ſo much followeth. Malcolme had by his wife quéene Margaret (otherwiſe called for hir holineſſe of life ſaint Margaret) ſix ſonnes, Edward (as is ſaid) was ſlaine: Ethelred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an holie life in England: the other thrée were named Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid. There be that write how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his vncle Donald Bane, when he inuaded the kingdome, and vſurped the crowne, after the deceaſſe of his brother king Malcolme, and ſo then was Edgar next inheritor to the crowne.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The ſons of K. Malcolme Cammore.

Donald Bane

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Iles to eſchue the tyrannicall malice of Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by ſupport of the king of Norwaie, vnto whom he couenanted to giue the dominion of all the Iles, if by his means & furtherance he might obteine the crowne of Scotland. Hereupon landing with an armie in the realme, he found ſmall reſiſtance, and ſo with little adoo receiued the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous maners and ſuperfluous gormandizing brought in among them by the Engliſhmen, were willing inough to receiue this Donald for their king, truſting (becauſe he had béene brought vp in the Iles with the old cuſtomes and maners of their ancient nation, without taſt of the Engliſh likerous delicats) they ſhould by his ſeuere order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

Donald Bane fled into the Iles.

Donald Bane returneth into Scotland.

His couenant for the gift of the Iles to the king of Norwaie.

The reſpect that the people had to receiue Donald Bane for their king.

As ſoone as Edgar Etheling brother to Queene Margaret was aduertiſed that Donald Bane had thus vſurped the crowne of Scotland, he ſent ſecretlie for his thrée nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid, with two ſiſters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept them anie long while, but that a knight whoſe name was Orgar or Organ, accuſed him of treaſon, alledging how he nouriſhed his ſiſters ſonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this falſe ſurmize remained not vnpuniſhed, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to darraine battell with Organ, in defenſe of Edgars innocencie, ſlue him within liſts. After that Donald had receiued the crowne at the abbeie of Scone, he perceiued that ſome of the nobles grudged at his preferment, ſhewing by ſome tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolmes children, than vnto him: and therefore he caſt out a word amongſt his familiars, that yet it were long the nobles ſhould repent them of their doing, if they applied not themſelues the more to his opinion.

K. Malcolms ſons ſent for into England by Edgar their vncle.

Orgar or one Organ accuſed Edgar Etheling of treaſon.

Organ is ſlaine within liſts.

Donald threatneth.

Which words being marked, and deepelie imprinted in ſome of their hearts, turned afterwards to his great diſpleaſure. For ſhortlie after came Duncane the baſtard ſonne of king Malcolme out of England into Scotland, ſupported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the kingdome, and to expell Donald out of the ſame by force of armes, if he attempted anie reſiſtance. Now when Donald approched with his puiſſance, in purpoſe to haue giuen battell, the moſt part of his people did forſake him, and drew vnto Duncans ſide, ſo that Donald thus abandoned of them that ſhould haue aided him, was conſtreined for his refuge to flee againe into the weſterne Iles: and ſo Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had béene trained the moſt part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had ſmall ſkill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to ſtand with iuſtice, which was decided with ſpeare and ſhield. By reaſon whereof Scotland was ſhortlie filled with new troubles and ſeditious diuiſions.

Duncan Malcolms baſtard ſonne.

Duncane is crowned king of Scotland.

Duncane lacketh ſkill in ciuill gouernement.

Donald Bane being aduertiſed of all thoſe things, that thereby happened in Scotland, ſollicited Makpender erle of Mernes to take his part, and by ſome meanes to ſlea K. Duncane, which enterpriſe Makpender taking in hand, at length (in Penteth) accompliſhed the ſame in the night ſeaſon, when he had eſpied ſuch aduantage and opportunitie of time, that not ſo much as one man was found to purſue him. But to ſay the truth, Duncane was ſo farre out of the peoples fauor, that more reioiſed than were ſorie for his death. After he was thus diſpatched, his vncle Donald was reſtored againe to the kingdome, chiefflie by ſupport of the forenamed Makpender, after his nephue the foreſaid Duncane had reigned one yéere and an halfe, where Donald himſelfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his ſaid nephue) the ſpace of ſix moneths, and now after he had recouered the kingdome, he continued in the regiment thereof thrée yéeres, not without great trouble and inteſtine commotions: for the moſt part of the lords maligning his aduancement, ſought occaſions dailie to depoſe him.

Makpender erle of Mernis ſleieth king Duncane.

Donald Bane is reſtored to the crowne.

In the meane time the Iſlandmen made ſome ſtirre, neither did the warres with England ceaſſe, (though without anie great exploit or enterpriſe worthie of remembrance) ſauing a few light ſkirmiſhes betwixt the parties, as occaſion ſerued. At length came Magnus king of Norwaie with a great fléet, and ſailing about the weſterne Iles, garniſhed all the ſtrengths within them in moſt defenſible wiſe, with men, munition, and victels, vſurping the dominion as ſouereigne lord of the ſame Iles: and at the ſame time ordeined thoſe lawes and conſtitutions,

Magnus K. of Norway cõmeth into the weſterne Iles

ſtitutions which are vſed there amongſt the inhabitants euen vnto theſe dates. The Scotiſhmen hauing great indignation, that the Iles being ancientlie parcell of the crowne, ſhould be thus alienated from the ſame, ſent orators vnto Edgar (who was, as ye haue heard, the fourth ſonne of king Malcolme) deſiring him moſt inſtantlie to come into Scotland, to recouer his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the vſurpers hands.

Edgar king Malcolmes ſon is ſent for.

Edgar taking deliberate aduiſe touching this requeſt, firſt ſent ambaſſadours vnto Donald, promiſing that if he would be contented to reſtore vnto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull ſucceſſion, he would gladlie reward him with great lordſhips and reuenues in Louthian: but Donald was ſo farre from minding to do him reaſon in this behalfe, that cauſing them which brought this meſſage to be put in priſon, he finallie ſlue them. Then Edgar by counſell of his vncle Edgar Etheling, purchaſing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, ſet forwards toward Scotland. At his comming to Durham, he was admoniſhed by a viſion in his ſléepe, that if he toke with him the banner of ſaint Cutbert, he ſhould haue victorie. On the morow after, he came into the abbeie church, where firſt hearing diuine ſeruice, when the ſame was ended, he diſplaied the foreſaid banner, and cauſed it to be borne before him in that iournie. Neuertheles king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chaſed into the Iles, where he was taken and brought vnto Edgar. ¶ Some ſay that when the battels were readie to haue ioined, his men beholding the banner of ſaint Cutbert ſpred againſt them, immediatlie forſoke him, ſo that he being deſtitute of ſuccour, fled, in purpoſe to haue ſaued himſelfe in ſome one of the weſterne Iles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is ſaid) vnto Edgar, by whome he was (howſoeuer the hap of his taking chanced) caſt immediatlie into priſon, wherein he ſhortlie after died. The victorie thus atchiued, Edgar went vnto Edenburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to viſit the ſepultures of his mother and brethren.

Edgar ſendeth meſſengers to Donald.

Donald ſleeth Edgars meſſengers.

Edgar is aided by k. William Rufus.

Saint Cutberts banner.

k. Donald diſcomfited and chaſed into the Iles.

k. Donald is taken.

King Donald dieth in priſon.

## *Edgar.*

Afterwards comming to the abbeie of Scone, and aſſembling the lords of the realme, he receiued the crowne, and ſhortlie after was annointed by the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews named Godrike, in the yéere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchaſed a little before hir death of Vrbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland ſhould be annointed. This priuiledge was confirmed afterwards by pope Iohn the ſecond of that name. The firſt king that was annointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforeſaid. About two yeers before this Edgar recouered thus the crowne of Scotland, was that generall paſſage made into the holie land vnder Godfrie of Bullongne, and other chriſtian princes.

Edgar is crowned and annointed.

A priuiledge for the Scotiſh kings to be annointed.

Edgar the firſt annointed king of Scotland.

The paſſage into the holie land.

Amongſt them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Normandie went, and ſhould haue béene created king of Ieruſalem, had he not at the ſame time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was ſlaine by chance, through glanſing of an arrow ſhot at a déere in the new forreſt; and then hoping to ſucceéd him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he ſaw to be more trauell than gaine. But at his comming home, he found that his yongeſt brother Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerke, was placed in the kingdome of England, and ſo was duke Robert his hope fruſtrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthilie (as moſt men thought) for that he refuſed ſo neceſſarie a dignitie, wherein he might haue ſerued the common cauſe of the chriſtian common-wealth. Vnto Henrie Beauclerke in the ſecond yere of his reigne king Edgar maried one of his ſiſters called Mauld. The other named Marie he coupled with Euſtace earle of Bullongne: in which mariage was borne a daughter that was the onelie heire of the ſame Euſtace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when ſhe came to womans ſtate, was maried vnto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Mortaigne in France, nephue to Henrie Beauclerke by his ſiſter. The king of England Henrie, had iſſue by quéene Mauld, two ſonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eufame and Mauld.

Robert duke of Normãdie.

Henrie Beauclerke king of England.

Mauld kind Edgars ſiſter.

Euſtace earle of Bullongne.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to ſhew ſome token of thanks towards ſaint Cutbert for his aid ſhewed, as was thought, in the battell againſt his vncle Donald, he gaue vnto the monks of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the biſhop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwike. But for that the ſame biſhop wrought afterwards treaſon againſt him, he loſt that gift, and the king reſumed that towne into his hands againe. I do not find that Edgar had anie warres anie waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dread amongſt his ſubiects for his ſingular equitie and vpright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundée, in the 9 yére of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauiour 1107.

The lands of Coldingham. Canulph biſhop of Durham.

Edgar rather reuerenced than dred.

1107. Io. Ma.

1109. H.B.

## *Alexander.*

After the deceaſſe of this Edgar, ſucceéded his brother Alexander the fierce, ſo called for his rigorous valiancie in purſuing of théeues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murrey land and Roſſe, beholding him to be moſt an end in the church at his praiers, and diuine ſeruice, after the maner of his parents, ſuppoſed he would proue no great quicke iuſticier in puniſhing offendors, and thereupon moſt preſumptuouſlie they began to rob and reaue on ech ſide, not ſparing to kill and ſlea all ſuch as came in their hands, without reſpect to age or ſex; inſomuch that the yong infants ſmiling vpon the murtherers, being about to execute their deteſtable crueltie, paſſed by the ſword as well as the reſiſters: ſuch rooted malice remained in their beaſtlie harts, which vpon renewing their old grudges they now accordinglie ſhewed. King Alexander therefore aduertiſed hereof, came into thoſe parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and capteins, ſtroke off their heads. As he returned backe through Mernes, there came a woman vnto him weéping in moſt lamentable ſort, who fell vpon hir knees at his féet, beſéeching him to pitie hir caſe, hauing loſt both hir huſband & ſonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the maiſter of Mernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had ſlaine and murthered as well the one as the other. The king moued with this deteſtable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horſſe, and would not mount vp againe, till he had ſéene the author of that heinous treſpaſſe hanged vpon a gibbet. After his comming into Gowrie, he toke in hand to finiſh and make vp the caſtell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chaſtiſe a ſort of théeues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great diſquietnes of all the countrie. He gaue alſo to the maintenance of that houſe certeine lands, which the earle of Gowrie had giuen him at the font ſtone, when he became his godfather.

Théeues of Murrey land and Roſſe.

The crueltie of théeues.

Execution.

The earle of Mernes ſon.

A righteous iuſticier.

The caſtell of Baledgar.

Whileſt he was thus buſie about the furtherance of that worke, diuerſe of thoſe théeues that were accuſtomed to liue by robberies in thoſe parts, perceiuing that this caſtell, which the king was about to build, ſhould turne vnto their deſtruction, they conſpired his death, and winning by rewards and promiſes

Treaſon of conſpirators to haue ſlaine the king.

miſes the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accompliſhing of their traitorous and moſt diueliſh practiſes, they entered one night through a priuie into his lodging, in purpoſe to haue ſlaine him as he ſlept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, ſtarted out of his bed, and caught a ſword which hong neere at hand, wherewith he ſlue firſt his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then diſpatched ſix of the other traitors (which were alreadie entered his chamber) with ſingular force and manhood: the other fearing leaſt with the noiſe, his ſeruants that lodged within the houſe ſhould haue beene raiſed, and ſo haue haſted to aſſaile them on the backs, fled in all haſte poſſible. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch purſute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & vpon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were incouraged to worke that treaſon which they had gone about, by ſundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finallie, the matter was ſo handled with them, that they diſcloſed the names of thoſe that had thus procured them to the treaſon. Whereupon the king gathering an armie, he marched forth to purſue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spaie, the conſpirators had gotten togither their power, & were lodged on the further ſide of the ſame water, to ſtop him from paſſing ouer.

The kings manhood.

The water of Spaie.

The king ſeeing them thus aſſembled to impeach his paſſage, ſent his banner-man ſir Alexander Carron with a choſen part of his armie to paſſe the water, and to fight with his enimies, where, by the hardie onſet of the ſaid ſir Alexander, they were quicklie put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chaſe ſuffered death, according as they had well deſerued. The realme after this execution done on theſe offendors, continued manie yeeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron alſo for that he was ſeene in the kings fight that day to fight moſt manfullie, in fleaing diuerſe of the rebels with a crooked ſword which he had in his hand (of which ſort manie were vſed in thoſe daies) he was highlie rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to ſay, An hardie fighter. He had alſo his armes increaſed with a rampant lion holding a crooked ſword, as is to be ſeene in the armes of his poſteritie vnto this day. ¶ Other there be that ſay he got the ſurname of Skrimgeour, becauſe he ſlue an Engliſhman in a ſingular combat. The principall of this ſurname in our time held the conſtableſhip of Dundee, bearing in his armes a crooked ſword in faſhion of an hooke.

Sir Alexander Carron. The rebels are banquiſhed.

Skrimgeour.

After that king Alexander had appeaſed the inteſtine commotions thus within his realme, he ſet in hand to repare the abbeie of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honor of the Trinitie, and ſaint Michaell. Not long after this alſo, he chanced to come into ſaint Colmes Inch, where he was conſtreined to abide three daies togither through violent rage of weather and tempeſts: and becauſe he found ſome reliefe of meate & drinke, by meanes of an heremit that dwelt within the ſame Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to ſaint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbeie of regular canons, in the honor of ſaint Colme, endowing it with ſundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that houſe. He alſo gaue to the church of ſaint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, ſo named, for that a great bore was ſlaine vpon the ſaid ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tuſks of this bore do hang in chaines vpon the ſtalles of the quier in ſaint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thicke-

The abbeie of Scone.

Saint Colmes Inch.

The abbeie of ſaint Colmes Inch builded.

Lands named the Boarrinke. Bore tuſks.

neſſe. Moreouer, the abbeie of Dunfirmling was finiſhed by king Alexander, and endowed with ſundrie lands and poſſeſſions.

The abbeie of Dunfirmling.

Whileſt king Alexander was thus occupied in building and reparing of religious houſes, his brother Dauid liued in England with his ſiſter queene Mauld, & through fauour which the king hir huſband bare towards him, he obteined in marriage one Mauld, daughter vnto Woldoſius, or rather Waltheof earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Judith that was neece vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the ſaid Woldoſius or Waltheof had no other iſſue to inherit his lands, Dauid in right of his wife Mauld inioied the ſame, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had iſſue by his wife a ſon named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and ſome part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after ſhall appeere. Mauld the daughter of king Henrie Beauclerke, was maried vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Eufeme, the reſidue of the iſſue which the ſame Henrie Beauclerke had by his wife (ſurnamed for hir ſingular bounteouſneſſe, the good queene Mauld) in comming forth of France to repaſſe into England, periſhed in the ſea by a tempeſt, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his ſubiects of ech eſtate and degree. Their mother the ſaid Mauld was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceaſſed alſo, and was buried in Dunfirmling beſides his fathers ſepulture, in the 17 yeere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Chriſt 1125 yeeres.

Dauid brother to king Alexander.

Woldoſius earle of Northumberland and Huntington.

The lands of Huntington and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland.

The death of king Alexander.

1124. H.B.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kinred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John Cumming, a man of great proweſſe and valiancie, obteining of the king in reſpect therof, certeine ſmall portions of lands in Scotland. The houſe of theſe Cummings roſe in proceſſe of time thus from a ſmall beginning to high honor and puiſſance, by reaſon of the great poſſeſſions & ample reuenues which they afterwards atteined. At length (as often happeneth) the importable height of this linage was the onelie cauſe of the decaie and finall ruine therof, as in the ſequele of this hiſtorie ye may at full perceiue.

The beginning of the Cummings.

Alſo in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewiſe the order of White monks, the author whereof was one Nodobert. About the ſame time liued that holie man Richard de ſancto Victore, a Scotiſhman borne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloiſter of the abbeie of ſaint Victor, being a brother of the ſame houſe.

Knights of the Rhodes. White monks

Richard de ſancto Victore

*Dauid.*

But now to proceed with the hiſtorie. After the deceaſſe of Alexander the fierce and firſt of that name, his brother Dauid came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This Dauid, according to the example of his noble parents, ſet his whole care about the due miniſtring of iuſtice, to the honor of almightie God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie forraine enimies, ſo long as king Henrie Beauclerke liued. Therefore hauing opportunitie of ſuch a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and vſed to ſit in hearing of iudgement himſelfe, ſpeciallie concerning poore mens cauſes and matters: but the controuerſies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he vnderſtood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompenſed the partie wronged, according to the value of his loſſe and hinde-

Dauid is crowned king of Scotland.

The care of king Dauid for the poore.

A righteous iudge.

hinderance, with the gods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

Banketting cheare baniſhed.

Thus in the firſt yeares of his reigne he did manie things to the aduancement of the common-wealth, and baniſhed ſuch banketting cheare as was vſed amongſt his people after the example of the Engliſhmen, perceiuing the ſame to breed a great weakening & decaie of the ancient ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach, that was wont to remaine in the Scotiſh nation.

King Dauid built 15 abbeies.

He builded to the number of fiftéene abbeies, part of them in the beginning of his reigne before the warres were begun which he had with the Engliſhmen, and part after the ſame warres were ended.

The names of the abbeies builded by king Dauid.

The names of thoſe abbeies are as followeth: Holie rood houſe, Kelſo, Jedburgh, Melroſſe, Newbottell, Holmecultrane, Dundzanane, Cambuſkenneth, Kinlois, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland; alſo two nunries, the one at Carleill, and the other at north Berwike: with two abbeies beſide Newcaſtell, the one of ſaint Benedicts order, and the other of white monkes.

Foure biſhops ſées erected in Scotland.

He erected alſo foure biſhoprikes within his realme, Roſſe, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dublane, indowing them with rich rents, faire lands, and ſundrie right commodious poſſeſſions. Moreouer he tranſlated the biſhops ſee of Murthlake vnto Aberden, for ſundrie aduiſed conſiderations, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

He was admoniſhed (as the report goeth) in his ſléepe, that he ſhuld build an abbeie for a religious order to liue in togither. Wherupon he ſent for workemen into France and Flanders, and ſet them in

Holie rood houſe builded.

hand to build this abbeie of canons regular, as he was admoniſhed, dedicating it in the honor of a croſſe (whereunto he bare ſpeciall deuotion) for that verie ſtrangelie it ſlipped into his hands (on a time) as he was purſuing and following of a hart in the chaſe. But inough of theſe monkiſh deuiſes.

Liberalitie in king Dauid toward the church reprooued.

Manie prudent men blame greatlie the vnmeaſurable liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he vſed towards the church, in diminiſhing ſo hugelie the reuenues of the crowne, being the cauſe that manie noble princes his ſucceſſors haue come to their finall ends, for that they haue béene conſtreined through want of treaſure to mainteine their rotall eſtates, to procure the fall of ſundrie great houſes, to poſſeſſe their lands and liuings; alſo to raiſe paiments and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impoueriſhment of the realme. And ſometime they haue béene conſtreined to inuade England by warres, as deſperat men, not caring what came of their liues. Otherwhiles they haue béene inforced to ſtampe naughtie monie, to the great preiudice of the common-wealth. All which miſchiefes haue followed ſince the time that the church hath béene thus inriched, and the crowne impoueriſhed.

The church inriched, and the crowne impoueriſhed.

The ſaieng of King James the firſt.

A ſore ſaint.

Therefore king James the firſt, when he came to king Dauid his ſepulture at Dunfirmling, he ſaid, that he was a ſore ſaint for the crowne, meaning that he left the church ouer-rich, and the crowne too poore. For he toke from the crowne (as Iohn Maior writeth in his chronicles) 60 thouſand pounds Scotiſh of yéerelie reuenues, wherewith he indowed thoſe abbeies. But if K. Dauid had conſidered how to nouriſh true religion, he had neither indowed churches with ſuch riches, nor built them with ſuch roialtie: for the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the church (as they are now vſed) are not onelie occaſion to euill prelats to liue in moſt inſolent pompe & corrupt life, but an aſſured net to draw gold and ſiluer out of realms. But now to returne where I left, touching the hiſtorie, ye ſhall note that (as I ſaid before) Dauid had by his wife Mauld inheritor of part of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a

Iohn Maior.

60000 pounds in lands giuen to the church.

Superfluous poſſeſſions of the church.

ſonne named Henrie, who maried the earle of Warrens daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as deſcended of moſt noble bloud both French and Engliſh. On whome he begat thrée ſonnes, Malcolme, William, and Dauid; alſo thrée daughters, Adhama, Margaret, and Mauld. But now in the meane time, whileſt the eſtate of the common-wealth in Scotland ſtood in high felicitie, vnder the proſperous gouernement of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie loſſe. For the quéene his wife the foreſaid Mauld deceaſſed in hir flouriſhing age, a woman of paſſing beautie and chaſtitie, which two points (as is thought) commend a woman aboue all the reſt. King Dauid therefore toke ſuch griefe for hir death, that he would neuer after giue his mind to marie anie other, but paſſed the reſidue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1132.

Earle of warren.

The iſſue of Henrie.

Quéene Mauld deceaſſeth.

1132.

Whileſt theſe things came thus to paſſe in Scotland, Henrie Beauclerke king of England, cauſed all the nobles of his realme to take their oths, that after his deceaſſe they ſhould receiue his daughter Mauld the empreſſe for their ſouereigne ladie and quéene. She was as then returned into England; for hir huſband the emperour was latelie before deceaſſed. King Dauid alſo toke his oth, and therefore when king Stephan (who vſurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceaſſe againſt the ſaid empreſſe) ſent vnto king Dauid to come and doo his homage for the earledomes of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bound to doo) with intimation that if he refuſed, king Stephan would inuade him with open warre; king Dauid anſwered, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for thoſe lands vnto the empreſſe Mauld, which he minded not to breake for the threatning words of anie new inuaſions. King Stephan moued with this anſwere, ſent a power of men to the borders of Northumberland, (which as then was vnder the dominion of the Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrie. They that had the charge of this enterpriſe, entering into the lands of their enimies, put all to fire and ſword that came in their way. The Scots kindled with that diſpleaſure, roded into England, and did the like diſpleaſures and hurts there. For the yeare after, the earles of March, Menteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, againſt whome came the earle of Glocester, and giuing them battell at Northalerton, loſt the field, and was taken priſoner himſelfe, with diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan therefore, conſtreined to redéeme the captiues, gaue not onelie a great ſumme of monie for them; but alſo made reſignation of all ſuch title, claime, or intereſt, as either he or anie of his ſucceſſors might make or pretend to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. Howbeit his nobles were no ſooner returned home, but that repenting him of that reſignation, he gathered his puiſſance againe, and entering into Northumberland, fought with the Scots that came forth to reſiſt him, and obteining the victorie, toke a great part of the countrie into his poſſeſſion.

Mauld the empreſſe.

K. Stephan.

Homage is required.

The Engliſh men inuade Northumberland.

The Scots make rodes into England

The earle of Glocester Robert was againſt king Stephan, but there might be ſome other happilie vnto whome king Stephan had giuen that title.

A reſignation.

K. Stephan repenteth.

King Dauid, to redreſſe theſe iniuries, gathered a mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to expell the Engliſhmen out of all the bounds of his dominions, or elſe to die in the fæld. But ſhortlie after, Thurſtane archbiſhop of Yorke came vnto Roxburgh, called in thoſe daies Marken, to treat for peace, where a truce was concluded for thrée moneths, with condition, that the Engliſhmen ſhould deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henrie king Dauid his ſonnes. But for ſo

Roxburgh in old time Marken.

A truce.

much as this couenant was not performed on king Stephans ſide, king Dauid inuaded that part of the countrie which the Engliſhmen held, making great ſlaughter of all them that he found there about to reſiſt him. King Stephan moued herewith leuied his people, and came in puiſſant araie vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had ſecret knowledge that ſome of the nobles in his armie ſought his deſtruction, he was conſtreined to returne without atchiuing of anie woorthie enterpriſe.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

King Stephan palleth vnto Roxburgh.

The yeare next inſuing, a peace was talked vpon, the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke appointed commiſſioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the biſhops of Glaſcow, Aberden, and ſaint Andrews on the part of king Dauid. But Mauld quéene of England, the daughter of Euſtace earle of Bullongne, and néece to king Dauid by his ſiſter Marie, was the chiefeſt doer in this matter, to bring them to agrément. The one of the kings, that is to ſay Stephan, laie at Dureſme with his nobles; and the other, that is to ſay Dauid, lay at Newcaſtell, during all the time of this treatie, which at length ſorted to the concluſion of a peace, on theſe conditions: that the counties of Northumberland and Huntington ſhould remaine in the gouernement of Henrie prince of Scotland, as heire to the ſame by right of his mother; but Cumberland ſhould be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king Dauid. And for theſe lands and ſeignories the forenamed prince Henrie & his ſucceſſors, princes of Scotland, ſhould doo homage vnto king Stephan and his ſucceſſors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Couenants of agréement.

Homage.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their ſubiects, K. Stephan returned into Kent, and king Dauid repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus paſſed the firſt three yeares of king Stephans reigne. In the fourth yeare came Mauld the empreſſe into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainelie may appeare.) But whileſt England was ſore tormented with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarels of theſe two perſons, no ſmall ſorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onelie ſonne vnto king Dauid, who died at Kelſo, and was buried in the abbeie church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoned aſwell of his father the king, as of all other the eſtates and degrées of the realme, for ſuch ſingular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left iſſue behind him three ſonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprouided of heires.

K. Stephan returneth.

Carleill was repared by William Rufus king of England, about the yeare of our Lord, 1092.

The death of Henrie prince of Scotland. 1152.

Prince Henrie his iſſue.

The king alſo being mortified from the world, tooke the death of his ſonne verie patientlie, conſidering that all men are ſubiect vnto death by the law of nature, and are ſure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaſeth him, as by dailie experience is moſt manifeſt. Therefore that king Dauid weied the loſſe of his ſonne in ſuch balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his ſonnes deceaſſe) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heauie and ſorrowfull for the loſſe which he and they had ſuſteined by the death of ſo towardlie a prince, that was to haue ſucceéded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feaſt, the which he made vnto thoſe nobles that came thus to viſit him, he began in this wiſe.

The lawes of nature.

An oration.

How great your fidelitie and care is, which you beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this preſent day I haue receiued moſt ample fruit thereof: for now doo I plainelie ſée, that you lament no leſſe for the loſſe of my late deceſſed ſonne, than if you had buried ſome one of your owne ſonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you eſtéeme to be ſore afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my ſaid moſt obedient ſonne. But to let paſſe for this time due yéelding of thanks to you for the ſame, till occaſion and leaſure may better ſerue thereto; this now may ſuffice, that I acknowledge my ſelfe to be ſo much beholden to you, that whatſoeuer thing I haue in the world, the ſame is readie to doo you pleaſure. But concerning the cauſe of your comming hither, in ſhewing your courteſies therein, you ſhall vnderſtand, that my parents, whom I truſt to be in heauen, and (as ſaints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did ſo inſtruct me from my tender youth, that I ſhould woorſhip with all reuerence the moſt wiſe creator and prudent gouernor of all things; and to thinke that nothing was doone by him in vaine, but that the ſame is prouided and ordeined to ſome good vſe by his high and vnſearchable counſell. And therefore whileſt day and night I haue and doo reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and inſtructions of my parents, whatſoeuer hath chanced either tuching aduerſitie or proſperitie, good hap or bad, the ſame hath ſéemed to me (at the firſt) receiuing all things with equall and thankefull mind, and interpreting them to the beſt, farre more light than they commonlie ſéeme to others; and leſſe they did diſquiet me: ſo as with vſe I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduerſities that may happen, but alſo to receiue the ſame as things pleaſant and euen to be deſired. And verelie my hap hath beene to be greatlie exerciſed in this behalfe, for I haue firſt ſeene my father, more déere to me than anie earthlie treaſure; and no leſſe profitable than greatlie deſired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinſmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall neceſſitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the world for hir ſingular vertue to paſſe hence in like maner. My brethren that were ſo louing, and againe ſo greatlie beloued of me; alſo my wife whome I eſtéemed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the ſame way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So verelie ſtandeth the caſe, that no man might yet at anie time auoid the violence of his force when he commeth, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that muſt néeds be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankefull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we ſhall be all immortall, if we our ſelues through vice, & as it were ſpotted with filthie diſeaſes of the mind, doo not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cauſe to reioiſe, that God by his ſingular fauour hath granted to me ſuch a ſonne, which in all mens iudgements was woorthie to be beloued whileſt he was here amongſt vs, and to be wiſhed for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heamlie, that he to whome he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, ſhould call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I ſée occaſion) I ſhall aſke that againe, which you haue poſſeſſed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither doo I truſt to want him long, if God ſhall be ſo mercifull vnto me, as I wiſh him to be: for I hope ſhortlie to be called hence by commandement of that moſt high king, and to be caried vp to reſt among that fellowſhip of heauenlie ſpirits, where I ſhall

His parents godlie inſtructions.

Loſſe of friends.

His father.

His mother.

His brethren.

His wife.

Death cannot be diſpenſed with.

Why we ought to take the death of our children and friends patientlie.

"shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife, and sonne in far better estate than here I knew them. Therefore that I may repeate it once againe, I reioise (I say) to haue obteined in my sonne, by the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by faith, he is alreadie in that place to the which all we do earnestlie wish that we may atteine, and do indeuour by all means, that when the time commeth in which our soules are to be losed forth of these fraile bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be found worthie of that companie, in which our confidence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining. Except anie man may thinke that we are so enuious, that therefore we do lament, because as yet we sticke fast ouerwhelmed and drowned in such filthie miers, and cumbred in such thornie thickets and bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by following the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come to the place where we do reckon that by diuine power he is alreadie arriued.

After that the king had made an end of his oration, and thanks giuen to God for his bountifull magnificence, they rose from the table, and departed to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling at the kings high prudence and godlie wisdome. Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before mentioned prince Henrie, proclamed in his place prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to receiue the oths of all the barons for their allegiance in his name. William the second sonne of prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland by the foresaid nobles, and there proclamed and created earle of that countrie. Then went king Dauid himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Henrie the sonne of the empresse, who receiued the order of knighthod there at his hands. This was a little before that the same Henrie came to an agréement with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to the possession of halfe the realme of England, and promised by oth of assurance (as the Scotish writers say) that he should neuer go about to take the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortlie after was king Dauid taken with a sore disease and maladie, which continued with him to the end of his life. And so when he perceiued himselfe to wax faint and féeble, he required to be borne in to the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the Lords bodie and bloud, with most solemne reuerence: and then being brought againe to his chamber, he called togither his nobles, and commending to them his yong nephues, the sons of his son the forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them after an other, most instantlie desiring them in the honor of almightie God, to séeke the preseruation of common quiet, to the aduancement of the publike weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the 29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfirmeling, after the incarnation of Christ our Sauiour 1153 yeares.

1153.

How farre this prince king Dauid excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few words to comprehend that, wherein if I should spend much time, I were not able in anie wise worthilie to performe. For where in such cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue may séeme to be omitted through fault of the writer.

Malcolme the sonne of Henrie proclamed prince of Scotland.

Earle of Northumberland.

Henrie the empresse his sonne receiueth the order of knighthod.

The exhortation of king Dauid to his nobles.

King Dauid departeth out of this life.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his singular pitifull regard, which he had toward the reliefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues, he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious rule and misordered customes, that his whole familie was giuen onelie to the exercise of vertue. No riotous banketting nor surfetting chéere was vsed amongst them, no lasciuious word heard come forth of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wanton signes shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concupiscence. All the words, works, and whole demeanor of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing moued to stirre strife or sedition, but all things ordered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the chaine of brotherly loue séemed to haue linked them all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their maister king Dauid vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godlie life after.

His singular pitie toward the poore.

King Dauids court.

King Dauids seruants.

King Dauids example, a rule of godlie life.

*Malcolme*

KIng Dauid being dead & buried (as is before said) Malcolme nephue to him by his son Henrie succéeded in the estate. He was but 13 yéeres of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie and vertuous conditions were such, that all men conceiued a good hope that he would proue a right noble and worthie prince. He was nourished and brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie, that deliting in chast conuersation and cleanesse of bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his life, and without mariage: wherefore he was surnamed Malcolme the maid. About the time of his entring into the possession of the crowne, there was a great derth through all the bounds of Scotland. And sone after followed a sore death both amongst men and beasts, though it was not perceiued that the disease whereof they died was anie thing contagious.

The educatiõ of king Malcolme.

A dearth.

A death not contagious.

Hereof did one Somerled the thane of Argile take occasion to attempt an higher enterprise than stood with the baseneslle of his linage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe néere hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it an easie matter for him, now whilest the king was vnder yéeres of ripe discretion, to vsurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne hands, and so assembling togither an huge companie of such as in hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, hée came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest, sleaing and spoiling all such in his way as went about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterprise was shortlie repressed: for Gilcrist earle of Angus lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist Somerleids attempts, incountred with him in battell, & slue 2000 of his men. Somerleid hauing receiued this ouerthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into Ireland, and so saued his life.

Somerleid thane of Argile goeth about to make himselfe king.

Somerleids cruelitie.

Gilcrist sent with an armie against Somerleid.

Henrie the second of that name king of England, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his domesticall enimies, feared least he being imboldened therewith, should now attempt somewhat against the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme, commanding him to come vp to London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington, in maner and forme as his grandfather king Dauid had before done vnto his predecessor Henrie the first, with certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolme obeied this commandement of king Henrie: but yet vnder condition (as the Scotish writers affirme) that it should in no maner wise preiudice the franchises and liberties of the Scotish kingdome. At the same time king Henrie had warres against Lewes the first, king of

K. Malcolme summoned to do homage.

K. Malcolme goeth with king Henrie into France.

France, and ſo paſſing ouer into that realme, conſtreined king Malcolme to go with him in that iornie againſt his will, notwithſtanding that he had a ſafe conduct freelie to come and go. In this voiage king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and at length beſieged the citie of Tholouſe.

Tholouſe beſieged.

In all which enterpriſes he had Malcolme preſent with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre ſuch hatred and diſpleaſure of the Frenchmen, that therby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might finallie be diſſolued. But in the end king Henrie hauing loſt diuers of his noble men by ſickneſſe, returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland; who at his comming home, ſent the biſhop of Murrey, and one of his ſecretaries vnto the ſée of Rome, as ambaſſadors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius the third of that name, to recogniſe the obedience which he owght to the Romane ſée. Shortlie after alſo, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was ſore rebuked by his lords, in that he had borne through his owne follie, armor againſt the Frenchmen their old confederate friends and ancient alies: but king Malcolme excuſed the matter with humble words, ſaieng he came vnwarilie into king Henries hands, and therefore might not chooſe but accompliſh his will and pleaſure at that time; ſo that hée ſuppoſed verelie the French king would take no great diſpleaſure with his doings, when he once vnderſtood the truth of the matter.

Kings Henries meaning.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Rome.

Parlement at Scone.

K. Malcolme reproued by his nobles.

K. Malcolmes excuſe.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderſtanding of this grudge betwixt the Scotiſh lords and their king, thought to renew the ſame with more diſpleaſure, and therevpon ſent for king Malcolme to come vnto Yorke, to a parlement which he held there, where at his comming he was burdened with a right grieuous complaint ſurmized againſt him by king Henrie, for that he ſhould reueale vnto the Frenchmen all the ſecrets of the Engliſh armie, when he was with him in France, at the aboue remembred iournie, alledging the ſame to be ſufficient matter, for the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which hée held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington. And though king Malcolme by manie ſubſtantiall reaſons declared thoſe allegations to be vntrue and vnlawfullie forged, yet by king Henries earneſt inforcing of the matter, ſentence was giuen againſt him, by the generall conſent of all the eſtates there in that parlement aſſembled. And moreouer, to bring king Malcolme in further diſpleaſure with the nobles, king Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Malcolme returned backe into his countrie, how he had of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right, title, and intereſt, which he had to the foreſaid lands, ſuppoſing by this means to make king Malcolme farre more odious to all his lieges and ſubiects, than euer he was before.

K. Malcolme goeth to Yorke

Sentence giuen againſt K. Malcolme at Yorke.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his countrie, not vnderſtanding anie thing of that ſubtill contriued policie and ſlanderous report, was beſieged within the caſtell of Bertha by the thane of Ernedale, and diuerſe others. But after it was knowne how euill king Malcolme had béene vſed, and moſt vntrulie ſlandered, they deſired pardon of their offenſe, as induced thereto by vntrue reports, which once being granted, they brake vp their ſiege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like true and moſt obedient ſubiects. But king Malcolme ſore moued for that he was thus iniuriouſlie handled by king Henrie, firſt deſiring reſtitution to be made of all ſuch things as had béene wrongfullie taken from him, and ſo deteined by th' Engliſhmen,

K. Malcolme is beſieged.

Open warres proclamed againſt the Engliſhmen.

proclamed open warres againſt them. At length, after ſundrie harmes done, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certeine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where (to be briefe) it was finallie concluded, that K. Malcolme ſhould receiue againe Cumberland and Huntington: but for Northumberland, he ſhould make a plaine releaſe thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his ſucceſſors for euer.

A concluſion of agréement

For the which agréement he ran ſo farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find means to win their fauor againe; but doubting leaſt if they ſhould ſtirre anie rebellion againſt him, they might become an eaſie preie vnto the Engliſhmen, they remained quiet for a time. Howbeit ſhortlie after, there aroſe another péece of trouble, though leſſe in outward apperance, by reaſon of the ſmall power remaining in the author, yet dangerous inough, conſidering it was within the realme it ſelfe. One Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiuing he might not by ſecret practiſe atchiue his purpoſed intent (what ſoeuer the ſame was) determined by open force to aſſaie what luckie ſucces fortune would ſend him; hoping that thoſe which through feare ſate as yet ſtill, would aſſiſt him in all his attempts, ſo ſone as they ſaw anie commotion raiſed by him to occaſion them thereto. Herevpon he aſſembled togither a great companie: but before he could worke anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilcriſt earle of Angus (whoſe faithfull valiancie was before manifeſtlie approued in the ſuppreſſion of Somerleds rebellion) diſcomfited his power, in three ſundrie bickerings, & chaſed Angus himſelfe into Whiterne, where is a place of ſanctuarie priuileged for the ſafegard of all offendors that flie thereto for ſuccor in the honor of ſaint Ninian.

K. Malcolme hated of his people.

Feare of outward enimies cauſeth quietneſſe at home.

Angus the thane of Galloway raiſeth a commotion: vpon what occaſion writers make not anie mention.

Angus diſcomfited by Gilcriſt.

Whiterne a place of ſanctuarie.

Malcolme then, for that he durſt not breake the franchiſes of that place, ſet a band of men of warre round about it, to watch that he ſhould by no means eſcape awaie; ſo that at length wearied as it had bene with long ſiege, he yéelded himſelfe to the king, who taking his ſonne to pledge for his good abearing in time to come, licenced him to go whither it ſhould pleaſe him: but the moſt part of his lands and liuings were confiſcat to the kings vſe. Wherevpon when he ſaw he might not mainteine his eſtate as he had done before, he became a canon in Holie rod houſe, and there ended his life (as it is reported.) It was not long after the pacifieng of this trouble, but that a new rebellion was raiſed: for the Murrey land men, by the prouocation of their capteine called Gildo, waſted with fire and ſword the countries of Roſſe, Bowgewall, or Bougdale, Mar, Gareoch, Buchquhane, and the Mernes, in more cruell ſort than anie forreine & moſt barbarous nation would haue done; inſomuch that when the king ſent diuers of his ſeruants vnto them to vnderſtand the cauſe of their rebellious doings, they ſlue thoſe meſſengers, contrarie to the law of nations.

Angus beſieged in Whiterne.

Angus yéeldeth himſelfe to the king.

Angus became a canon.

A rebellion moued by the Murreis.

Gildo captein of the rebels.

The cruelties of the rebels.

To puniſh ſuch iniurious attempts, the aboue named Gilcriſt was ſent with an armie into Murrey land: but the rebels nothing diſcouraged with the knowledge of his approued proweſſe, met him in the field, and put him to flight. Héere vpon the king himſelfe, ſuppoſing that his preſence was néedfull to incourage his people after this ouerthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had ſent forth before, with diſplaied banner, ouer the riuer of Speie, néere to the mouth whereof he fought with the enimies, and in the end (after ſore and long fight continued with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed) he gaue them the ouerthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties ſhewed in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to all other his ſubiects that ſhould go about to attempt the

Gilcriſt diſcomfited by the Murreis.

The Murreis are ouerthrowen.

the like, he commanded that none of thoſe of Murrey land ſhould be ſaued (women, children, and aged perſons onelie excepted) but that all the reſidue of that generation ſhuld paſſe by the edge of the ſword. Thus the Murrey land men being deſtroied accoꝛding to his commandement thoꝛough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their roomes, that the countrie ſhould not lie waſt without habitation.

The Murreis deſtroied

In this meane time, Somerleid the thane of Argile, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ireland, vpon truſt of the hatred into the which Malcolme was run, with the moſt part of all his nobles and commons, thꝛough this ſlaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Murrey land, he thought to aſſaie foꝛtunes chance once againe, and ſo thereupon returned with certeine Kernes and naked men into Scotland. But this laſt enterpꝛiſe of his came to a moꝛe vnluckie end than the firſt, foꝛ being vanquiſhed in battell at Renfroꝛ, he loſt the moſt part of all his men, and was taken pꝛiſoner himſelfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, accoꝛding to that he had iuſtlie merited. Malcolme hauing thus ſubdued his aduerſaries, and being now in reſt and quiet, he ſet his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in vpꝛight iuſtice, and hauing two ſiſters mariable, he coupled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Bꝛitaine, and the yonger called Adhama he maried with Floꝛens earle of Holland.

Somerleid returneth into Scotland.

Somerleid vanquiſhed at Renfroꝛ.

Somerleid is hanged.

King Malcolmes ſiſters maried.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scotiſh nobilitie, where when they were aſſembled togither in the councell-chamber, Arnold archbiſhop of ſaint Andꝛewes ſtood vp, and by a verie pithie oꝛation, toke vpon him to aduiſe the king to change his purpoſe touching his vow, which (as appéered) he had made to liue chaſt. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reaſons, that it was not onlie neceſſarie foꝛ him and his realme, that he ſhould take a wife (by whome he might raiſe vp ſéed to ſuccéed him in the poſſeſſion of the crowne) but alſo that he might not chooſe a moꝛe perfect ſtate of life (conſidering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being inſtituted, not by this law-maker oꝛ that, but by God himſelfe, who in no one of all his oꝛdinances might erre oꝛ be deceiued. Againe foꝛ pleaſure, he affirmed how nothing could be moꝛe delectable to him, than to haue a woꝛthie ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of griefe and gladneſſe, she being a comfoꝛt vnto him as well in weale as in woe, an helpe both in ſickneſſe & health, redie to aſſwage anger, and to aduance mirth, alſo to refreſh the ſpirits being wearied oꝛ in anie wiſe faint thꝛough ſtudious trauell and care of mind.

A parlement at Scone.

The oꝛation of Arnold biſhop of ſaint Andꝛewes.

Matrimonie inſtituted by God.

The pleaſure of mariage.

The commodities by a wife.

Children an aid.

When ſhewed he what an aid children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre ſupplie their roomes as lieutenants in defenſe of their countries, to the no ſmall terroꝛ of the enimies. Wherefoꝛe ſith men are not boꝛne onelie foꝛ their owne weale, but alſo foꝛ the pꝛofit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be choſen, but that he ought to perſuade with himſelfe to alter his purpoſed intention, concerning the obſeruance of chaſtitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfoꝛt of his ſubiects, ſith it was commendable both befoꝛe God and man, and ſo neceſſarie withall and pꝛofitable, as nothing might be moꝛe. But theſe and manie other moſt weightie reaſons could nothing moue his conſtant mind, hauing euen from his tender yéeres affianced his virginitie vnto Chriſt, truſting that God would ſo pꝛouide, that the realme ſhould not be deſtitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it ſhould pleaſe his diuine maieſtie to take him hence to his mercie from amongſt his ſubiects. Thus bꝛake vp that councell without anie effect of the purpoſe foꝛ the which it was called.

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When not boꝛne foꝛ themſelues.

Commendable befoꝛe God and man.

K. Malcolme might not be perſuaded to take a wife.

Shoꝛtlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell ſicke, continuing ſo a long time, by reaſon whereof he ſought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being bꝛought to paſſe, he ſet woꝛkemen in hand to laie the foundation of ſaint Kewles abbeie, which afterwards bare the name of ſaint Andꝛewes. When he had finiſhed this houſe, being a goodlie peece of woꝛke, and verie coſtlie, as may appéere at this day by the view thereof, he aſſigned foꝛth certeine rents foꝛ the ſuſtentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the oꝛder of ſaint Auguſtine, not ſo largelie as ſerued foꝛ the maintenance of ſuperfluous chéere, but yet ſufficient foꝛ their neceſſarie finding: by reaſon whereof, the canons of that abbeie liued in thoſe daies in moſt feruent deuotion, hauing no pꝛouocations at all to inoꝛdinate luſts and ſenſuall pleaſures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without reſpect to auarice, oꝛ inlarging the poſſeſſions and reuenues of their houſe. He founded alſo the abbeie of Couper of the Ciſteaux oꝛder, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie poſſeſſions. Finallie, being vexed with long infirmitie, he departed out of this life at Jedburgh the 12 yeare of his reigne. A certeine comet oꝛ blaſing ſtarre appéered 14 daies togither befoꝛe his death, with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yéares. In the daies of this Malcolme, Roger archbiſhop of Yoꝛke, conſtituted the popes legat, could not be ſuffered to enter into Scotland, bicauſe he was a man highlie defamed foꝛ his couetous pꝛactiſing to inrich himſelfe by vnlawfull meanes.

A peace concluded with England.

The Abbeie of ſaint Andꝛewes builded.

Superfluous rents of abbeies, pꝛouocations to inoꝛdinate luſts.

The abbeie of Couper founded.

The death of king Malcolme.

A comet.

1185.

Roger archbiſhop of Yoꝛke the popes legat.

AFter Malcolme ſucceeded his bꝛother William, ſurnamed foꝛ his ſingular iuſtice, the Lion. Shoꝛtlie after his coꝛonation, he ſent ambaſſadoꝛs vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that accoꝛding to iuſtice, he would reſtoꝛe vnto him the earledome of Noꝛthumberland, ſith it appertained by good and lawfull intereſt vnto his inheritance. King Henrie anſwered the meſſengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there doo his homage foꝛ Cumberland and Huntington, he ſhould be aſſured to haue all things ſo oꝛdered, as he reaſonablie could wiſh oꝛ demand. Heꝛeupon king William went into England, and ſo came to London, and after he had done his homage foꝛ Cumberland and Huntington, he required the reſtitution of Noꝛthumberland. But king Henrie made anſwer as then, that foꝛſomuch as the ſame was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the aſſent of all the eſtates of his realme make reſtitution thereof. Notwithſtanding, in the nexꝛt parlement, he pꝛomiſed to cauſe the matter to be pꝛoponed: and if it came to paſſe that his demand were found to ſtand with reaſon, he would doo therein accoꝛding to conſcience, when time expedient ſhould ſerue thereto.

William ſurnamed the Lion.

Ambaſſadoꝛs ſent to the king of England.

King William is required to doo homage.

K. Williams requeſt foꝛ the reſtitution of Noꝛthumberland.

The anſwer of king Henrie.

About the ſame ſeaſon, king Henrie paſſed ouer into Noꝛmandie with an armie, and cauſed king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iournie. Foꝛ K. William would not diſobeie his commandement at that pꝛeſent, in hope to atteine in quiet and peaceable manner his ſute touching the reſtitution of Noꝛthumberland (as the Scotiſh wꝛiters doo affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceiued no comfoꝛt to recouer his lands, he got licence with much adoo to returne home: and ſo coming backe into England, paſſed thꝛough the realme with

King Henrie ſaileth into Noꝛmandie.

King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole indeuour to vnderſtand the ſtate of the common-wealth of his ſubiects, and ſpecialie he toke order in moſt diligent wiſe, to puniſh cruelties done by thæues and robbers, which vndoubtedlie was one of the moſt profitable acts that he could deuiſe to accompliſh at that preſent, conſidering the ſtate of his realme, as it then ſtood. For if the damages & ſkathes committed by théeues and robbers were equallie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which dailie grow by open warre againſt anie forren nation, it may well appéere, that more harme ariſeth, & more heinous cruelties are exerciſed againſt the poore and miſerable commons and innocent people, by ſuch as liue by rapine & ſpoiling at home, than by anie outward enimies, be they neuer ſo fierce and ſtrong in the field. And therefore the prudent conſideration of this prince was no leſſe to be commended, in that he ſought to repreſſe the licentious outrage of ſuch arrand théeues and priuie murtherers, than if he had ſlaine manie thouſands of forren enimies.

K. Williams zeale of iuſtice.

Scotland more indamaged by domeſticall théeues than by forraine enimies.

When he had once cleanſed the realme of thoſe miſgouerned perſons, he ſent eſtſoones his ambaſſadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to haue Northumberland reſtored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would aſſaie to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiuing that he muſt either ſatiſfie king Williams requeſt, either elſe haue open warres with the Scots, by aduiſe of his nobles, reſtored to king William ſo much of Northumberland as his grandfather K. Malcolme had in poſſeſſion. King William accepted the offer, but ſo, as he proteſted that he receiued not that part in full recompenſe of the whole which was due vnto him (ſo ſaie the Scotiſh writers) but ſo as his entier right might alwaies be ſaued as well to the reſidue as to that which was then reſtored. Within few yéeres after, king Henrie féeling what hinderance it was for him to forbeare the commodities of thoſe lands, which were thus deliuered vp to the Scotiſh kings vſe, repented him of that bargaine: and therefore to find ſome occaſion to recouer the ſame again, he procured his ſubiects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands perteining to the Scots, ſo to prouoke them to battell.

Ambaſſadors ſent to king Henrie.

See more thereof in England.

A portion of Northumberland reſtored to the Scots.

King William receiued a péece of Northumberland with his right ſaued to the reſidue.

King Henrie repenting him ſelfe of that which he had deliuered to the Scots ſeeketh new occaſions of warre.

Complaint of theſe iniuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scotiſh borders, by ſuch Scots as had loſt ſuch goods as were taken awaie by the Engliſhmen, he ſent to demand reſtitution; but forſomuch as he could haue no towardlie anſwer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the Engliſh ground, did much hurt on ech ſide where they came. At the ſame time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Engliſhmen thought it ſufficient to defend themſelus as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterpriſe in reuenge of the diſpleaſures done by the Scots. Harueſt was alſo at hand, and thereupon they ceaſſed on either part from further inuaſions, till the winter ſeaſon, which paſſed alſo without anie exploit atchiued, worthie to be remembred; ſauing certeine ſmall rodes made by the Scots into the Engliſh borders, as they ſaw occaſion to ſerue thereto.

But in the ſummer next following, king William raiſed a mightie armie, and came with the ſame into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Gilcriſt, whoſe approued valiancie often ſhewed in the time of king Malcolme, had aduanced him to marie with the kings ſiſter. The left wing was aſſigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings coſen, who was alſo lieutenant of the horſſemen. The middle ward or battell the king himſelfe led. The Engliſhmen, to the intent they might haue time and leaſure to aſſemble their power, ſent vnto

King William inuadeth Cumberland.

king William, offering vnto him, not onelie large ſummes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further inuaſion, but alſo redreſſe of all maner of iniuries and wrongs, if anie ſuch on their behalfe were to be proued. But king William for anſwer hereunto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie deſire he had to monie; neither had he firſt giuen the occaſion, as one that was euer willing to liue vpon his owne: ſo that if they could be contented to reſtore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not ſo deſirous of bloud, but that he would gladlie ceaſſe from all further attempts.

The offers of the Engliſhmen.

The anſwer of king William.

The Engliſhmen hauing receiued this anſwer, to the end they might protract the time in ſending ſtill to and fro, till they might eſpie ſome occaſion to worke ſuch feates as they had imagined, addreſſed forth other ambaſſadors vnto king William, with diuerſe faire offers and golden promiſes. In the meane time, to take the Scotiſhmen at ſome aduantage, they conueie their whole power in the night ſeaſon néere vnto the place where the ſame Scotiſhmen laie in campe, & diuiding themſelues into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the ſunne were vp, and then to ſhew themſelues to the enimies, to traine them forth to battell: the other companie was laid cloſelie in a vallie not farre off, to take the aduantage as they ſaw their time. In the morning about the riſing of the ſunne, thoſe that were appointed to procure the ſkirmiſh, approched ſo néere to the enimies campe, till they came euen within ſight of them. The Scots amazed with the ſtrangneſſe of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anie aſſemblie of the Engliſhmen, at the firſt were ſomewhat afraid: but anon incouraging one another, they boldlie iſſued forth vpon their enimies, who of purpoſe (at the firſt) made but weake reſiſtance, and at length fled amaine, to the intent to cauſe the Scotiſhmen to breake their arraie of battell in purſuing them, which they did ſo egerlie, that they left their king but ſlenderlie garded with a ſmall companie about him. Then the ambuſhment lieng in the vallie, brake forth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled caſt themſelues about, and manlie abode their enimies, ſo earneſtlie laieng it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and conſtreined them to flée in good earneſt, which they themſelues had but onelie counterfeited to do before.

The Engliſhmen take by policie to vanquiſh the Scots.

The Engliſhmen retire of purpoſe.

The king left but weakelie garded.

King William perceiuing his people thus diſcomfited, and himſelfe incloſed on ech ſide amongſt his enimies, after he had aſſaied to breake forth on ſome ſide from amongſt them, when he ſaw his indeuour could by no meanes preuaile, and that the enimies made onelie at him, he yéelded himſelfe. There was not much bloud ſpilled on either ſide at this bickering, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of ſet purpoſe to the place where their ambuſh laie, eſcaped without much hurt; and the other, ſcared by the breaking forth of the ambuſh, abode the brunt but a ſmall while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiuing they could do no good, they made the beſt ſhift they could ech man for himſelfe, to eſcape the enimies hands. The king being thus taken of his enimies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Normandie, where he was as then remaining. The yéere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Sauiour Chriſt 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

The Scots conſtreined to flée.

King William yeldeth himſelfe priſoner.

King William conueied into Normandie.

1174.

¶ Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogither agréeable with that which we haue héere aboue remembred, who declare how K. William, after he had waſted all Cumberland, came into Northumber-

Diſcord of writers.

Northumberland, not ceaſſing till he came to Anwike, where he ſtaied for a time to haue had battell: but in the meane while the Engliſhmen laie cloſe togither without noiſe or appearance, in ſuch wiſe that no Scotiſhman could haue vnderſtanding where they were. At length king William wearied with long tarieng thus at Anwike, and ſeeing no enimies to appeere, determined to worke ſome exploit yet before his returne, and therevpon ſent forth the moſt part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to forreie the ſame, keeping no great companie about him, till the returne of the other thus ſent forth. Wherevpon incontinentlie a great ambuſhment of Engliſhmen came vpon him with counterfeited Scotiſh enſignes, and were not once ſuſpected for Engliſhmen, till the king was compaſſed in by them on ech ſide, and ſo finallie taken and led awaie yer anie Scotiſhman wiſt thereof, ſaue a few which were left (as is ſaid) with him for the time. In deed Wilhelmus Paruus, a canon ſometime in the abbeie of Bridlington in Yorkeſhire, in that his booke which he writes of the Norman kings of England, affirmes how there were not manie more than about three ſcore horſſemen with king William, while he was thus taken; and that the Engliſhmen were not paſt foure hundred horſſemen, which toke vpon them that enterpriſe; whoſe capteins (as he reciteth) were theſe: Robert de Stuteuill, Ranulfe de Glanuill, Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerſe other.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Capteins of the Engliſhmen.

W. Paruus.

The ſame author writeth, that after the taking of the king, there roſe a mutinie amongſt the Scots: for whereas the Iriſh Scots bare a naturall grudge againſt the Engliſh Scots, yet whileſt the king was preſent amongſt them, they durſt not vtter their malicious intentions: but now that he was thus taken from them, ſo manie of the Engliſh Scots as fell into the hands of the Iriſh, paid derelie for the bargaine, being cruellie murthered and ſlaine: ſo that the reſidue were conſtreined to get them out of the waie into caſtels and towers, where they might be receiued. But now it is to be conſidered, that bicauſe there was no great ſlaughter made at the taking of king William, the warres notwithſtanding continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the two before ſpecified chiefteins Gilcriſt and Rowland ſtoutlie withſtood the Engliſhmen, and beat them backe as they enterpriſed to enter into Cumberland. At length a peace was taken, during the time that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder theſe conditions, that Northumberland ſhould continue vnder the dominion of the Engliſhmen, and Cumberland (with the earledome of Huntington) to remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the Scotiſhmen.

Gilcriſt and Rowland reſiſt the Engliſhmen.

Northumberland vnder the Engliſhmen.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William thus at Anwike, his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme, till the king his brother might be redeemed. So ſone therefore as he had once eſtabliſhed the realme in good quiet and iuſtice, he ſent Richard the biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, with diuerſe other noble men, ouer into Normandie, to take order there with K. Henrie for the ranſome of the king his brother, which was agreed in this manner. Firſt, it was accorded, that king William ſhould become and acknowledge himſelfe to be the king of Englands liege man, againſt all men for the realme of Scotland and his other lands; and for the ſame ſhould doo fealtie to the ſaid king of England, as to his liege ſouereigne lord, in like ſort as other his liege people were accuſtomed to doo. And further, he ſhould alſo doo fealtie vnto the lord Henrie, the king of Englands ſonne, (ſauing alwaies the faith which he owght the king his father.) And in like manner it was couenanted and agreed, that all the prelats of Scotland, and their ſucceſſors, ſhould recogniſe their wonted ſubiection to the church of England, and doo fealtie to the king of England, ſo manie of them as he ſhould appoint. And likewiſe the earle and barons of Scotland, and their heires for their part, ſhould doo their homage and fealties vnto the ſaid king of England, and to the lord Henrie his ſonne, ſo manie as therevnto ſhould be required.

Dauid earle of Huntington.

The king of Scots doth fealtie to the king of England for Scotland.

Rog. Houed. Matth. Weſt.

The prelats of Scotland doo fealtie to the king of England.

The earles and lords doo homage vnto him.

Moreouer, the king of Scots ſhould paie for his redemption one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand: and for ſure paiment of the other halfe, the earledomes of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland ſhould be deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage, till the time that the ſame ſumme was paid. And for the more ſuertie of theſe couenants, and that the Scots ſhould moue no warre againſt the Engliſhmen, foure of the ſtrongeſt caſtels within Scotland, that is to ſaie, Berwike, Edenburgh, Rorburgh, & Striueling, were deliuered into the Engliſhmens hands. Theſe things being thus ordered the eight day of December 1175, & the king reſtored home, there followed a new ſtirre in Scotland, for Gilbert of Galloway, a right cruell and moſt miſchiefous perſon, purpoſing to conquer the crowne by force, made great ſlaughter of all them that withſtood his deſire. And becauſe his brother reproued his doings, he put out his eies, and cut off his hands. Againſt this Gilbert was Gilcriſt ſent with an armie by the king. There was fought a ſore battell betwixt them, for the moſt part of thoſe that followed Gilberts commandement, were deſperat fellowes, ſuch commonlie as for murder and other heinous crimes by them committed were in danger of the lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon deſired a change; but yet in the end, Gilcriſt with multitude wan the field of them, and ſlue more in the chaſe than in the battell. Gilbert himſelfe eſcaped and got ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter ſomewhat otherwiſe, as thus: In the armie of king William (ſaith he) when he was taken nere vnto Anwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Hared, that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with them a great retinue of their countriemen. Theſe were the ſonnes of Fergulius, ſometime lord of that prouince; after whoſe deceaſſe the king of Scots that is ſuperiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie betwixt theſe two brethren. But Gilbert the eldeſt brother found himſelfe much grieued to haue anie part of thoſe lands (which were his fathers) giuen from him; yet doubting puniſhment at the kings hands, he durſt not attempt anie thing againſt his brother, till it fortuned the king to be taken. And then deliuered of the feare which had ſtaied his miſchiefous purpoſe, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cruellie murdered him, after no common maner; but rather martyred him in beaſtlie wiſe, ſo to ſatiſfie the inſtinct of his diueliſh nature. And immediatlie after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciſeth great ſlaughter of men on each hand. But his brother had a ſonne called Rowland, which proouing a valiant young gentleman, boldlie reſiſted his vncles rage, with the aſſiſtance and aid of his fathers friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trouble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) till by the foreſaid Gilcriſt the murderer was expelled, as before is expreſſed. In the yeare following came Hugo cardinall of ſaint Angelo as legat from the pope into England, with authoritie to reforme the Engliſh churches, in ſuch caſes as were thought requiſit; and after he had made an end there, to doo the like in Scotland.

1175.

Gilbert of Galloway rebelleth.

Gilbert of Galloway vanquiſhed by Gilcriſt.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Hugh cardinall of ſaint Angelo the popes legat.

King William ranſomed.

Foure caſtels deliuered to the Engliſhmen in pledge.

Scotland. When he had therefore finiſhed with England, he cited all the biſhops of Scotland to appeare before him at a day prefixed at Northampton. They came according to his appointment, and being aſſembled there in conſiſtorie, he went about in moſt earneſt wiſe to perſuade them to receiue the archbiſhop of Yorke for their metropolitane. But one Gilbert a yoong man, howbeit ſigularlie well learned, and for his holineſſe of life much commended (as Hector Boetius writeth) being ſent of purpoſe by king William vnto this conuocation, to foreſee that nothing were concluded in the ſame, prætudiciall to the ancient liberties and franchiſes of the realme of Scotland, did argue ſo ſtifflie to the contrarie, that the cardinall left off the purſute of ſuch maner of matter, and brake vp that councell without determination of anie thing to the purpoſe in that behalfe.

The biſhops of Scotland ſummoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

Gilbert a learned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cauſe and liberties of the Scotiſh clergie, was afterwards made biſhop of Cathnes, and finallie after his departure out of this tranſitorie life, regiſtred for his ſuppoſed perfect holineſſe of life among the number of ſaints. The chiefeſt cauſe that moued the Scotiſh cleargie to withdraw their obedience from the primaſie of Yorke, was the diſſention and continuall enimitie betwixt the two nations for ſuperioritie in temporall cauſes. The ſame yeare that this councell was holden at Northampton, ſundrie vnketh wonders were ſéene in Albion. On Midſummer day being the feaſt day of the natiuitie of ſaint John the Baptiſt, there fell ſuch a ſtorme of haile, that it killed manie ſhéepe and ſmall cattell: people that were out of houſes, and from vnder couert anie where abroad, were beaten to the earth with violence of that ſtorme. The ſunne in September about nonetide was darkened for the ſpace of two houres togither, without anie eclipſe or cauſe naturall by interpoſition of clouds. In Yorkeſhire was ſuch terrible thunder with ſtrange lightening, that manie abbeies and churches were conſumed with the fire.

Gilbert biſhop of Cathnes.

Wonders.

Haile.

The ſun darkened.

Thunder.

About this ſeaſon, the abbeie of Arbroth was built in moſt magnificent wiſe, and indowed with lands and reuenues in ſuch ample ſort, that few houſes within the bounds of Albion might compare therewith. The church was dedicated in the yeare of Grace 1178, by king William, in honor of Thomas Becket archbiſhop of Canturburie, with whome (as is ſaid) he had great familiaritie in time of his yoong yeares. At the ſame time the abbeie of Hadington was founded by Adhama the mother of king William, and ſhortlie after ſhe had built it, ſhe died. Not long after, king William ſent as ambaſſadors John biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and Reignald abbat of Arbroth vnto pope Alexander the third, to preſent vnto him his obeiſance, according as he thought ſtood with his duetie. The pope ſéeming to reioiſe thereat, ſent ſhortlie after vnto the king a roſe of gold, filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges concerning the libertie of the church of Scotland. At the ſame time Gilcriſt, hauing his wife in ſuſpicion of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards ſtrangled hir in a village called Nants, not paſt a mile from Dundée. The king (for that ſhe was his ſiſter) toke ſuch indignation therewith, that he ſeized vpon all his lands and goods, purpoſing to haue put him to death if he might haue got him into his hands: but when he ſaw he could not be found, he proclamed him traitor, and raced his caſtell (wherein he had dwelled) quite to the ground, in ſuch wiſe that vnneth remaineth anie token at this day where it ſtood. This Gilcriſt had a brother that hight Bzedus, who before this miſchance had got the lands of Ogilnie: of whome the houſe of the Ogiluies toke

The foundation of the abbeie of Arbroth, or Aberbrothoke.

1178.

The abbeie or nunrie of Hadington founded.

Ambaſſadors to the pope.

A roſe of gold.

Gilcriſt murthereth his wife vpon ſuſpicion and adulterie.

The kings indignation againſt Gilcriſt.

Gilcriſt proclamed traitor.

Bzedus the brother of Gilcriſt.

their beginning, that after came to great authoritie in the court, though at this time (through Gilcriſts offenſe) his whole familie was néere hand deſtroied. About this time alſo, the quæne, king William his wife, deceaſſed. A daughter which he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in mariage vnto the earle of Laon: but he himſelfe after the deceaſſe of this his firſt wife maried Emengard, daughter to Richard vicount of Beaumount that was ſonne to a daughter of king William the Conquerour. By this mariage and aliance, the peace was newlie confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in ſuch wiſe, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to the other, by means whereof Gilcriſt, that before was fled into England, was conſtreined to returne into Scotland, diſguiſed in poore weed, with two of his ſonnes, and there paſſed forth his life a long time in great miſerie amongeſt the woods and in out places, vnknowen to anie man what he was, by reaſon of his poore and ſimple habit. Somewhat before the aboue remembred mariage, Henrie king of England at the motion of Hugh biſhop of Durham rendered vp the caſtell of Edenburgh into K. William his hands.

The houſe of the Ogiluies

The earle of Laon.

Emengard. 1186.

The peace confirmed with England.

The miſerable ſtate of Gilcriſt.

The caſtell of Edenburgh reſtored.

About this time the Souldane named Saladine proſpered hugelie againſt the chriſtians in the holie land, making ſuch cruell ſlaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all chriſtian hearts were moued to pitifull commiſeration and dolorous teares: in ſo much that Henrie king of England vowed to go thither with an armie to relieue the common neceſſitie of the chriſtian publike weale, and had gone in deed, if he had not béene hindered by the conſpiracie of his ſonne, whome latelie before he had cauſed to be crowned king, that went about to vſurpe the ſole adminiſtration to himſelfe now in his fathers life time. About the ſame time William went with an armie into Roſſe, againſt Makulzen and Makbein, two capteins of the weſterne Iles, which vſed vpon occaſion to paſſe ouer into Roſſe, Cathnes and Murrey land, ſpoiling and waſting thoſe countries; & when they heard of anie power comming againſt them, they would ſtreight returne to their ſhips, and repaſſe againe into the Iles. But at this time, the king had ſent forth a nauie to burne all thoſe veſſels, wherein the robbers had paſſed ouer and had left at anchor, by reaſon whereof when they were incloſed in on euerie ſide by the king, and taken priſoners, they after had ſuffered death on the wheéle, according to the maner of the ciuill law.

Saladine the Souldane.

King Henries purpoſe to go into the holie land againſt the Saracens hindered by rebellion of his ſonne.

Makulzen and Makbein captains of pirats.

Death on the wheéle.

The king in his returne from this iournie, came by the abbeie of Abirbrothoke, to view the worke of that houſe, how it went forwards, commanding them that were ouerſéers and maiſters of the works to ſpare for no coſts, but to bring it vp to perfection, and that with moſt magnificence. After his departure from thence, he toke the way toward Bertha, and by aduenture eſpied where Gilcriſt was deluing vp turfes, togither with his two ſonnes. And though he knew not what they were, yet he muſed to ſée two ſuch goodlie yoong men, as by reſemblance they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in ſuch toiling and baſe labour. Incontinentlie herewith Gilcriſt with his bald head came afore him, and falling downe on his knees at the kings féet, ſaid: If there be anie mercie in thée (moſt ruthfull prince) for them that are brought through their offenſes into extreme miſerie, hauing ſuffered condigne puniſhment for the ſame; I beſéech thée for the loue that Chriſt had to all ſinfull people, not ſparing to ſhed his moſt pretious blood for their redemption, to haue ſome pitie & compaſſion on me, & theſe my poore & miſerable ſons, which with me haue ſuffered much griefe and penurie, not hauing deſerued the ſame by anie crime by them

Abirbrothoke is builded.

Gilcriſt deluing clods.

Gilcriſt aſketh pardon of the king in vnknowne habit.

" " " "

them committed.

Gilcriſt declareth what he is.

At the laſt, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into ſuch kind of miſerie, the teares came ſo faſt trickeling from his eies, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himſelfe, he ſaid: I am Gilcriſt (noble prince) the moſt ſorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy blood, and was therefore diſherited of all my lands, and baniſhed with theſe my two ſonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a time, till through proclamation made againſt outlawes, I was conſtreined to come hither againe with my ſaid ſonnes, where we haue liued by rots all the ſummer ſeaſon, and now in the winter are glad to get our liuing with trauell of hand thus in digging and deluing of clods. Therfore if anie ruth or pitie haue place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, haue mercie on our ſorrowfull eſtate, and remit the offenſe, wherby thou maieſt not onelie purchaſe great honor and fame by example of pitie, being highlie renowmed for that vertue amongeſt all nations, but alſo win great merit afore God, for ſhewing thy ſelfe the follower of Chriſt, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moued by theſe words, and remembring the good ſeruice which Gilcriſt had imploid ſo oftentimes afore in defenſe of the realme; and againe pitieng his caſe, to conſider from what degree of honor he was fallen into the deepeſt bottome of extreme miſerie, he toke him wholie to his fauour, and not onelie forgaue him his former offenſes, but alſo reſtored vnto him, and to his ſonnes, all ſuch lands as ſometimes apperteined vnto them, except ſo much as the king had alreadie giuen vnto the abbeie of Abirbrothoke. Gilcriſt euer after perſeuered in due obedience to his prince. And forſomuch as his eldeſt ſonne deceaſſed before him without heires, & that his yonger ſonne, by reaſon of ſome impediment which he had, was vnmeet for mariage, he gaue the moſt part of his lands after his owne deceaſſe vnto the ſaid houſe of Abirbrothoke. His yonger ſonne alſo, no leſſe well affectionated towards the ſame houſe, gaue the reſidue of his lands thereunto. The father and both his ſonnes are buried before the altar of S. Katharine within the church of this abbeie, as the ſuperſcription of their tombes ſheweth.

The king taketh Gilcriſt to his fauour, and reſtoreth vnto him his lands.

Gilcriſts gift vnto the houſe of Abirbrothoke.

Though king William was earneſtlie occupied in the aduancing forward of the building of Abirbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the adminiſtration of his lawes; but diligentlie cauſed iuſtice to be executed, to the puniſhing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deſerued. He made alſo ſundrie new lawes for the reſtreining of theeues and oppreſſors of the people, ſo rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was ſubiect to the church of Yorke, he obteined of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were conteined the biſhops ſees of ſaint Andrews, Glaſco, Dunkeld, Dublaine, Brighne, Aberden, Murrey, Roſſe, and Cathneſſe) was declared exempt from all other forrein iuriſdictions, except onelie from that of the ſee of Rome, ſo as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce ſentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwiſe to deale in iudgement of eccleſiaſticall cauſes, except ſuch one as the apoſtolike ſee of Rome ſhould ſpecialle appoint, and ſend thither with legantine power. The date of the ſaid bull or letters of exemption thus obteined was at the popes palace of Laterane, the third Ides of March, and firſt yeere of the ſaid pope Clements gouernment. Shortlie after, to wit in the yeere 1198, died Henrie king of England, after whom ſucceeded his ſecond ſonne Richard: for Henrie his eldeſt ſonne deceaſſed before his father.

Laws deuiſed by king William againſt theeues.

The death of Henrie king of England.

K. Richard.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared himſelfe to paſſe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble ſhould follow to his realme by reaſon of his abſence: and hereupon to keepe the Scots in friendſhip, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendred into their hands the caſtels of Rorburgh, Berwike, and Sterling: and moreouer that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he toke him priſoner. He alſo deliuered the earledomes of Huntington & Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the caſtels and holds within them, ſhould be in the keeping of his capteins and ſouldiors, ſuch as he ſhould appoint. He releaſed to king William alſo the reſidue of ſuch ſummes of monie as were due for the foure caſtels laid to gage, ten thouſand pounds onelie excepted, which he receiued in hand at that preſent towards the charges of his iournie. When king William had thus receiued his lands and caſtels by ſurrender, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, who thereupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance deuiſed by king Malcolme the firſt, went with him alſo in that voiage with fiue hundred Scotiſhmen, or rather fiue thouſand (as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius ſaith) if no fault be in the printer.

The ceſtels of Rorburgh, Berwike, and Sterling rendred to king William.

Earle of Huntington.

Scots with king Richard in the holie land.

As the chriſtian armie laie at ſiege before the citie of Acres, otherwiſe called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scotiſhman borne, was within the towne reteined in ſeruice among the Saracens; for being conuict of felonie in his natiue countrie he was baniſhed out of the ſame, and fled to the Saracens, remaining ſo long amongſt them, that he had learned their tong verie perfectlie, ſo that as then few knew what countriman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keeping, on that ſide the towne where was but a ſingle wall, without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by ſome good aduenture to eſpie amongſt the watch of thoſe that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinſmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had béene moſt familiarlie acquainted; and incontinentlie he called to the ſame Durward, deſiring vnder aſſurance to talke with him. After certeine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yet vtterlie in his heart renounced the chriſtian faith, he appointed with Durward to giue entrie at a certeine houre vnto earle Dauid, and to all the chriſtian armie, vpon condition that earle Dauid would ſée him reſtored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre ſet, earle Dauid came with a great power of men to the gate before reherſed, where he was ſuffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinentlie with great noiſe and clamour brake into the midſt of the citie.

The ſiege of Acres.

Oliuer a Scotiſhman.

John Durward.

Earle Dauid entered the citie Acon.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiuing the citie thus woone, entred the ſame, and ſhortly after wan a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres woone from the Saracens, chieflie by means of the Scotiſhmen. But now touching their returne from this voiage (for ſith in other places more large mention is made of ſuch exploits as were atchiued therein, I paſſe ouer to make anie longer diſcourſe thereof in this place) ye ſhall vnderſtand, that in that ſtreinable tempeſt, in the which king Richards nauie was diſperſed in his comming homewards (as in the

the historie of England is more at large expressed) the ship also that earle Dauid was in, chanced to be throwne on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redéemed by certeine merchants of Uenice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Uenice, where he was bought out & redéemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, hée hired a vessell at Sluis, therwith to returne into Scotland; but being losed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that droue him, not without great danger of life, néere to the coasts of Norwaie and Shetland.

Earle Dauid taken prisoner

He is redéemed.

He went to Scotland.

Here in the midst of this extreame ieopardie (as hath béene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honor of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arrived at length in Taie water beside Dundée, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arrived before that time hight Alectum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundée, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had béene dead, he came spédilie vnto Dundée to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, insomuch that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle Dauid, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honor of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundée, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbie in what place it shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as hée should thinke good. There were also manie priuileges granted the same time vnto Dundée, which indure to this day.

Arrived at Dundée.

The name of Dundée.

Procession was holden.

A church built.

Priuileges granted to the towne of Dunder.

Earle Dauid not refusing the grant and benevolence of the king his brother, builded an abbeie called Lundoris, for monks of the order of saint Benet. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singularitie. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adders; yet doth no man catch hurt by anie of them, insomuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperour of Almains) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, toke his brother earle Dauid with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had vnfeinedlie conceiued for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had béene, aswell for furnishing of his voiage, as also for redéeming of his libertie.

Thr abbeie of Lundoris.

Adders without hurt.

K. Richards returne into England.

The gift of king William to king Richard.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were streight way put in an vntrue beliefe, that he was dead: and causing it to be bruted abrode, began to exercise all kind of misdemeanors by inuading the poore and simple people, with spoilings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie aliue, but also recouered of his infirmitie, and comming homewards, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Orkenie, vnto the vttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort giltlesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offenses.

A bruit raised that the king was dead.

Herald thane of Cathnes succourer of rebels.

Iustice not destitute of mercie.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Iles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a wéed. In the yeere next insuing was more dearth felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scotish called a boll, was sold for fiue crownes; and yet in the yeere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sauior 1199, was more plentifull abundance than euer had béene séene afore. The same yeere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yeere also died Richard king of England, & his brother Iohn succeeded in his place. About three yeeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yeere came a legat from the pope sent to K. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in maner of a diademe of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturdaie should be kept as holidaie from noone forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing anie bodilie worke from saturdaie at noone, vntill mondaie in the morning.

The thane of Cathnes taken.

Seuere punishment.

Great dearth

1199

Alexander the prince of Scotland.

A legat sent from the pope.

A hat.

Defender of the church.

Saturday after noone to be kept holie.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage vnto king Iohn, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland. Immediatlie whereupon king Iohn willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And bicause he refused so to do, king Iohn made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great bootie of goods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lords had not compelled K. Iohn to make restitution of all the goods so taken; bicause they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being alreadie in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreouer, from the Twelfthtide till Februarie, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

King William did homage to king Iohn of England.

Ale sold by weight.

Earthquakes

After the end of winter, king Iohn hauing made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

a caſtell in Northumberland ouer againſt Berwike, vpon purpoſe to haue ſome quarell to fall out with the Scots. King William being aduertiſed thereof, ſent his ambaſſadors vnto king John, requiring him to deſiſt from ſuch attempts, and not to ſeeke a nie occaſion of new trouble: but forſomuch as he receiued no towardlie anſwer againe from K. John, he aſſembled a power, & comming to the caſtell which king John had cauſed to be builded, he ouerthrew the ſame, and raced it to the earth. King John ſore offended herewith, raiſed a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his comming to the borders, he found his aduerſarie king William readie to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken vp betwixt them, ſo that on either ſide the armies were diſſolued, & both the kings repairing to Yorke, eſtabliſhed a peace there, with theſe conditions, that Margaret and Iſabell daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yéeres then next inſuing were once expired, ſhould be coupled in mariage with Henrie and Richard the ſons of king John, vpon this paction and couenant, that if the one died, the other ſhould ſucceéd to the crowne. For the which it was couenanted, that king William ſhould giue a right large dower. Alſo the caſtell which king John had builded, and king William raced, it was agréed that it ſhould remaine ſo defaced, and neuer after againe to be repared. For the ſure performance of theſe articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hoſtages vnto king John. In that aſſemblie there at Yorke, King William alſo ſurrendered into the hands of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland; to the intent he ſhould aſſigne thoſe lands againe vnto his ſonne prince Alexander, and he to do homage for the ſame, according to the maner and cuſtome in that caſe prouided, for a knowledge and recognition that thoſe lands were holden of the kings of England, as ſuperior lords of the ſame. During the abode of theſe two kings at Yorke, there was brought vnto them a child of ſingular beautie, ſonne and heire to a gentleman of great poſſeſſions in thoſe parties, being ſore vexed with diuerſe and ſundrie diſeaſes; for one of his eies was conſumed & loſt through an iſſue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands was dried vp; the one of his féet was ſo taken, that he had no vſe thereof; and his tong likewiſe that he could not ſpeake. The phyſicians that ſaw him thus troubled with ſuch contrarie infirmities, iudged him incurable. Neuertheleſſe, king William making a croſſe on him, reſtored him immediatlie to health. By reaſon whereof, manie beléeued that this was done by miracle, through the power of almightie God, that the vertue of ſo godlie a prince might bée notified to the world.

A caſtell ouerthrowne.

A peace eſtabliſhed at Yorke betwixt the kings John and William.

The conenãts of the peace.

Scotiſh hoſtages deliuered to king John.

A ſurrender made to a vſe.

A child healed by K. William.

After his returne from Yorke into Scotland, he indowed the churches of Newbottell, Melros, Holie rod houſe, Dunfirmling, and Aberden, with manie faire poſſeſſions, as the letters patents made therof by him beare manifeſt teſtimonie. He alſo erected one new biſhops ſee called Argile, giuing therto ſufficient lands towards the maintenance and ſuſtentation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies, but there chanced ſuch a floud, by reaſon of the riſing and inundation of the two riuers, Taie & Almond, that through violence of the ſtreme the towne wals were borne downe, and much people in the towne drowned, yer they could make anie ſhift to ſaue themſelues, inſomuch that though the king with his wife, and the moſt part of his familie eſcaped out of that great danger and ieopardie, his yongeſt ſonne yet named John, with his nurſſe and twelue other women periſhed, and twentie other of his ſeruants beſide. Héere was heard ſuch clamor, noiſe, & lamentable cries, with bitter rorings and dreadfull ſhrikings, as is vſed in time when anie towne is ſuddenlie taken and ſurpriſed by the enimies: for as the cõmon prouerbe witneſſeth; Fier & water haue no mercie: and yet of theſe two, water is more terrible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of man able to reſiſt the violence of inundations, where they ſuddenlie breake in.

Churches indowed by king William.

The erection of the ſée of Argile.

The towne of Bertha drowned by inundation.

The king in danger of drowning.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha was thus deſtroied and ouerflowed with water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that owght the ground where the ſame towne was builded. Furthermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king granted ſundrie beneficiall priuileges and frædoms thereto, that it might the ſooner riſe in riches and wealth. The firſt foundation thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1210 yéeres, but the name was changed afterwards, and called ſaint Johns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day. About the ſame time there roſe eſtſones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gothred the ſonne of Makuilzen (of whoſe rebellion ye haue heard before) ſpoiled with often incurſions and rodes the countrie of Roſſe, and other bounds there abouts. His companie increaſed dailie more and more, by repaire of ſuch number of rebels as came vnto him out of Lochquhaber, & the weſterne Iles. King William, to repreſſe theſe attempts, ſent forth the earles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of Buchquhane, hauing ſix thouſand in their companie, the which incountering with the enimies in ſet battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gothred their chiefe capteine priſoner, brought him vnto the king, who cauſed both him and diuerſe other which were likewiſe taken priſoners, to loſe their heads. Gothred himſelfe was ſore wounded, before he was taken; ſo that if his takers had not made the more ſpéed in the conueieng of him to the king, he had died of his hurts before execution had thus béene done on him accordinglie as was appointed.

John & kings ſon drowned.

The towne of Perth builded

Frædoms granted to the towne of Perth.

Saint Johns towne.

Gothred moued a rebellion in Cathnes.

His companie increaſeth.

The earles of Fife and Atholl ſent againſt him.

The rebels ouerthrowne.

Gothred taken and beheaded.

About this time aroſe the diſſention and variance betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent the third, for that the Engliſh cleargie refuſed to aid the ſaid John with ſuch ſummes of monie as he demanded of them. Shortlie after, William king of Scotland, worne with long age, departed out of this world at Striueling, in the 74 yéere of his age, and in the 49 yéere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of Chriſt 1214 yéeres. He was buried in Aberbrothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The yéere afore his death, two comets or blaſing ſtarres appéered in the moneth of March, verie terrible to behold; the one did ſhine before the riſing of the ſunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yéere next following, there was a cow in Northumberland that calued a verie monſtruous calfe; for the head and necke reſembled a verie calfe in déed, but the reſidue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were ſéene alſo two moones in the firmament, the one being ſeuered from the other, and in ſhape naturallie horned, as ye ſée the moone in hir increaſing or waning. King William in his life time founded the abbeie of Balmernocht, but his wife quéene Ermengard indowed it with lands and poſſeſſions after his deceaſſe. In the 46 yéere of this king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie order were ſent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberden, to conuert the ſame into an abbeie for them

The diſſention betwixt the pope and king John.

The cauſe.

The death of king William.

1214.

Two blazing ſtarres.

A monſtruous calfe.

Two moones.

The abbeie of Balmernocht founded.

to inhabit: and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

*Alexander.*

After the deceaſſe of king William, his ſonne Alexander the ſecond of that name ſucceaded, and was crowned at Scone with all due ſolemnitie; which being finiſhed, he went vnto Abirbrothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the funerall obſequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feaſts ſhould be vſed or kept in all that yeere, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himſelfe, and all his ſeruants alſo, were clothed in mourning weed, during the ſpace of one whole yeere. The firſt parlement which he called, was holden at Edenburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances deuiſed by his father; and further appointed that all ſuch as had borne offices vnder him, ſhould ſtill inioy the ſame. Namelie he commanded that William Wlod biſhop of Dunblaine ſhould ſtill continue lord chancellor, and Alane of Galloway high conſtable, which is an office of moſt honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw blood of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

Alexander the ſecond is crowned at Scone.

A time of mourning.

A parlement at Edenburgh

Confirmation of officers.

The office of the conſtable.

When this parlement was ended, becauſe the old quarne his mother determined to remaine, during the reſidue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman quarne Margaret ſometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir eſtate, the caſtels & townes of Foxſair, with the lands and poſſeſſions to the ſame belonging. He alſo appointed certeine ſage and moſt graue perſonages, to be choſen ſmith as iudges, which ſhould be reſident in euerie citie and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuerſie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great diſſention roſe betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reaſon whereof great warres inſued, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie doth appeare. The barons made ſute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, ſo that at length Lewes the French kings ſonne came ouer to ſupport them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertiſed, he likewiſe came with an armie through England vnto London, cauſing his ſouldiers by the waie to abſteine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and ſhortlie after that he had communed with Lewes touching ſundrie affaires perteining to both the realmes, they paſſed the ſeas with ten veſſels ouer into France, leauing their powers behind them to aſſiſt the Engliſh lords.

The lands of Foxſair giuen to the old quarne.

A princelie appointment.

Diſſention betwixt king John and his nobles.

The French king aduertiſed thereof, came downe to Bullongne, where finding his ſon and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the ſame Alexander, according to the conuenants of the old league, with this addition, that neither prince ſhould receiue the enimies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie ſtranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto. Theſe things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: ſhortlie whereupon, king John died, more through anguiſh of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall diſeaſe. His ſon Henrie, the third of that name, ſucceeded him. And in the meane time had the pope accurſed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all thoſe that fauoured their cauſe againſt king John, which curſſe was pronounced in a generall councell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being preſent foure hundred and twelue biſhops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceaſſe of king John, returning homewards with his armie, thought he might haue paſſed quietlie without anie annoiance by the waie, through meanes whereof he loſt a certeine number of his men, being ſuddenlie inuaded by ſuch Engliſhmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at ſome aduantage, in ſtraieng abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was ſo moued, that he ſpoiled and harried all the countries by the which he paſſed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The beſt approued writers affirme that Lewes went not ouer into France, till after the death of king John.

Lewes and king Alexander accurſed.

A councell at Rome.

Shortlie after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furniſhed with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication aboue remembred, againſt Lewes and Alexander, with all their fautors, whereupon he accurſſed not onelie the foreſaid perſons, but alſo interdicted all the places where they came, inſomuch that in the end Lewes was conſtreined to buy an abſolution with no ſmall ſummes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon a greement alſo made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came K. Henrie with an armie into Scotland, ſore indamaging the countrie: but ſo ſone as he was aduertiſed that king Alexander had aſſembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all ſpeed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the ſame time 1200 men of armes, verie perfectlie appointed and furniſhed with armor and weapon as was requiſit, and the king of Scots but onelie fiue hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scotiſh armie 60000 able perſonages well appointed, with ares, ſpeares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, conſtantlie beléeuing, that to loſe this preſent life heere in his defenſe, was an aſſured waie to be ſaued in an other world.

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France.

King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

Ex codice manuſcripto S. Albani, ſcripturn by Mat. Paris (as I take it.)

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat downe manie caſtels and ſtrengths, which the Engliſhmen held. Then marching through the countrie vnto Carleill, he wan that citie, and garniſhed it with his people. After this, laieng ſiege vnto Norham caſtell, when he had continued at the ſame a certeine time, and perceiued how he loſt but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchiued enterpriſes in that iournie. King Henrie being once aduertiſed that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got togither his people togither, and comming to Berwike, wan both the towne and caſtell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and ſpoiled the countrie alongſt by the ſea coaſts, till he came as farre as Hadington, putting all ſuch to the ſword as were found in the waie; women, prieſts, and children onelie excepted. He aſſaied to haue woone the caſtell of Dunbar, but miſſing his purpoſe there, he returned into England.

King Alexander returneth into his countrie.

Carleill won by the Scots.

Berwike won by king Henrie.

Hadington.

In the meane time, the ambitious prelat Gualo, vpon truſt to purchaſe ſome large portion of monie in Scotland, put the ſame vnder protecſſe of interdicting, & namelie he accurſſed king Alexander moſt terriblie, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) ſpoiled churches as well as prophane places. Theſe curſſes ſo inflamed the hearts of the Scotiſhmen with hatred againſt the Engliſhmen, that the ſame was not like to haue ended without the bitter deſtruction and ruine of both their realms. Nevertheleſſe at length, by the diligent trauell of the biſhops of Yorke and Saliſburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treate an agreement, a ſmall peace was concluded, vnder theſe conditions. Firſt it was agreed, that king Alexander ſhould render the citie of Carleill into the Engliſhmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe

Scotland inuaded.

Biſhops of Yorke and Saliſburie.

A peace concluded.

The conditions.

halfe of Northumberland, to the Kercroſſe. And further, that king Alexander ſhould be abſolued of the cenſures of the church, which Gualo the cardinall had denounced againſt him.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two foreſaid biſhops comming vnto Berwike, abſolued king Alexander, and deliuered his realme of interdiction, by ſuch authoritie as they had procured of the cardinall Gualo. But yet the ſame cardinall, not minding to depart with emptie hands, ſummoned all the prelats of Scotland to appeare before him at Anwike, there to receiue their full abſolution, to the intent by ſuch means to trouble them, till they had diſburſſed to his vſe ſome large portion of monie. Sundrie of them which loued quietneſſe more than contention, ſatiſfied his mind; but others refuſed vtterlie ſo to do, taking great indignation that ſpirituall cauſes were thus diſpatched for monie, and eccleſiaſticall preferments bought and ſold, no otherwiſe than ſecular poſſeſſions and prophane dignities. Incontinentlie thereupon Gualo cited them to Rome, ſuppoſing that rather than to take vpon them ſo long a iournie, they would haue compounded with him at his pleaſure. Notwithſtanding they being nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto Rome, and at their comming thither, made vnto the pope their complaint in moſt grieuous maner, of the inſufferable iniuries attempted in England and Scotland, by his moſt couetous legat the foreſaid Gualo: by reaſon of which complaint, and of ſundrie ſuch letters & informations as dailie came out of England and Scotland, from other biſhops & abbats, conteining right grieuous accuſations, concerning the inſatiable auarice of Gualo, the pope reuoked him home to Rome, to make anſwere in his preſence vnto ſuch matters as were laid to his charge.

The cleargie of Scotland ſummoned by cardinall Gualo to come to Anwike.

Sale of ſpirituall promotions.

The Scotiſh cleargie cited to Rome.

The complaint of the Scotiſh cleargie to the pope

The auarice of Cardinall Gualo.

At his returne thither, for ſo much as he was not able to diſcharge himſelfe of ſuch manifeſt crimes wherewith he was burdened, the pope condemned him in a great ſumme of monie, to be paid as a fine for his treſpaſſe and tranſgreſſions. And thoſe Scotiſh biſhops, which were come for their abſolution, were abſolued by the pope, and ſuffered to depart in peace. In this meane time, Dauid earle of Huntington, brother to William late king of Scots, (of whome ye haue heard before how he went in the iournie made by the chriſtian princes into the holie land) deceaſſed, and was buried within an abbeie in England. Henrie king of England, after he came to yeares of perfect diſcretion, ſhewed himſelfe to be more deſirous of peace than of warres. Whereupon at Yorke there was a meeting appointed betwixt him and king Alexander, where mutuall alliance was accorded betwixt them on this wiſe. Jane the ſiſter of king Henrie was promiſed to be giuen in mariage to king Alexander, and two ſiſters of king Alexanders were eſpouſed vnto two great princes of the Engliſh nobilitie. Theſe mariages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

Cardinall Gualo condemned in a ſumme of monie.

The Scotiſh biſhops abſoiled.

Dauid earle of Huntington deceaſſed.

1219.

In interview betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Mariages concluded.

In the yeare next following, came a legat into Scotland from pope Honorius, with buls to gather a ſumme of monie towards the furniſhing forth of an armie againſt the Turks or rather Saracens. This legat was a cardinall, and named Egidius, who hauing purchaſed no ſmall quantitie of coine both of the cleargie and laitie of Scotland, ſpent the ſame in riot and outragious inſolencie, making his excuſe at his returne to Rome, how it was taken from him by certeine Brigants and robbers. Within ſhort while after, was an other legat with ſemblable commiſſion ſent into Scotland from the foreſaid pope. But king Alexander, being aduertiſed of his comming, called a councell, in the which one of the biſhops (as ſhould ſeeme) toke great indignation, to ſee how couetouſneſſe reigned in moſt ſhamefull wiſe amongeſt the Romiſh legats, and ſpake in maner as followeth.

A legat ſent from pope Honorius for a collection.

Alegats excuſe.

In other legat.

Albeit ſundrie conſiderations there are which might ſtay me from vttering ſuch things as be moſt preiudiciall to the common-wealth, yet (moſt noble prince) when I conſider thine humanitie, faith, and conſtancie, giuen to nothing more than to the defenſe and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth. For ſith all maner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea euen that which is exerciſed by kings or princes deſcended by lineall ſucceſſion to their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be deteſted, which is exerciſed by men of vile and baſe linage. Therefore, if the ſundrie and manifeſt wrongs done to vs theſe manie yeares now paſſed, had come by the popes themſelues, the ſame might ſomewhat more ſufferablie haue béene borne: but ſith naughtie & vile perſons, of baſe birth and obſcure linage, promoted to benefices and eccleſiaſticall dignities onelie for their wicked and horrible vices, haue not onelie interdicted our realme, without lawfull commiſſion; but haue alſo conſumed in maintenance of their wanton and inſolent vices, that monie which they gathered in our countrie by the popes authoritie, vnder colour of raiſing an armie to go againſt the Turks and Infidels; I am of this opinion, that their curſſed auarice ought to haue no further place amongeſt faithfull people, ſpeciallie amongeſt vs, whoſe ſimplicitie and humbleneſſe they haue in contempt. In the yeares paſſed, ye complained of the iniuries done by Gualo, when he had put your realme vnder the cenſure of interdicting, and the moſt part of your prelats vnder the curſſe; becauſe they would not anſwer him with monie, according to his couetous demands, wherewith he might mainteine his outragious luſts. Which Gualo alſo (as ſhould appeare) by moſt certeine coniectures, was of ſuch a diueliſh nature, that though he were ſent to treate a concord betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots; yet to ſatiſfie his auaritious deſire, he miniſtred ſuch occaſion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter béene the ſooner taken vp) were at a point to haue entered ſo far into malitious hatred the one againſt the other, that it was not like that anie peace would haue taken place, till the one or both had béene vtterlie deſtroied. But ſince theſe heinous and terrible déeds are manifeſt inough; to what end ſhould I here remember them, ſith the ſame cannot be done without your great griefe and diſpleaſure? Moreouer, after we were deliuered of this Gualo, ſhortlie after commeth another, one ſhewing himſelfe to come forth of the ſame ſhop; for in conuerſation of life he was to be iudged no whit better, but rather worſe: for after that he had got vp amongeſt vs of this realme large ſummes of monie, vnder pretenſe of redéeming the chriſtian priſoners out of the Saracens hands, and waging of new armies againſt them; he waſted the ſame monie in riotous luſt and inſolencie, feining, when it was gone, that it was béreft him by Brigants. Therefore ſith we haue had experience, and are alreadie ſufficientlie taught by the doings of the two fore-remembred legats, to our heauie griefs and no ſmall damages; we may be worthilie reputed vnwiſe and verie fooles in déed, if we now admit the third. For it is not to be thought, that this new legat ſhall vſe the matter in anie better ſort, than his fellowes haue done before him. And verelie, if anie man ſhuld demand of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I do for my part proteſt, that neither this legat, nor anie other in times to come,

An oration of a biſhop.

Tyrannie intollerable.

Men of baſe linage.

The Scots fore offended againſt Gualo.

The practiſe of Gualo.

The biſhops oration.

come, ought to be receiued within this realme, conſidering how the ſame hath bæne waſted & robbed by their continuall exactions. If there be anie amongſt you that hath moze monie than he knoweth which way well to ſpend, he may (in the name of God) beſtow it vpon the poze, rather than to the vſe of ſuch vicious legats, as ozder it in ſuch ſoꝛt, that all men haue cauſe to thinke what ſoeuer commeth into their hands, is but caſt away and cleareſie loſt.

Legats cannot be receiued.

These wozds of this biſhop (whatſoeuer he was) were liked ſo well of all the councell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this councell, the mariage was conſummat betwixt king Alexander and Jone, ſiſter to Henrie king of England; alſo betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iuſtice of England, and Margaret ſiſter to king Alexander, by reaſon of which mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Engliſhmen, and as it had bæne ſealed vp foꝛ a moze full and certeine aſſurance. Shoꝛtlie after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gileſpie Roſſe, who hauing liued moſt licentiouſlie in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre againſt the king, and firſt fleaing diuerſe ſuch of his companions as had kept him companie afoꝛetime in his lewd miſdemeanoꝛs, foꝛ that they refuſed now to ſticke to him in this rebellious enterpꝛiſe, he went with the reſidue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Enuernes, which he toke and burned, with diuerſe other places being of the kings poſſeſſions, till at length John Cumin earle of Buchquhane coming againſt him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, purſued the ſaid Gileſpie in ſuch earneſt wiſe, that finallie he toke him with two of his ſons, and ſtriking off all their thꝛée heads, ſent the ſame to the king as a witneſſe how he had ſped.

Peace confirmed with the Engliſhmen.
Gileſpie Roſſe a rebell.
Enuernes burned by Gileſpie Roſſe.
John Cumin earle of Buchquhane.
Gileſpie Roſſe beheaded.

This buſineſſe being thus quieted, an other inſued after this maner: The men of Cathnes ſoꝛe offended with their biſhop named Adam, foꝛ that vpon refuſall to pay their tithes he had accurſſed them, fell vpon him within his owne houſe, and firſt ſcourging him with rods, at length ſet fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being repoꝛted to the king, as then ſoiourning at Edenburgh, he haſted foꝛth with all ſpæd to puniſh the offendoꝛs, not ceaſſing till he had taken foure hundꝛed of them, all the which number he cauſed to be hanged; and foꝛ that he would haue no ſucceſſion to come of ſuch a wicked ſæd, he appointed all their ſons to loſe their ſtones. The place where they were ſo gelded, is called euen to this day the ſtonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, foꝛ that he neither ſuccoured the biſhop in time of nëed, noꝛ yet ſought to puniſh the offendoꝛs that did this cruell dëed, was depꝛiued of his earledome, and the lands belonging to the ſame. The pope highlie commended king Alexander foꝛ this puniſhment taken of them, that had ſo cruellie murthered their biſhop.

New trouble.
Adam biſhop of Cathnes ſlaine by the people of that countrie.
Streight execution.
The ſtonie hill.
The earle of Cathnes loſeth his lands
King Alexander commended of the pope

After this, king Alexander comming vnto Aberden, gaue manie large gifts and pꝛiuileges therevnto, although the ſame befoꝛe this time inioied ſundꝛie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his pꝛedeceſſoꝛs. The buls which were granted by ſundꝛie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the cuſtodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Murrey, who ſucceëded next after the foꝛeſaid Adam in the ſëe of Cathneſſe. In the third yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Ermingard were ſitting at their banket on the twelfe day in Chꝛiſtmas, otherwiſe called Yule, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good oppoꝛtunitie thereto, pꝛeſented himſelfe befoꝛe the king, and beſought him of grace and pardon foꝛ his paſſed offenſe. King Alexander taking ruth & pitie of him, reſtoꝛed him (vpon his fine to be paied in maner as was agrëed betwixt them) vnto all his foꝛmer honoꝛs, lands and poſſeſſions. Neuertheleſſe the offenſe that was pardoned by man, was afterward puniſhed by the iuſt iudgement (as ſome thought) of almightie God: foꝛ he was ſlaine as he lay in bed one night by his owne meniall ſeruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the fame went. The houſe alſo wherein he was thus ſlaine, was likewiſe ſet on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man ſhould haue ſuſpicion of his ſlaughter, but that it might ſëeme as though it had come by ſome ſudden aduenture.

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and reſtoꝛed to his lands.
The earle of Cathnes is murthered by his ſeruants.

About this time, oꝛ ſomewhat beforе, there came into Scotland (ſent by ſaint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which oꝛder the ſame Dominicke was the firſt authoꝛ. These men that were firſt ſent by him, liued accoꝛding to his inſtitution, moze perfectlie than ſuch as followed: foꝛ as it often happeneth, althings commonlie from a good beginning fall into woꝛſe eſtate, ſo that the ſucceſſoꝛs of thoſe men declined from all good religion, into moſt inſolent abuſes and miſoꝛders, and ſo continuing in vicious liuing the ſpace of thꝛée hundꝛed yeares, at length were perfectlie reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamſon, that pꝛoceëded doctoꝛ in the pꝛofeſſion of diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Aberden, at the ſame time that Hector Boetius the Scotiſh chꝛonographer pꝛoceëded there in the ſame faculties. On the ſame maner, about the ſelfe ſame time, were ſent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the chꝛiſtian woꝛld, friers minoꝛs, of ſaint Francis his oꝛder. Manie of them alſo after his deceaſſe fell to diſſolute liuing, këeping no ſuch ſtreict rules, as both he pꝛeſcribed, and alſo obſerued.

The firſt comming of blacke friers into Scotland.
John Adamſon.
The firſt comming of friers minoꝛs

But now to returne to the reſidue of the hiſtoꝛie. The Scotiſh people inioied peace a long time after the appeaſing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane loꝛd of Galloway and conſtable of Scotland departed out of this life; and foꝛ that he had diuided his lands beforе his death amongeſt his thꝛée daughters, his baſtard ſonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to atteine the poſſeſſion of Galloway by foꝛce of armes; but at length, after he had wꝛought much ſcath in the countrie by his violent inuaſion, he was ſlaine with fiue thouſand of thoſe that toke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Steward of Dunwald, which was ſent againſt him with a powꝛer. The eldeſt daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in mariage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchеſter, who after his father in lawes deceaſſe, was made conſtable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his ſucceſſion, till king Robert the ſecond his daies; in whoſe time this Roger of Quincies poſteritie was diſherited and extinguiſhed, foꝛ certeine offenſes committed againſt the kings maieſtie, and then afterwards the office of the conſtable was giuen to the Hayes of Arroll. The ſecond daughter of the foꝛeſaid Alane was maried vnto John Baliol; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the loꝛdſhip of Galloway diuided into thꝛée, by reaſon whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking diſpleaſure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned baſtard, till he was vanquiſhed and ſlaine, as beforе ye haue heard. This trouble being appeaſed thus within the realme, K. Alexander was aduertiſed of great diuiſion riſing betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefoꝛe to helpe towards an agrëement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife quëene Jane, and Iſabell his ſiſter. Thꝛough his earneſt diligence, all the debates and quarels were remoued, and the parties thꝛoughlie accoꝛded. Which being done, he maried

The death of Alane loꝛd of Galloway.
His baſtard ſonne raiſeth a commotion.
The earle of March.
Roger Quincie earle of winchеſter conſtable of Scotland.
The diuiſion of the lands of Galloway.
K. Alexander goeth into England.

The pꝛiuileges of Aberden.
The archdeacon of Murrey.

Iſabell the ſiſter of king Alexander maried to the earle of Norfolke.

Jane queéne of Scotland deceaſſeth. 1239.

maried Iſabell his ſiſter vnto the earle of Norfolke, and in the meane time his wife queéne Jane deceaſſed, without leauing anie iſſue behind hir, which chance cauſed the king hir huſband to returne with great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation 1239, king Alexander (becauſe he had no ſucceſſion begot of his bodie) maried at Rockſburgh the daughter of Ingelram lord of Coucie, a virgine of excellent beautie named Marie, on whome he got a ſonne named Alexander, which ſucceeded after his deceaſſe in the gouernement of the realme.

King Alexander marieth the daughter of the lord of Coucie.

John Cumin earle of Angus departeth this life.

About the ſame time, John Cumin earle of Angus, being ſent in ambaſſage to Lewes the French king, died by the way. Alſo at Hadington was holden a rotall tornament, where knights and eſquiers aduanced themſelues by valiant proweſſe to win honor: neuertheleſſe the end of all that pleaſure and paſtime ended in ſorow. For Patrike Cumin earle of Atholl was ſlaine within his lodging in the night, and the houſe ſet on fire and burned ouer him, to the intent no ſuſpicion ſhould riſe, but that it happened by ſome euill miſfortune, and negligence of fire. But yet was John Billart, with Walter Billart his vncle ſhrewdlie ſuſpected for the matter, inſomuch that though no euident proofe could be had againſt him, yet were they baniſhed the realme, and loſt all their goods by confiſcation to the kings vſe. After theſe things were thus paſſed, a conuocation was called of the cleargie at ſaint Johns towne. In the which were diuerſe prouinciall ordinances and ſtatutes, made by conſent of the king and nobles of the realme, which were obſerued in the church of Scotland vnto theſe late daies. About the ſame time alſo, one Somerled thane of Argile, the ſonne of that Somerled of whome ye haue heard before, following his fathers ſteps, rebelled againſt the king, ſore indamaging by rodes & forages the parts bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Argile, till at length the earle of March brought him to the brinke of ſuch extreme neceſſitie, that he was faine to yéeld himſelfe, with a cord about his necke in token of ſubmiſſion; and being ſo brought before the king, obteined pardon of his heinous offenſe.

Patrike earle of Atholl murthered.

John Billart ſuſpected.

A conuocation of the cleargie at ſaint Johns towne.

Somerled thane of Argile rebelleth.

Somerleds humble ſubmiſſion.

In the ſame ſeaſon, Henrie king of England, prouoked by the ſetting on of ſuch ſeditious perſons remaining in his court, as truſted by wars to aduance their priuat gaine (during which time law and iuſtice haue no place) began to build a caſtell iuſt againſt Berwike, in the ſame place where the other was begun afore by king Richard, which (as before is ſhewed) was raced and throwen downe by king William, by the articles of agréement with couenant that it ſhould neuer be builded vp againe. This attempt of the Engliſhmen had miniſtred ſufficient occaſion of warre, if the nobles of England (conſidering that the building vp of this caſtell was contrarie to their bond and promiſed faith) had not ſtaied the worke, and ſo therevpon that beginning of new trouble betwixt the Engliſh and Scotiſh nations for that preſent ceaſſed.

A caſtell begun to be builded by king Henrie againſt Berwike.

Matth. Paris diſagréeth frõ the Scotiſh writers touching the occaſion of this warre, as in the Engliſh chronicles ye may read.

In the yeare following came ambaſſadors forth of France into Scotland, declaring that K. Lewes was readie to paſſe forward on that iournie, which he had taken in hand to make into Jewrie, and therefore deſired aid of king Alexander, to ſupport him in thoſe warres againſt Gods enimies. With theſe ambaſſadors were ſent ouer into France, certeine choſen bands of men of warre vnder the leading of Patrike earle of March, Dauid Lindſeie of Glenneſke, and Walter Steward of Dundonald, three capteins of great wiſdome, and perfect experience in feats of chiualrie. The moſt part of all thoſe Scotiſhmen, that thus went forth in that iournie, periſhed in Aegypt either on the ſword or by ſickeneſſe, ſo that few or none of them returned home againe. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not long: but falling into a ſore and grieuous ſickeneſſe within a certeine Ile called Carnere, not far diſtant from the coaſt of Argile, deceaſſed in the ſame Ile ſhortlie after, in the 51 yeare of his age, the 35 of his reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (according as he had commanded in his life time) was buried in Melroſſe.

Ambaſſadors forth of France.

Scotiſhmen that went with Lewes king of France into Aegypt.

The death of king Alexander the ſecond. 38. Io. Ma. but that can not be.

After that Alexander the ſecond was thus dead and buried, his ſonne Alexander the third of that name, not paſſing nine yéeres of age, was proclamed king. There was no ſmall adw on the daie of his coronation amongeſt the nobles, for that by reaſon of the obſeruation of ſtarres, it was iudged to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the diademe. And againe ſome held opinion, how he ought to be made knight firſt, before he were crowned; ſo that thus they were at ſtrife togither, in ſuch earneſt maner, that it was doubted, leaſt this contention would haue bred ſome great inconuenience, had not the earle of Fife preuented the ſame, in cauſing vpon a ſudden the crowne to be ſet vpon the kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, according to the cuſtome, without regard to the friuolous allegations of them that ſpake to the contrarie. When the ſolemnitie was ended, there came before him an Hillandman (for ſo they call ſuch as inhabit the mounteine countries of Scotland) who in a kind of méeter of the Iriſh language, ſaluted him as king, thus: Bennach de re Albin Alexander, mak Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak Dauid, and ſo forth (reciting in maner of a gencalogie or pedegrée, all the kings in order of whome he was deſcended, till he came vp to Gathelus the firſt beginner of the Scotiſh name & nation.) The words in Engliſh are as followeth: Haile king of Albine, Alexander the ſonne of Dauid, the ſonne of Alex, the ſonne of William, the ſonne of Henrie, the ſonne of Dauid, and ſo forth as before. This Hilland Scot was highlie rewarded by the king for his labour, according as was thought requiſite.

*Alexander.*

Alexander the third crowned

An infortunate day.

The earle of Fife preuenteth the occaſion of further troubles.

The ſalutation of an Hilland man.

In the ſecond yéere of his reigne, king Alexander (or rather ſuch as had the gouernement of the realme vnder him) aſſembled togither all the prelates and barons of the realme at Dunfirmling, and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grandmother queéne Margaret, which being donne, he cauſed them to be put into a ſhrine of ſiluer, the 21 day of Julie, and minding to place the ſame where it reſteth at this preſent, as it was borne forth toward that place, when the bearers came againſt the ſepulchre of hir huſband king Malcolme, they were not able to remoue the relikes anie further, till by the councell (as is ſaid) of an aged man that was then & there preſent, they toke vp the bones of the ſame Malcolme alſo, and bare them forth with hirs to the place aforeſaid, where they after reſted in great veneration of the people. Such as were appointed gouernors (during the minoritie of king Alexander) doubting leaſt the tender yéeres of their ſouereigne might imbolden the enimies of the relme to attempt ſome inuaſion, ſent ambaſſadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring that the peace might be ratified anew with him and his people, and further to make a motion of mariage to be had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

The tranſlation of queéne Margarets bones.

They were affianced in the daies of king Alexander the faire, as in the Engliſh chronicle it may appeare.

Shortlie after, vpon this motion, both the kings met at Yorke with a great number of lords, as well ſpirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where king Alexander (according to the promiſe before that time made) maried the ladie Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henrie, on ſaint Stephans day

An interuiew of the kings of England and Scotland.

1250. in Chriſtmaſſe, with all ſolemnitie and ioifull mirth that might be deuiſed. The charges whereof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbiſhop, who in feaſting thoſe princes ſpent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had ſolaced himſelfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new maried wife. During the minoritie of K. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great proſperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortions done by ſome of the péeres of his realme againſt the poore people, and therevpon determined to ſée redreſſe therein. Amongſt other there were accuſed of ſuch trangreſſion, the earles of Penteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one ſurname, that is to ſaie, of the Cumins. Theſe being ſummoned to appeare before the iuſtices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, vpon their contempt ſo to do, were proclamed traitors, and as the Scotiſh men tearme it, put to the horne.

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the horne.

The foreſaid lords moued with this diſpleaſure, purpoſed to reuenge the ſame, and aſſembling their powers in ſecret wiſe, toke the king at Kinroſſie, and brought him vnto Striueling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Through which aduenture much harme inſued, by reaſon of miſruled perſons, that wrought manie oppreſſions againſt the people, in hope to eſcape the due puniſhment for their miſchiefous acts prouided, ſith the king who ſhould haue ſéene iuſtice miniſtred, was holden in captiuitie by his preſumptuous aduerſaries. But of this matter ye maie ſée more in the Engliſh chronicles, about the 39 yéere of Henrie the third. The houſe of the Cumins was in thoſe daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of of ſpring, riches, lands, poſſeſſions, and mainrent. There were at the ſame time to the number of 32 knights of that ſurname within the realme, all men of faire poſſeſſions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great poſſeſſions and dominion are had in ſuſpicion with the prince, whereby the ſame is for the more part the cauſe of their ruine and fall, ſpeciallie when they preſume too farre vpon their high power: ſo it chanced here. For within a ſhort time after that the king was thus taken (as before is ſhewed) the chiefe author of the whole conſpiracie, that is to ſaie, the lord Walter earle of Penteith, who was higheſt in authoritie among all thoſe Cumins, was poiſoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which miſchance the reſidue of the Cumins were ſo eranimated, that obteining their pardon, for all offenſes paſſed of the king, they did ſet him againe at libertie.

The great power of the Cumins.

Thirtie and two knights of one ſurname.

The height of great families the cauſe oftentimes of their fall.

The earle of Penteith is poiſoned.

The king ſet at libertie.

This woman did thus make awaie hir huſband the erle of Penteith through inſtigation of an Engliſhman called John Ruſſell, as by coniectures it was ſuſpected; namelie, for that refuſing to marrie with anie of the Scotiſh nobilitie, ſhe toke the ſaid Ruſſell to huſband, though in eſtate to be compared with hirs, he was iudged a match farre vnmeet, and therevpon conſtreined to flie with him into England, ſhe died there in great miſerie. About this time pope Vrbane the fourth of that name inſtituted the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, to be celebrated each yéere on the thurſday after Trinitie ſundaie. The Carmelite friers came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chappell of our ladie without the walles of ſaint Johns towne, which the biſhop of Donkeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their ſeruice. It was alſo ſaid, that in this ſeaſon a monke of Melroſſe was admoniſhed in a dreame, where he ſhould find a part of the holie croſſe, not far from Peplis in Louthian, incloſed in a caſe ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the ſame was likewiſe found a ſtone cheſt, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wraped in ſilke, but whoſe bones the ſame were it was not knowne. As ſone as the caſe was opened, within the which the croſſe was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then beléeued.) King Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbeie in honor of the holie croſſe, in the ſame place where that péece of the croſſe was ſo found. In this abbeie afterwards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

John Ruſſell an Engliſhman.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti inſtituted.

The firſt comming of the Carmelite friers.

A part of the holie croſſe found.

An abbeie built.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met togither at Warke caſtell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redreſſe of certeine miſorders committed betwirt the borderers. Such reformation alſo was here deuiſed, and recompenſe made on either ſide, that both the realms continued afterwards in more perfect tranquillitie for a certeine ſpace, than euer was ſéene in anie kings daies before that time. In this ſeaſon was the church of Glaſco finiſhed in that perfection as it ſtands to be ſéene at this day, right ſumptuouſlie builded, for the moſt part at the charges of William biſhop of that ſée, who liued not long after the finiſhing of the ſaid worke. In the yéere following, which was the yéere after the birth of our Sauiour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reaſon of the wet harueſt preceding, ſo that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beſide the ground.

In interuiew Matth. Paris writeth that in the yeare 1256, both K. Alexander & his wife came into England to viſit king Henrie, whom they found at Woodſtoke, as in the Engliſh chronicles further appeareth.

1262.

A great derth

Acho king of Norwaie, being informed how the Scots were thus oppreſſed with famine and other miſeries, by report of them that made the ſame more than it was in deed, ſuppoſed to find time and occaſion fit for his purpoſe, to ſubdue them wholie to his dominion. Herevpon, preparing an armie and a fléet of ſhips conuenient for ſuch an enterpriſe, he landed with the ſame in the weſterne Iles, on Lammas day otherwiſe called Petri ad Vincula. Thoſe Iles continued vnder ſubiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the ſaid Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Iles, and onelie at that time amongſt all the reſidue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie ſubdued them at his pleaſure, in hope of more proſperous ſucceſſe, tranſported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the ſame on the next coaſts, where after he had beſieged the caſtell of Aire a certeine time, hée toke the ſame, and began to waſte and ſpoile all the countrie thereabouts.

Acho king of Norwaie.

The weſterne Iles vnder ſubiection of the Danes & Norwegians.

Acho landed in Albion.

The caſtell of Aire beſieged and woone.

King Alexander being ſore aſtonied with theſe newes, for that he was young, and not able (as it was doubted) to reſiſt the force of his enimies, imboldened vpon ſuch frequent victories as they had atchiued, thought beſt to prolong the time by colour of ſome treatie for a peace, that waie to diminiſh the enimies force, by long ſoiorning in campe without triall of anie battell. Hérevpon were ambaſſadors ſent vnto Acho, of the which one amongſt them appointed therto, being well languaged and wiſe, at their firſt comming before him ſpake in this manner.

King Alexanders purpoſe to infeéble his enimies force.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Acho.

Were it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient cuſtome obſerued euen from the beginning) do vſe firſt to ſéeke redreſſe of all iniuries receiued, before they offer to be reuenged with the ſword; ye ſhould not now behold orators ſent vnto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in ordi-

The oration of one of the ambaſſadors.

" "

nance

" nance of battell comming towards you to giue the
" onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so
" much gaines by victorie of the enimies, no though
Peace to be preferred before warres. " they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that
" we account it much better to haue peace, if we may
" haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some ma-
" ner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may
" be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may
" be purchased with faire and quiet words: Neuerthe-
" lesse, when our iust desires and reasonable motions
" are refused of the enimies, when we find them not
Wherefore warres ought to be moued. " willing to haue peace (for the obteining whereof all
" warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that
" their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting
" the quarrell: we are readie to rise wholie togither in
" reuenge of such contempts with all possible speed and
" violence against our aduersaries. We are sent there-
The cause of their message. " fore from our king and souereigne, to inquire what
" occasion you haue thus to inuade his realme and sub-
" iects, in violating that peace and league, which hath
" beene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nati-
" on, the space of this hundred yeeres, and not onelie to
" take from him his two Iles of Bute and Aran, but
" also to inuade the maine land of his dominions,
" with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or
" person seemeth to be had; but that women, children,
" and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as
" well as those that haue stood at resistance with wea-
" pon in hand against you. What heinous offense haue
" the Scotishmen at anie time committed either a-
" gainst you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may
" seeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such cru-
" eltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath
Warning of churches. " moued you to burne the churches of God and his
" saints, with the murther of his people that flee into
" the same for safegard of their liues? But if you dread
" not God that gouerneth all things (by his diuine pro-
" uidence) which heere in this world we see; if ye dread
" not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the
" punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to
" dread the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied
" togither in bond of amitie and mariage, which shall
" come against you with such puissance, that ye shall
" not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may
" depart with honor, we on the behalfe of him from
" whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it
" is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue alreadie
" done, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduen-
" ture to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that
" when ye shall be constreined to seeke for mercie, the
" same in no wise will be granted vnto you. ¶ These
" words were spoken by the ambassadors, vpon pur-
" pose to put some terror into the hart of this hardie
" king Acho.

King Achos answer. Neuertheles he was abashed so little therwith, that he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is
" (I perceiue) ye ambassadors, to abash vs with your
" fierce and awfull words, supposing vs so weake har-
" ted, that we should leaue off our enterprise through
" your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceiued
" suerlie if your imagination be such. And where ye ex-
" aggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from
" you certeine Iles, we perceiue you are not meet nor
" indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that
" cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we
" ought to esteeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye
" desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why
" we haue inuaded Aran and Bute, we saie and af-
" firme, that not onelie those two Iles perteine to vs
" and our people by good title and ancient right of inhe-
" ritance, but also all the other Iles of Scotland, as
" we are able by firme euidences sufficiently to proue.
The cause of Achos com- ming into Scotland. And therfore are we now come to take presentlie so much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in issues and profits out of those Iles in times past from vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither his menacing words, nor yet anie other violence " that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if " he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lus- " teth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his townes, " and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to see " the vtter extermination of his realme afore his eies, " command him to send vnto vs forthwith ten thou- His demand. " sand marks sterling for the frnits of our lands taken " vp and receiued by him and his elders in times past, " and further that he make a cleare resignation of all " claime or title that he may seeme to pretend vnto " the said Iles, in such sort that the same may passe vn- " der our dominion in perpetuitie without anie con- " tradiction.

When king Alexander had heard what the answer of his enimie was, he was therewith sore moued, & perceiuing no waie to eschue the battell, but that he should be constreined to trie fortunes chance, he assembled togither an armie of fortie thousand men, that though he were not able to match his enimies in prowesse, he might yet passe them in number. He diuided his host into three battels. In the right wing was Alexander Steward, a verie valiant knight, ne- phue to that Alexander which indowed the abbeie of Paslie. He had with him all the men that came forth of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the men of Louthian, Fife, Mers, Berwike, and Stri- ueling shire. In the middle ward was the king him- selfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger ap- peered. These battels were ordered in such arraie, that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of their owne language, to exhort them to manhood, thereby to win praise and honor.

King Alexander assembleth his power.

The ordering of the Scotish host.

Alexander Steward leader of the right wing.

Patrike Dunbar captetne of the left wing.

The king in the middle ward.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came first within sight of his enimies, he called his people togither, and exhorted them to do their dutifull indeuors like hardie and valiant men, against those enimies that inuaded their countrie without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put their trust in almightie God, desiring him to grant victorie vnto that part, which had most right and iu- stest cause of battell. He further shewed how neces- sarie it was for them to behaue themselues valiant- lie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children, liberties, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that their whole safegard rested in this point, either to vanquish their enimies with manhood, or else to liue in seruile bondage as their slaues and miserable thrals, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scot- land should see them fight that day, noting both their manhood & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust, and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie and ancient liberties, he trusted they would shew the more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them that sought onelie bloud and spoile. These with other the like words king Alexander vttered with bold spirit, to incourage his people. And on the other part king Acho likewise thought it expedient to vse some exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be afraid of the great number and huge multitude of the Scots.

King Alexander exhorteth his people to do valiantlie.

Seekers of bloud & spoile.

Achos exhor- tation to his people.

The chiefest point to incourage them to do vali- antlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and there- fore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought thither with them (which could not be small) but also

Hope of spoile incourageth men of warre.

all

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to inioy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to ech man for his good and valiant seruice. But for that high enterprises and famous exploits might neuer be atchiued without extreme ieopardie, it behoued them to atteine to these so great commodities by persing thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of sword the arraied battels of their enimies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might soone coniecture. For through dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scotish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie infeebled, that they appeere to representent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

High enterprises atchiued with extreme perill.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on ech part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be ouercome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misaduenture they would yet sell their liues derelie, and not to die vnreuenged. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to dow what lay in their vttermost forces to vanquish the enimies.

The ordering of the battels.

The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to dow their indeuors, they arraie their battels. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scotish king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (bicause he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first incounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they preassed still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceassing to exhort & incourage their men to stand to the bargaine with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings plaied the parts of verie valiant capteins.

The battels ioine.

The valiancie of the kings.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assaied sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he stuffed euen the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse crueltie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiuing themselues ouerpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to shrinke, and first those in the left wing, constreined to breake their order, fell to running awaie. Alexander Steward therfore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enimies a certeine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into araie, brought them against the enimies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncerteine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enimies, at length they began to flee amaine.

The great number of Scotishmen.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Achos nephue is slaine.

The maine battell of the Norwegians fleeth.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselfe was sore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing sore discomforted: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enimies was put to flight, they recouered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceassing from the pursute of the enimies, till night made an end of that daies worke. King Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Aire, which (as ye haue heard) he had wone before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had susteined: for his fleet conteining the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outragious tempest, that there were not past foure of all that number saued, the residue being drowned and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constreined to come on land for safegard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped.

The left wing of the Scots in danger.

The Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots.

The losse of Achos ships by tempest.

The losse of the mariners.

Acho being thus abashed with these two infortunate mischances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his nauie on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arrined in Orkneie. In this battell, which was fought at Largis on the third day of August, in the yeere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about fiue thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon séemeth not to agrée altogither herewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and toke them both, spoiling also the churches alongst the sea coast, and after arriuing at Largis in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drowned togither with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, incountring with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dondonald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & drowned in the sea, into the which they were driuen. Amongest other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great valiancie, and sore lamented of his vncle. Acho had much adow to escape himselfe, he was so egerlie pursued of his enimies.

1263.

Iohn Fourdon.

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of writers in this behalfe, that it may appéere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countriemen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to procéed. King Acho at his comming into Orkneie, sent into Norwaie and Denmarke for a new armie, prouiding ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the nert spring: but for that he himselfe departed out of this life in the beginning of the yeere nert following, all that purueiance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceassed, that is to saie, the 21 day of Januarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whome he begot on his wife quéene Margaret, the sister of Henrie king of England, was borne, to the great reioising of the people. For the people conceiued double ioy & gladnesse

Acho prepareth to make a new inuasion into Scotland, but dieth before his prouision was readie.

Alexander prince of Scotland, as eldest sonne to the king is borne.

neſſe héereof, bicauſe that both a new prince was borne, and that enimie dead which ſought the deſtruction of the whole realme. After the deceaſſe of king Acho, his ſonne Magnus ſucceéded him, a verie faithfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eies.

Imbaſſadors ſent from Magnus K. of Norwaie to king Alexander.

In the ſecond yeere of his reigne, he ſent his ambaſſadors (of whome the chiefe was the chancellor of Norwaie) vnto king Alexander, whome they found at ſaint Johns towne, and there ſignified vnto him, that king Magnus their maiſter would willinglie giue ouer all his title, right, and claime vnto Aran and Bute, ſo that the reſidue of the Iles might remaine in quiet poſſeſſion of him and his ſucceſſors in time comming. Héerevnto was anſwer made by king Alexander, that the Iles by right of old inheritance perteined vnto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make anie agréement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he had recouered the full poſſeſſion of the ſame Iles.

In time of the trouble betwixt the ſons of Malcolme Cammore and their vncle Donald Bane Magnus K. of Norwaie the ſon of Olaue ſubdued theſe Iles. Richard Southwell.

The ambaſſadors being diſpatched and ſent awaie with this anſwer, incontinentlie Alexander Steward of Paſleie, and John Cumin were ſent with an armie ouer into Man, which Ile they then recouered (though not without bloud) forth of the hands of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the ſame in poſſeſſion now for the ſpace of 167 yéares paſſed, but not without ſome alteration and trouble, as may appeere by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as ſhould ſeeme) well inſtructed in matters as well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as alſo concerning the ſtate of the out Iles. And therefore that the ſame may the better appéere to the readers, I haue thought it not impertinent to ſet downe what I haue read in the ſame Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroies of Man, and thoſe Iles which for a ſeaſon (as ſhould ſéeme in déed) were ſubſtituted by the kings of Norwaie, though it may alſo appéere, that ſometime there was a certeine ſucceſſion in them, as from the father to the ſonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c: in manner as if it had bæne by waie of inheritance.

Guthred king of Man. Reginald. 1228. Olaue, or Olanus. 1230. Huſbac. Inſulæ Sodorenſes. Olauus and Godredus. Bute. Huſbac ſlaine.

In the daies of king John therefore (as ſaith the foreſaid Southwell) one Gothred reigned as king in Man. And in the yeere 1228, one Reginald being king of thoſe Iles, was murthered by wicked perſons, & then his brother Olaue reigned in his place. In the yéere 1230, the king of Norwaie appointed one Huſbac, the ſonne of Olmund (ſurnamed Hacon) to gouerne the ſaid Iles called Sodorenſes, that is to ſay, the Ile of Man, & the other Iles there abouts the coaſts of Scotland; the which Huſbac, togither with two other capteins Olaue and Godred, ſurnamed Don, came by ſea, and arriued at Bute, where they wan the caſtell: but Huſbac was ſlaine with a ſtone that was throwne downe vpon him. And then after this, the foreſaid Olaue and Godred came vnto the Ile of Man, where they diuided the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them, ſo as Olaue had Man alotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Iles. But after that Godred was alſo ſlaine, Olaue gouerned both in Man, and in all the other Iles (thoſe excepted which the ſonnes of Somerled held in poſſeſſion.)

Olauus and Godredus diuide the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them.

1237. Alane. Harold.

In the yéere 1237, in the moneth of Maie, Alane king of Man, the ſonne of Godred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whoſe deceaſſe his ſonne Harold ſucceéded him, and reigned 12 yéares, being but 14 yeeres of age when he began his reigne.

1247. Harold paſſeth into Norway. Is drowned in his returne.

In the yeere 1247, Haco king of Norwaie ſent for Harold king of Man to come vnto his coronation, who comming thither, was honorablie receiued, and obteined king Hacos daughter in mariage: but as he returned from thence, in the yéere 1249, togither with his wife, they periſhed in the ſeas by a tempeſt on the coaſts of Ireland. Then ſucceéded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was ſlaine the firſt of June the ſame yéere, by the ſeruants of a knight called Puarus. Then Harold the ſonne of Godred Don gouerned Man one yéere, being remoued by the king of Norwaie: & after him Magnus the ſonne of Olaue began his reigne ouer Man & the other Iles, by conſent of the Manſkemen themſelues. But in the yeere 1254, one Puarus was ordeined king, or rather viceroy of thoſe Iles, & gouerned the ſame, till the foreſaid Magnus king of Norwaie reſigned his title to all the ſaid Iles vnto king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whome the firſt was called Godred mac Mares, the ſecond Alane. And after him Maurice Okarfaire ſucceéded; and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

1249. Reginald. He began to reigne the firſt of Maie. Puarus. Harold. Magnus. 1254. Puarus. Lieutenant or bailife of the Ile of Man vnder the Scots.

For the time of the reſignation made, I follow Hector Boetius, by reaſon of ſome contrarietie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeares aſſigned to the reignes of thoſe Iland kings, if you confer the ſame with the time of the foreſaid reſignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of thoſe Iles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirtéene ſhips, and fiue hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he ſhould thereto be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrike, and March, Alexander Steward, with the thanes of Argile, and Lennox, ſent with a puiſſant armie vnto the other of the weſterne Iles, the which thoſe that were greateſt, they brought with much a doo vnder the obeiſance of the crowne of Scotland, the reſidue ſubmitted themſelues.

The weſterne Iles recouered out of the hands of the Norwegians

The chancellor of Norwaie ambaſſador to king Alexander.

Magnus king of Norwaie informed hereof, ſent eftſoones his chancellor in ambaſſage vnto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe thoſe Iles: and if he might not bring that to paſſe, yet to compound with him for a yærelie tribute. The firſt motion of the chancellor would in no wiſe be heard, therefore surceaſſing to ſpend anie longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the ſecond, which toke effect at length in this wiſe. King Magnus by his letters vnder his great ſeale, renounced and gaue ouer his right or claime that he had or might haue, both for him and his ſucceſſors to all the Iles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this reſignation was agreed to paie the ſaid king of Norway, foure thouſand marks ſterling, togither with a penſion or tribute of an hundred marks by yeare. And for the more confirmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not paſt one yeares of age, was promiſed in mariage vnto Hanigo, the ſonne of king Magnus, the ſame mariage to be conſummat when ſhe came to yeares mariable. Further, in place where the greateſt ſlaughter of Danes and Norwegians had béene made, it was couenanted that an hoſpitall ſhould be erected & founded there, for the ſuſtentation of poore folks.

The releaſe of Magnus king of Norwaie to the Scotiſh Iles.

A yearelie penſion.

Margaret K. Alexanders daughter.

About this ſeaſon, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whome the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of Leiceſter, and diuerſe other. K. Henrie being not well able to withſtand his aduerſaries attempts, requeſted K. Alexander to ſend him ſome aid of Scots to ſubdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres againſt him. Herevpon ſhortlie after, was Alexander Cumin, with fiue thouſand choſen men, ſent by king Alexander into England, who right valiantlie bare themſelues in that war which king

warre in England.

King Henrie required aid of the Scots.

Alexander Cumin ſent into England.

king Henrie held againſt his barons, whereof in the Engliſh chronicle ye may read more at large. In theſe daies (as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius hath written) that notable and moſt famous outlaw Robin Hood liued, with his fellow little John, of whome are manie fables and merie ieſts deuiſed and ſong amongſt the vulgar people. But Iohn Maior writeth that they liued (as he doth geſſe) in the daies of king Richard the firſt king of England, 1198.

Robin Hood and little Iohn his companion.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had ſubdued his domeſticall enimies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of leuieng an armie againſt the Saracens. But this legat was not receiued into the realme, but commanded to ſhew his meſſage vpon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie pariſh-church in Scotland foure marks ſterling, and of euerie abbeie foure ſcore marks. And to the end he might the ſooner purchaſe fauor to the furtherance of his purpoſe, he deuiſed by the way certeine ſtatutes and ordinances right profitable to be vſed in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie ſtatutes or decrees, other than ſuch as were ordeined by the pope, or ſome generall councell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offendors are alwaies found. And as touching the requeſt made for the collection of ſo great ſummes of monie, it was not thought neceſſarie, that ſo much coine ſhould go forth of the realme: neuertheleſſe if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to ſend forth at his owne proper coſts and charges, a number of armed men to go with the chriſtian armie againſt the Turks: but for monie otherwiſe forth, the realme would not depart with anie, leaſt it ſhould be waſtfullie ſpent, or taken by the way of théeues, as it had béene aforetime.

A legat from pope Clement

The legats demand.

The anſwer of king Alexander to the legats meſſage.

The more precepts the more offendors.

Henrie king of England praiſed much the wiſedome of king Alexander for this his anſwer, as he declared ſhortlie after by his ſonne prince Edward, who came to viſit his ſiſter the queene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Roxſburgh, where they met him; for ye muſt vnderſtand that K. Henrie had alſo learned by experience to be wiſe in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this ſent vnto the pope a thouſand marks in ſiluer: and vnto Lewes the French king, that required his aid in that iournie which he made into Affrike againſt the Saracens there, a thouſand ſouldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, Iohn Steward brother of Alexander Steward, Alexander Cumin, Robert Keth, George Durward, Iohn Quincie, & William Gordon. All theſe going ouer with K. Lewes into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enimies ſword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (whereto they had not béene accuſtomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whoſe name was Thomas, periſhing thus amongſt the reſidue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inioy his lands, ſauing a daughter named Martha, being then about fifteene yeares of age. This yong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for paſtime and ſolace, as the vſe is, fortuned by aduenture to méet with a noble yong man one Robert Bruſe the ſonne and heire to Robert Bruſe the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Iſabell the ſecond daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington. The ladie immediatlie became ſo inamored of this yong gentleman, that ſhe led him with hir home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priuie to the matter) ſhe maried him in all haſt, leaſt anie man ſhould be about to hinder hir determined purpoſe. Of this mariage was borne that Robert Bruſe which afterwards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) atteined the crowne of Scotland. As ſoone as Alexander was aduertiſed hereof, he tooke ſuch indignation that ſhe ſhould beſtow hir ſelfe ſo lightlie vpon one whom ſhe neuer ſaw before, that he ſeized hir caſtell of Turneberie into his hands, with all hir other lands and poſſeſſions, as it were by eſcheat, for that ſhe had maried without his conſent. Notwithſtanding, within ſhort while after he tooke pitie on hir caſe, and for an eaſie compoſition of monie which ſhe paied for hir mariage, reſtored to hir againe all hir lands and liuings, ſuffering hir to inioy hir huſband without anie more trouble or veration. In the third yeare after, the ſaid ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembred Robert Bruſe that was after king of Scotland. And the ſame yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1274, Dauid the ſecond ſon of king Alexander deceaſſed; and the third yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to viſit the queene their ſiſter, & their brother in law the K. & after did attend them in their iournie to London, whither they went to be preſent at the coronation of the foreſaid Edward, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceaſſe of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernement of the kingdome deſcended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the ſame yeare on the day of the aſſumption of our ladie in Auguſt, with great ſolemnitie and triumph.

Robert Bruſe that was after king of Scotland is borne. 1274.

King Alexander diſpleaſed with the foreſaid Martha.

King Alexander with his wife the queene came to London.

At the ſame time there was a Norman in king Edwards court, of ſuch paſſing ſtrength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whome he wreſtled, till at length one Ferquhard a Scotiſhman borne, of the countrie of Roſſe, deſcended of noble parentage, vanquiſhed him to his great praiſe & aduancement in honor: for king Alexander in guerdon of ſo worthie a déed there done in the preſence of ſo honorable an aſſemblie, gaue vnto him the earledome of Roſſe for euermore. Of this Ferquhard ſucceéded fiue earles all of his ſurname, but the firſt earle was named William Roſſe, otherwiſe Leſlie, in whoſe ſonne the ſeuenth earle failed the dignitie of that houſe for fault of ſucceſſion. At the ſame time prince Alexander king Alexanders ſonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earledome of Huntington, as the Scotiſh writers do teſtifie. Shortlie after that king Alexander was returned forth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife queene Margaret deceaſſed, and was buried in Dunfirmling. She bare by him two ſonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the aſſurance before made) was maried about three yeares after hir mothers deceaſſe, vnto Hanigo, or rather Aquine king of Norwaie, and deceaſſed in the ſecond yeare after the ſolemnization of the mariage, leauing behind hir a daughter named alſo Margaret.

A Norman of paſſing ſtrength.

Ferquhard a Scotiſhman ouerthrew the ſaid Norman.

The earledome of Roſſe giuen to William Roſſe alias Leſlie.

The death of queene Margaret.

The mariage of Margaret king Alexanders daughter.

But before this hap fell ſo out, euen immediatlie after the death of queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger ſonne Dauid deceaſſed: by reaſon whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his ſucceſſion, procured a mariage for his elder ſonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was maried vnto the ſaid prince in Jedworth, on the ſunday after the feaſt of ſaint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feaſt of this mariage was holden with great triumph and ſolemnitie continuallie for the ſpace of fifteene daies togither. ¶ This yeare a number of the Scotiſh nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Norwaie, were loſt

The death of Dauid ſonne to king Alexander.

The mariage of Alexander prince of Scotland.

1279.

1270.

Thomas earle of Carrike.

Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

Robert Bruſe.

Robert Bruſe maried to Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

King Alexanders wiſedome praiſed by king Henrie.

A thouſand marks ſent to the pope.

Scotiſh captens ſent into Affrike.

loſt by ſhipwracke, as they would haue returned backe againe to Scotland after the conſummation of hir mariage there with king Hanigo or Aquine. Shortlie after, by the force of deaths dreadfull dint, two greeuous loſſes chanced vnto king Alexander, the one following in the necke of another. For firſt his eldeſt ſonne prince Alexander, being not paſt twentie yeares of age, departed out of this world, without leauing anie iſſue behind him; and not long after, his daughter Margaret queene of Norwaie deceaſſed alſo, leauing behind hir one onelie daughter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

The death of Alexander prince of Scotland.

The death of Margaret queene of Norwaie.

In the ſame yeare was a generall councell holden at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the prelats of chriſtendome being there aſſembled. To this councell were ſummoned to appeare all the prouincials, wardens, and miniſters of the begging friers. And for that there were ſo manie ſundrie orders of them, each man deuiſing of his owne braine ſome new alteration; all thoſe orders were reduced into the foure orders, which after by the church of Rome were approued and allowed. A generall commandement was alſo giuen, that no man ſhould go about to begin anie new forme of ſuch vaine ſuperſtitious orders, which appoint themſelues to eſchue labor, to the end they may liue in pleaſure, luſt & idleneſs, vpon the trauell of other mens browes. In this mean time, after that the chriſtian armie was returned home out of Affrike, by reaſon of a truce concluded with the Soldan, the ſame Soldan (that truce notwithſtanding) ceaſſed not to make great ſlaughters and inuaſions vpon thoſe chriſtian men that remained behind. The chriſtian princes ſore moued herewith, made their appreſts for a new expedition into the holie land. The Scots gaue the tenth penie of all their lands, or rather (as ſome bookes ſay) the tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the furtherance of this iornie: notwithſtanding through ſuch enuie and contentions as roſe amongſt the ſaid princes, that iornie brake, to the great damage and preiudice of the chriſtian faith.

A councell at Lions.

The foure orders of friers.

A commandement giuen againſt deuiſing new orders of friers.

The Soldan contrarie to the truce inuadeth the chriſtians.

The Scots contribution for a iournie into the holie land.

King Alexander hauing loſt his wife and children, in maner as is before expreſſed, not onelie hee himſelfe, but alſo all Scotland was in great penſiuenelſe and ſorrow, each man by a certeine foreiudgement and miſgiuing in mind, doubting the miſhap that might thereof inſue. But yet did king Alexander, by the aduiſe of his nobles, in hope of new iſſue, marie the daughter of the earle of Champaigne in France, named Iolant. The mariage was celebrated at Jedburgh with great feaſting and triumph: but that ioy and blithneſſe indured not long after. For the ſame yeare on the 18 day of Aprill, as he was galloping vpon a fierce horſſe at Kingorne, forcing him in his race ſomewhat raſhlie, he was throwne ouer the weſt cliffe towards the ſea by a wonderfull miſfortune, ſo rudelie, that he brake his necke, and ſo therewith immediatlie died in the 42 yeere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfirmling, in the yeere after the incarnation 1290. It is ſaid, that the daie before the kings death, the earle of March a little before night, demanded of one Thomas Leirmont, otherwiſe named Thomas the rimer, or (as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius ſaith) Thomas Erſilton (who in thoſe daies was reputed for a noble prophetier) or (as we may call him) a ſoothſaier, what weather they ſhould haue on the morow? To whome the ſaid Thomas anſwered, that on the morrow [before none] ſhould blow the ſoreſt wind and tempeſt that euer was heard of in Scotland at anie time before.

K. Alexander maried the daughter of the earle not of Champaign but of Dreux, ſaith Southw.

R. Southwell varieth ſomewhat from the Scotiſh writers in report of K. Alexanders death. See more in England.

35. H.B.

1290.

1285. H.B.

1286. Io. Ma.

Thomas of Erſilton or the rimer.

A prophecie of a tempeſt.

On the morrow when the ſkie appeared cleare and bright, without cloud or anie other ſigne of foule weather, and that it drew neere vnto the midſt of the daie, and no wind heard from anie ſide, but all calme and quiet, the earle of March ſent for the forenamed Thomas, and told him that he had miſtaken his marks, in propheſieng of anie ſuch notable tempeſt as he had ſpoken of the night before, conſidering it proued ſo lithe a daie, without appearance of anie tempeſt to inſue. This Thomas ſaid little thereto, ſauing that he ſaid it was not yet paſt none. And incontinentlie herevpon came a poſt to the caſtell gate of Dunbar, where this earle of March as then laie, bringing word of the kings ſudden death, as before is recited. Then ſaid the propheſier: That is the ſcathfull wind and dreadfull tempeſt, which ſhall blow ſuch calamitie and trouble to the whole ſtate of the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was a man in great admiration of the people, ſhewing ſundrie things, as they afterward chanced: howbeit they were euer hid and inuolued vnder the veile of darke and obſcure ſpeeches.

Manie ſtrange wonders and vnketh ſights were ſeene in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the 17 yeere of his reigne, there was ſuch an infinit number of wormes through all the parties of Albion, that not onelie the leaues and fruits of trees, but alſo flowres & herbs in gardens were eaten vp and conſumed with them. And in the ſame yeere, the waters of Forth and Taie roſe with ſuch high tides in flowing ouer the banks, that manie townes and villages were drowned, to the great deſtruction both of men and beaſts. In the 20 yere of his reigne, there was a comet or blaſing ſtarre ſeene of a meruellous quantitie, ſhining euerie day toward the ſouth, euen about none daies. On the Epiphanie day next after, roſe ſo great winds, with ſtormes of ſuch vnmeaſurable great haileſtones, that manie townes were throwne downe by violence thereof. In the meane time, roſe through the vehement rage of winds, a ſudden fire, in manie bounds within the realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings and edifices, burning vp ſteeples with ſuch force of fire, that the belles were in diuerſe places melted, as though it had beene in a furnace. Amongeſt other, thoſe of the abbeie of Abirbrothoke were moſt pretious, which were as then conſumed togither with the ſteeple wherein they hong. The townes of Aberden and Perth were burned the ſame time: alſo part of Lainrike, with the temple, and all the townes and villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewiſe manie townes and other buildings in Louthian, and in diuers other parts of the realme, too long here to rehearſe.

Vnketh ſights and wonders.

High tides.

A blaſing ſtarre.

Great winds.

Fire cauſed through wind.

Bels melted

In the 31 yeere of his reigne, was the firſt comming of the peſtilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard that euer this ſickneſſe had come within that realme before that time. In the ſolemnization of the ſecond mariage of king Alexander, as the bridegroome (according to the manner) led the bride in a danſe, a great number of lords and ladies following them in the ſame danſe, there appeared to their ſight as it were cloſing vp the hindermoſt of the danſers, a creature reſembling death, all naked of fleſh & lire, with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through which ſpectacle, the king and the reſidue of all the companie were ſo aſtonied, and put in ſuch fright & feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their danſe for that time. In the daies of this Alexander the third, liued ſundrie great clearkes. Amongſt other, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent phyſician, and for his ſingular practiſe & knowledge in that profeſſion was no leſſe eſteemed and had in high fauour with Edward king of England, than with king Alexander, during his life time.

The firſt comming of the peſtilence into Scotland.

A ſtrange ſight in danſing.

Learned men.

Michaell Scot a phyſician.

* This

Francis Thins addition, to this marke.)

The lawes of Alexander the third.

* This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, whereof moſt by the negligence of men, and longneſſe of time are worne away; ſo that things ſo profitablie by him deuiſed, ſéeme rather by report to haue béene ordeined, than that they are by cuſtome practiſed. He diuided the kingdome into foure parts, through which he made his progreſſe almoſt euerie yéere, remaining about thrée moneths in euerie place, there to ſit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poore, at what time the meaneſt perſon might haue frée acceſſe vnto him. As often as he went into anie prouince to giue ſentence of law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to receiue him with a choſen companie; and when he departed thence, to bring him to the borders of his iuriſdiction, where he was honorablie receiued of the next gouernors. The which trauelling about his realme he vſed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might alſo be knowne of all others. During which time of his progreſſe, no great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow him; bicauſe he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and for that cauſe alſo abated and reſtreined the troupe of horſemen which followed the nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane number, bicauſe he ſuppoſed that the multitude of horſſes (whereof in warre there was no vſe) were néedleſſe deuourers of meat. Further, he forbad his people to trauell by ſea for gaine or merchandize, when he conſidered that through the vnſkilfulnes of ſailing, the raſhneſſe that men vſed in committing themſelues to the ſeas, and the rapine of pirats, manie men were loſt, and their goods ſpoiled: whereby the merchants were driuen to extreame pouertie. Which precept when it had continued almoſt a whole yéere, and by manie mens ſpéeches was reprehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arriued ſuch plentie of ſtrange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapeneſſe thereof did exceed the memorie of anie former age. But yet to take order with and for the benefit of the merchants, he forbad his people to buie anie thing brought in by ſtrangers, but ſuch as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people ſhould buie of them ſuch things as they néeded.)

Scotland without a K. and gouernor.

King Alexander the third, being in ſuch miſerable wiſe deceaſſed, as before is ſpecified, the realme remained in great diſcomfort, by reſon he had neither left anie iſſue behind him to ſucceed in the gouernement thereof, neither taken order in his life time by teſtament, or otherwiſe, for anie other to ſupplie the rome of a gouernor, ſo that hereof inſued ſuch infinit miſorders, by the preſumption of wicked and vngratious perſons, the which vpon hope to eſcape vnpuniſhed (bicauſe iuſtice was like to want due proceſſe) ceaſſed not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts, to the grieuous oppreſſion of the people: which miſruled demeanors and diſordered enterpriſes of thoſe outragious perſons, when ſuch as had anie zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderſtood dailie to multiplie and increaſe, they thought it apperteined to their duties to prouide ſome remedie in due time, and thereupon called a councell togither, wherein after ſundrie conſultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finallie agréed, that ſix gouernors ſhould be elected and choſen, of the which thrée ſhould haue the adminiſtration and rule of the north parts, and theſe were William Fraſer biſhop of ſaint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, & John Cumin earle of Buchquane. The other thrée were appointed to the gouernance of the ſouth countries, that is to ſay, Robert biſhop of Glaſcow, ſir John Cumin (a man of high eſtima-

Miſchiefes inſuing for lacke of a king.

Six gouernors choſen to haue the rule of Scotland.

tion for his wiſdome and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) and James high ſteward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, ſurnamed Longſhanks, caſt in his mind, how he might make ſome conqueſt of Scotland, now the ſame was thus deſtitute of an head to gouerne it. And for that he well vnderſtood that the daughter of Norwaie (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though ſhe were but verie yong in yéeres, & not able for marriage: yet to compaſſe his purpoſe that waies forth, he ſent his ambaſſadors vnto the lords of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme withall, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had, conſented to his deſire, vnder theſe conditions, that the realme ſhould remaine in all freedoms and liberties, without anie kind of ſeruile ſubiection, in the ſame maner and ſtate as it was vſed in the daies of king Alexander laſt deceaſſed, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chanced, that no iſſue came of this mariage to ſucceed them, then ſhuld the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anie claime or pretert of title to be made by king Edward, or anie of his ſucceſſors in time to come.

How can this be true, when K. Edward had a wife at that time? but verelie the Scotiſh writers ſhew themſelues ouercome with too much malice in moſt things which they write in the defamatiõ of K. Edward.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, ſir John Scot of Albanie, and ſir James Wemis, were ſent into Norwaie to fetch the bride ouer into Scotland: but before their comming thither, ſhee was deceaſſed, & ſo they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Engliſhmen and Scots ceaſſed. Then began to inſue great trouble and buſineſſe in Scotland, by reaſon of the contention which ſprang betwixt the kinſmen of king Alexander, for the title and claime which they ſeuerallie made and pretended to the crowne. There were thrée chiefelie that ſéemed by néereneſſe of bloud to haue moſt right, and therefore made moſt earneſt ſute in their claime: John Baliol, Robert Bruſe, and John Haſtings. This Robert Bruſe was ſonne to the ſon of that Robert Bruſe, which maried Iſabell the yongeſt daughter to Dauid earle of Huntington, on whom he got a ſon named alſo Robert, that maried the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue ſhewed before, whoſe ſonne this Robert Bruſe was, that now claimed the crowne. John Baliol came of Margaret, eldeſt daughter to the foreſaid Dauid earle of Huntington: for Alane lord of Galloway, which maried the ſaid Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldeſt named Deruogill, was giuen in mariage vnto ſir John Baliol, father vnto this John Baliol, that thus made claime to the crowne: alledging that forſomuch that he was come of the eldeſt daughter of earle Dauid, the brother of king William, he ought by reaſon to be reputed as next heire to the ſame king William, ſith none other perſon alriue approched ſo néere vnto him in bloud.

The daughter of Norwaie deceaſſed.

The contention betwixt the kinſmen of K. Alexander for the crown. See more of this matter in the Engliſh hiſtories.

The anceſtors of Robert le Bruſe.

The line of the Baliol with his title to the crowne.

* Here I thinke it conuenient before any more be ſpoken of this hiſtorie, to interlace ſomewhat (beſides that which is alredie ſpoken, being here in part repeated (of the deſcent of this Deruogill, the daughter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the ſame ſomewhat higher, in this ſort. In the reigne of William K. of Scots, which began in the yere of Chriſt 1160, as ſaith Leſleus, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergulius gouernor of Galloway left two ſons, Gilbert, and Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at variance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided betwixt them in equall portions. This hall comming to the eares of king William, he was deſirous to quench

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

Wil. Parvus nameth him Ithred.

quench thoſe flames of vnkindneſſe betweene the ſaid brethren, and for that cauſe with indifferencie (as he ſuppoſed) he ment to pacifie and ſatisfie each part, by diuiding the inheritance equallie betweene them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in grudge (bicauſe he was eldeſt, & that the whole inheritance belonged to him) did with like hatred purſue both the king and his brother, the one as enuious againſt him, and the other as an vnequall iudge, in giuing his right from him. Wherfore when king William was taken priſoner of the Engliſhmen, this Gilbert being of bold ſpirit (and now by the kings miſhap out of all danger, being deliuered from the feare of anie law) began to vtter his conceiued hatred till this time couertlie concealed. For vpon the ſudden, he toke his brother priſoner, put out his eies, cut out his tong, and not contented with a ſimple death (to be giuen vnto him at one inſtant) did moſt miſerablie a long time togither put him to paine, by diſmembring the ſeuerall parts of his bodie, before he ſhould die. After which wretched fact againſt his owne brother, he ioined himſelfe to the Engliſh nation, and taking preies on the borders, he did vnnaturallie and traitorouſlie (as it were an vtter enimie to his countrie) rage againſt his owne citizens, with all kind of murther and ſlaughter of battell. In which he did ſuch harme, and ſo great oppreſſion, as if he had not bene reſiſted by his nephue Rowland (gathering a ſtrong power to him of ſuch common people as remained ſtedfaſt in dutifull obedience to the impriſoned king) he had vtterlie ſpoiled all the countries adioining to England, or elſe would wholie haue brought them into his ſubiection. For this Rowland a luſtie yong gentleman, bold of ſpirit, indued with noble ſtrength of mind and bodie, did not onelie beat downe the force of his vncle, but did manie times (and that ſometimes moſt happilie) fight with the Engliſh, when they ſpoiled his natiue ſoile, or that he made anie inuaſion into their borders.

Of this matter though not ſo fullie is ſomewhat intreated before, pag. 275.

The crueltie of one brother to another.

At length when king William was deliuered of reſtreint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert (notwithſtanding all his former euils) by the mediation of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was pardoned of all his offenſes, but yet ſo as he promiſed to make recompenſe of all ſuch damages as he had committed; for the ſure performance whereof, he found ſufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert ſhortlie after departing this life, they which had ſerued vnder him, giuen by continuall vſe vnto theſt and blood, did yéeld themſelues to the fauourable protection of the king of England, either for inconſtancie of mind, or feare of puniſhment, being touched with remorſe of conſcience for the euill which they had before committed. Theſe men thus ſhadowed vnder the wings of England, did againe take armes againſt their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpatrike, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before had bæne authors and executors to Gilbert, of all ſuch euils as were by him performed. Againſt whom was Rowland ſent with an armie, who in a ſet battell ſlue the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds of the common people. They which eſcaped the conflict, did flie to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine of ſuch perſons as liued vpon ſpoile and pilfering, who by continuance of followers, & increaſe of people, were now growne to ſome number, & did wander ouer all Louthian, robbing & ſpoiling in euerie place where they ſet fot: and not ſo content, did from thence paſſe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe toke in hand the defenſe of Gilberts cauſe (now vtterlie forſaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to Gilbert, but alſo behaued himſelfe as chiefe lord of all Galloway. At length incountering with this

Gilpatrike & other ſpoile Scotland.

Gilcombe ſpoileth his countrie.

Maketh himſelfe lord of Gallowaie.

Rowland in the kalends of October (the third moneth after the companie of this Gilbert was before diſperſed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie ſlaine, with the greateſt number of his followers, by the ſaid Rowland, on whoſe part there was verie few milling.

Gilcombe ſlaine.

The king of England highlie offended therwith (bicauſe the yere before they had ſworne themſelues to ſerue faithfullie vnder him againſt their owne bloud) came in haſte with a maine armie to Carleill to ſéeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king of Scots vnderſtood, he laboured by all the meanes he could, to appeaſe the king of Englands diſpleaſure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the end the king of Scots wrought ſo with the Engliſh, that Rowland was admitted to come to Carleill to the preſence of the king of England; the which Rowland did accordinglie. At what time before the king of England, refelling the ſlanderous accuſations of his aduerſaries (and further declaring that he had done nothing either raſhlie, or vniuſtlie againſt his and the common wealths enimie) he was honorablie by the Engliſh king ſuffered to depart from Carleill. Theſe things thus done, & king William returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance the continuall conſtancie and good ſeruice, which Ethred the father of Rowland had manie times done to him and to the realme; therewithall not forgetting the worthie exploits which this Rowland had of late performed for the common wealth: for which conſiderations he worthilie recompenſed the ſaid Rowland, in beſtowing on him the whole countrie of Galloway. And further (although he did not merit the ſame by reaſon of his fathers euils) yet the king mildlie conſidering, that the ſonne was not to beare the offenſe of the father (but hoping by this vndeſerued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to ſerue him) did giue the lands of Carrike vnto the ſonne of the ſaid Gilbert. All which William Paruus reporteth to haue happened in the yéere of Chriſt 1183.

Rowland reſtored to the fauour of the king of England.

Carrike giuen to the ſonne of Gilbert.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway, maried the ſiſter of William Moruill conſtable of Scotland, who dieng without iſſue, obteined the ſame office by inheritance in right of his wife, from whome did iſſue Alane lord of Galloway, and conſtable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother, a valiant gentleman, and ſuch a perſon as for his notable ſeruice (imploied in Ireland on the behalfe of John king of England) was rewarded by the ſaid king with honorable and rich reuenues: for which by the permiſſion of William king of Scotland, he profeſſed himſelfe the liege man of John king of England, and ſware fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is before ſaid) maried Margaret the elder daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, of whome he raiſed three daughters, whereof the eldeſt being Dornagill, was maried to Balioll, the ſecond to Bruſe: in right of which Dornagill, the ſonne of this Balioll challenged the crowne of Scotland, as deſcended from the elder ſiſter.) On the other ſide Robert Bruſe, albeit he was deſcended of the yongeſt daughter to earle Dauid, yet was he come of the firſt iſſue male, for his father was firſt borne, and therefore if king William had deceaſſed without iſſue, the crowne had deſcended to him: for which conſideration he mainteined that he ought now to be preferred. Haſtings alſo for his part, bicauſe he was come of the yongeſt daughter of king Dauid, maried to his father Henrie Haſtings, wanted not allegations to propone, why he ought to be admitted. Beſide theſe, there were other alſo, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter ſufficient to mainteine their ſute. This controuerſie being brought before the gouernors, was at ſundrie times argued with much con-

Rowland conſtable of Scotland.

Alane lord of Galloway, & conſtable of Scotland.

The title of Robert Bruſe

Haſtings.

tention, not without the assistance of the nobles fauoring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kinred moued them, namelie Baliol and Bruse had no small number that leaned vnto their parts, by reason whereof, the gouernors were in doubt to proceed to anie definite sentence in the matter, least if they declared one of them king, an other would attempt to vsurpe the crowne by force.

The doubt of the gouernors

Herevpon they iudged it best to referre the decision of all this whole matter to some mightie king, which was of puissance able to constreine the parties repugnant to obeie his sentence. Hereunto was none thought so meet as Edward king of England, and therfore they chose him [Of whose faith and loue towards them, they did not anie whit mistrust, bicause Alexander the last king of Scots had found the father of this Edward, both a louing father in law to himselfe, and vpright tutor to his realme. Whereunto also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward, for that the said Edward had of late before tried the fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testimonie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.] Whereupon king Edward toke this charge vpon him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certein day to come vnto Berwike, willing that their councell might be assembled there against that time. At his comming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing heard what could be said on ech part, and throughlie considering at length their allegations, he perceiued the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to discusse the truth by good aduise of counsell: and therefore required to haue twelue Scotishmen, the best learned and most skilfull lawiers of all the realme to be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he promised to chose forth of the most perfect and wisest clerks that might be found within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised debating of the matter, the truth might appere, according to the which he minded to giue sentence, without fauor either of one part or other. [Before which he toke a solemne oth of the ambassadors of Scotland, and such nobles as were there to stand to his definitiue sentence, further therevpon requiring a writing to be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.] After when all such matters and proues as were proponed by the parties, alledged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of record, he returned backe againe into England.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The nobles sweare to stand to the order of king Edward.

The title doubtfull.

¶ Here the Scotish writers report, that king Edward vsed himselfe nothing vprightlie in this matter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the eies of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But how vniustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scots do write thereof, with that which is to be found in our English historie. But to proceed as we find it in the Scotish writers. King Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth, sent into France for men learned and of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demands of the parties for their doubtfull rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first commanded them in no wise to agree vpon anie resolute point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the plee should seeme doubtfull by reason of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

This report of the Scotish writers smelleth altogither of malice conceiued against him, for that he scourged them so sore for their vntruths.

Respect of persons in deciding controuersies is not to be considered.

Howbeit the most part of the lawiers iudged with Robert Bruse, both for the worthines of his person, and also for that he was come of the first issue male. But some there were that gaue sentence with John Baliol, for that he was descended of the eldest sister. King Edward supposing this to be the time most conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwike, where he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified, to be present, that finall sentence might be giuen, according as he had before promised. When he was come thus vnto Berwike, and the foresaid 24 learned lawiers assembled as assistants with him, and the parties appering before him in a chamber prouided for the purpose, he caused the dores to be suerlie kept, and the entries stronglie warded, that no man might come in or out, but by his appointment and licence. His purpose was to make him king, that would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of him, as superior lord thereof. And bicause he knew that Robert Bruse was a man of singular manhod and wisedome, he thought best to assaie him first, and if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then he minded to trie what the Baliol would do.

K. Edward commeth to Berwike.

The purpose of king Edward, as the Scots do vntrulie report.

When Robert Bruse had throughlie heard king Edwards motion, he answered that he weied the libertie of his countrie, more than his priuate preferment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his countrie (which euen to that day had beene free) into the bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomach, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Baliol, who had such blind desire to atteine the crowne, that he passed not whether he inioied the same in libertie or seruitude, so he might haue it. Heere vpon when this Baliol had giuen his faith by assured oth vnto king Edward, that he would do homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

The answer of Robert Bruse.

The Baliol promiseth to do homage to king Edward

It is said, that the earle of Gloucester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing the Baliol thus made king, and Robert Bruse without reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Edward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this matter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind, shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be giuen on thee. Shortlie after, John Baliol went in great arraie vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland on saint Andrewes day, in the yeere from the incarnation 1292. In the yeere next insuing, on saint Stephans day in Christmasse, he came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his realme (which had remained in freedome vnto those daies) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but small felicitie succeeded therof. * And heere it appereth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland, which held with Baliol, did also their homage: for being farre from home, they durst not contend against the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it greeuouslie in their hart, dissembled with the present time, and couered their anger vnder the cinders of a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out, notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declaration and proofe whereof, there was shortlie after occasion offered to Makduffe, by the death of the earle of Fife, being (in the time when there was no king) made one of the six gouernors of the realme: for this earle was not onelie killed by these of Abirnethie (which

The saieng of the earle of Gloucester (as the Scots write, but not like to be true.) king Edward was no man so to be dealt with.

John Baliol crowned king of Scotland. 1292.

John Baliol doth homage to king Edward.

So say the Scotish writers, but how trulie, read more heereof in England. Fr. Thin. Buchana. li. 8.

(which familie did then greatlie flouriſh in riches and authoritie within Scotland) but the brother alſo of the ſaid earle was called into law by the Abirnethians, for whome the king in aſſemblie of the ſtates did giue ſentence againſt the other. This Makduffe after the land thereof the contention grew was ſo adiudged, ſuppoſing therein the king to be more vniuſt againſt him than was cauſe, and that the king was not ſo ſeuere a reuenger of his brothers death, as he hoped that he would be; forſoke the Balioll, and appealed to the king of England, before whom he commenſed his ſute againſt Balioll. The deciding whereof was appointed to be holden at London, where was an aſſemblie or parlement of the nobilitie, after the Engliſh manner, amongſt whome this Balioll had his place alſo.

John Balioll king of Scots anſwered a ſute cõmenſed againſt him in the parlement of England as an inferior perſon ſhould.

The parlement begun and Balioll there ſummoned or cited, would haue anſwered by his proctor or attornie: but this (not being allowed) Balioll was compelled to riſe out of his ſeat, and to defend his cauſe himſelfe in an inferior place. Which contumelie when he durſt not at anie time reuenge, ſecretlie he ſtill bare in mind, vntill fit opportunitie might anſwer the reuenge thereof. But when he would, and then could not deliuer himſelfe of ſuch diſgrace; he returned home with a mind of deadlie anger, rolling mounteins of choler therein, who ſtill bending himſelfe on euerie ſide to ſatiſfie his anger, dwelled on this point; how he might reconcile the hearts of his ſubiects: and offend the ſtate of the Engliſh. Whileſt Balioll with this meditation was feeding his hot ſtomach, a fit means was now offered to performe his deſire, by reaſon of the wars newlie growen betweene England and France, as after ſhall appeare. For vpon this occaſion of wars, king Edward of England commanded this Balioll by tenure of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his warres againſt the king of France.)

John Balioll repenteth him

Fr. Thin.

Ambaſſadors into England

King John Balioll incontinentlie herewith became repentant, in that he had indangered himſelfe thus by doing his homage; and therevpon ſent his ambaſſadors to king Edward, as then ſoiourning at London, to renounce his act touching the ſame homage, alledging that for ſomuch as it was done without the aduiſe of the three eſtates of Scotland, it was of no ſtrength in it ſelfe, and not meete to be obſerued being done by force; for which cauſe he would renounce his friendſhip and alliance, aſwell for manie other iniuries done vnto him and his; as for that he would ſeeke to reſtore his countrie to his former libertie. Which meſſage when none of the better ſort durſt take in hand to execute, a certeine monke (or as other haue the abbat of Alberbrothie) caried theſe letters into England, vpon the receit whereof, king Edward anſwered the ambaſſadors (whom he tawnted with innumerable contumelies) that ſince we perceiue (ſaith he) your king will not come vnto vs, we intend ſhortlie to come vnto him, wherewith the ambaſſadors departed. Butus (ſaith Buchanan) could ſcarſelie returne home in ſafetie: being at his returne into Scotland rather had in contempt of his owne people, than ante iot reuerenced for ſuch an ambaſſage.

The league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

After this, king Edward the better to accompliſh his purpoſe againſt the Scots, found meanes to conclude a peace with the king of France, and for the more confirmation of the ſame peace, the French kings daughter was giuen in mariage vnto king Edward his ſonne. Puertheleſſe (as ſaith the Scotiſh chronicle) he purpoſed (when he had wrought his will once againſt the Scots) to inuade France as fiercelie as before, notwithſtanding anie bond of amitie or mariage by him contracted. After this, he procured the friendſhip of Robert Bruſe, and vpon promiſe (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the ſame Robert deliuered into king Edward his hands all ſuch caſtels as he held in Scotland. John Balioll the Scotiſh king, vnderſtanding that king Edward minded to make a conqueſt vpon him, ſent William biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and Matthew biſhop of Dunkeld, with ſir John Sowlis, and ſir Ingram Umfraiuile into France, to renew the ancient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as then king of France; which accordinglie was done: and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldeſt daughter of Charles earle of Vallois and Anion, brother to king Philip, was promiſed in mariage vnto Edward Balioll, the ſonne of king John, which Edward ſhould inioy lands of yearelie rents & reuenues to the ſumme of fiftéene hundred pounds ſterling, in places not of the demeſnes belonging to the crowne, as Ballieuille, Dampiere, Harecourt, and Norreie, which his father held in France with Lanarke, Kidon, Maldeſeie, Cuningham, and the caſtell of Dundæ, with the appurtenances in Scotland: and hereto was annexed a prouiſo, that if thoſe ſeigniories and places exceeded the value of fiftéene hundred pounds of yearelie reuenues, then ſhould the ſurpluſage remaine to the K. of Scotland: but if the ſame amounted not to that ſumme, then ſhould the ſaid king make them good, and ſupplie the ſame with other rents in Scotland, or otherwiſe, as ſhould be thought meet. And further, the ſaid ſumme of fiftéene hundred pounds in yearlie rent was aſſigned as it were the dower of the ſaid ladie, to inioy to hir ſelfe during hir life after hir husbands deceaſſe, if hir hap were to ſuruiue him.

Ex chron. Abindon, as I take it.

In conſideration whereof, king Philip couenanted to content and pay vnto king John in name of the mariage monie, the ſumme of 40000 crownes, or (as other write) 25000 pounds Turnois. The charter conteining the articles, couenants, and agreements of this mariage and league aboue mentioned, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king John to the ſaid biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, & the other his aſſociats, bare date at Striueling, the third nones of Julie the ſame yeare. Shortlie herevpon, king John was aduertiſed that king Edward purpoſed to come and beſiege Berwike; wherefore by aduiſe of his nobles he ſent the moſt part of all the lords and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian vnto Berwike, to defend the towne againſt the enimie, if he came to beſiege it. The Engliſhmen came not onelie with a mightie power by land, but alſo with a great nauie by ſea towards the ſaid towne of Berwike. Of whoſe comming the Scots being aduertiſed, came forth againſt thoſe that approched by ſea, toke 17 of their ſhips, and chaſed awaie the reſidue.

Hector Boetius. Abindon.

1295.

The gentlemen of Fife, and Louthian ſent to Berwike to defend it againſt the Engliſhmen.

Engliſh ſhips taken at Berwike.

King Edward rather prouoked than feared with this miſaduenture, came with a farre greater puiſſance than before, to renew the ſiege: but when he perceiued his purpoſe toke not ſo ſpeedie effect as he hoped it ſhould haue done, he deuiſed how to take this towne by ſome ſlightfull policie. Herevpon he feined as though he would haue broken vp his ſiege, and ſo raiſing his campe, withdrew a little from the towne, and then hauing prouided banners and enſignes, reſembling altogither ſuch as diuerſe noblemen in Scotland vſed, he ſuddenlie returned toward the towne, euerie one of his ſouldiers wearing a croſſe of ſaint Andrewes aboue on their harneſſe, after the manner of the Scotiſhmen. There were alſo ſent before vnto the towne, certeine Scots that ſerued the king of England, which gaue knowledge to the capteins within the towne, that their lord king

Berwike beſieged.

The policie of king Edward to win Berwike.

John was comming with his armie to their ſuc-
cors. The Scots that were within the towne, be-
leeuing it had bene moſt true, ſet open the gates, and
came forth againſt their king (as they ſuppoſed) to
haue receiued him with all ioy and gladneſſe.

The Scots deceiued and intrapped.

But when they came nere vnto the Engliſhmen,
they perceiued both by their language and habit what
they were: but this was not before the Engliſhmen
were hard at the gates, ſo that when the Scotiſhmen
would haue fled backe to haue got into the towne a-
gaine, the Engliſhmen purſued them ſo faſt at the
heeles, that they entered the gates with them, and ſo
tooke the towne with great ſlaughter, as well of the
ſouldiers and men of warre, as alſo of women, chil-
dren, and aged perſons, without all ruth or compaſſi-
on, ſo that they left not one creature aliue of the
Scotiſh bloud within all that towne. Thus was
Berwike woone the 30 day of March, in the yeere
1296. Such abundance of bloud was ſpilled tho-
rough all parts of the towne (as the Scotiſh chroni-
cles teſtifie) that where at the falling tide the water
was not able to driue about the mils, ſome of the
ſame mils yet, were now at a low water ſet on gate,
by reaſon the ſtreames were ſo hugelie augmented
with bloud. There were ſlaine aboue ſeuen thouſand
perſons that day, with the greateſt part of all the no-
bles and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian.

The cruelties of the Engliſhmen.

Berwike is woone.

The 29 of March being good friday.

1295. H.B.

The abundance of bloud ſpilled.

Streames augmented with bloud.

King John hearing of this ſlaughter of his people
at Berwike, in great deſire to be auenged, gathered
his power, and ſent the ſame forth againſt king Ed-
ward, with whome they met not farre from Dunbar,
and there incountring with him in battell, the Sco-
tiſh hoſt was diſcomfited, the moſt part of the Scots
being either ſlaine or taken. The earles of March and
Menteth, with 70 knights, fled to the caſtell of Dun-
bar, but they were beſieged ſo ſtreictlie by the Eng-
liſh power, inuironing the caſtell on each ſide, that in
the end they were conſtreined for lacke of victels to
yeeld themſelues to king Edward, on condition to
haue their liues ſaued, which couenant was not ob-
ſerued; as the Scotiſh writers affirme: for king
Edward hauing got them into his hands, cauſed
them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported
that Robert Bruſe vpon ſecret conference had with
king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, ſollici-
ted all his friends in the Scotiſh armie, to flee vpon
the firſt ioining, which the reſidue perceiuing, were ſo
diſcomforted, that incontinentlie they threw awaie
both armor and weapon, and ſo were vanquiſhed
without reſiſtance.

The Scots diſcomfited at Dunbar.

The caſtell of Dunbar rendered to king Edward.

Robert Bruſe occaſion of the ouerthrow of Scots at Dunbar.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruſe
ſubmitted himſelfe vnto king Edward, requiring
him to performe his promiſe touching the right which
he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he recei-
ued no anſwer to his liking touching that requeſt:
for K. Edward had no leſſe deſire to inioy the king-
dome of Scotland, than Bruſe, as the Scotiſh wri-
ters affirme. Therefore to caſt off Robert Bruſe
concerning his demand, he anſwered thus, as is
ſaid; Beleeueſt thou that we haue nothing elſe a do
but to conquere realmes, and to deliuer them ouer
againe vnto thee? Robert Bruſe hereby perceiuing
the ſubtile meaning of K. Edward, returned right
ſorrowfull vnto his lands in England, hauing great
indignation in his mind, that he had obeied king
Edwards requeſts: but yet conſidered with him-
ſelfe that he muſt ſuffer for the time, till occaſion
ſerued to reuenge the iniuries receiued, which he
minded to do, and that in moſt cruell maner, as af-
terwards it will appeare. King Edward after he
had thus woone the caſtell of Dunbar, got likewiſe
both the caſtels of Edenburgh and Striueling, and
purſued king John, till he had conſtreined him to
take for his refuge the caſtell of Forfaire. Herewith

Robert Bruſe ſubmitteth himſelfe to K. Edward.

The anſwer of king Edward to Robert Bruſe.

The caſtels of Edenburgh and Striueling woone.

King John priuen into

John Cumin lord of Strabogie came to king Ed-
ward, and was ſworne his liege man.

the caſtell of Forfaire.

Shortlie after, by a politike practiſe of the ſame
John Cumin, king John with his ſonne Edward
came to Mountros, where perceiuing himſelfe vn-
wiſelie to be fallen into the hands of king Edward,
through feare of death which he doubted by reaſon of
the menacing words of king Edward, he ſuffered
himſelfe to be ſpoiled of all his kinglie abiliments,
and with a white wand in his hand (as the maner is)
preſented himſelfe before king Edward, reſigning
there vnto him all his right and title which he had to
the crowne of Scotland, vtterlie renouncing the
ſame both for him and his heires for euer. Hereof
was a charter made in moſt ſufficient wiſe, confir-
med with the hand and ſeale of king John, and other
the nobles of Scotland ſubſtantiallie as might
be deuiſed, bearing date the fourth yeare of his
reigne. After this, king Edward aſſembled all the
lords and barons of Scotland at Berwike, where he
cauſed them to be ſworne his liege men, and to do
homage vnto him as to their ſouereigne lord and
ſupreme gouernor. Which William Dowglaſſe (a
man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) refu-
ſed to do, and for his obſtinacie was caſt into priſon,
where after a few yeares he ended his life. And for
the more ſuertie of their allegiance, he conſtreined
them to ſurrender into his hands all the ſtrengths &
holds of the realme, both as well thoſe that ſtood on
the ſea coaſts, as alſo ſuch other as were ſituat in the
inner parts of the countrie.

John Baliol king of Scotland reſigneth all his right to king Edward.

A charter.

Homage of the barons of Scotland to king Edward

Fr. Thin.

The holds of Scotland deliuered into king Edwards hands.

These things done, and order taken in each be-
halfe as was thought requiſit for the quiet keeping
of the countrie, he ſent king John and his ſonne
Edward Baliol vnto London, where they were
kept in ſtrong ward; till at length he ſuffered the
ſaid king John to returne into Scotland: but lea-
uing ſtill his ſonne in pledge behind him, leaſt he
ſhould attempt anie new rebellion after his depar-
ture; which after was deliuered at the requeſt of the
pope. King John vpon his returne into Scotland,
perceiuing that he was in the hatred both of his
lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his
owne accord into England, forſaking wholie the
adminiſtration of the Scotiſh dominion, and final-
lie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inhe-
ritance and lands there, where at length falling
blind, and waſting away by long age, he departed
out of this world in the caſtell Galliard, leauing
thoſe lands which he poſſeſſed on that ſide the ſea, vn-
to his ſonne Edward Baliol, who being releaſed
out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father be-
fore his deceaſſe.

John Baliol kept as priſoner in England.

He returneth into Scotland.

He renounceth the adminiſtration of Scotland.

He returneth into France, and deceaſſeth in caſtell Galliard.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in
remembrance the warres which he had intended to
make againſt France, had be not bin ſtaied through
the buſineſſe of Scotland, purpoſed now to purſue
the ſame with all diligence; & therefore garniſhing
all the ſtrengths & forts in Scotland to withſtand
the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion againſt
him in his abſence, he appointed Hugh Creſſing-
ham regent there, whileſt he ſhould be occupied in
France, which Creſſingham before was treaſurer.
Then hauing prouided a great nauie of ſhips, he
paſſed ouer into France, truſting that the Scots
would not ſtur, ſith they had of late ſuſteined ſo ma-
nie ouerthrows and ſore loſſes one after an other by
the laſt wars: but tyrannie is of ſuch a nature, that
by no kind of prouiſion it may anie long time be
ſuerlie defended. For thoſe people that be oppreſſed
by anie tyrannicall ſeruitude, will not faile to ſeeke
to deliuer themſelues from the yoke of that impor-
table burden when ſoeuer opportunitie of time and
occaſion ſerueth. Therefore the lords of Scotland
hauing

King Edward his purpoſe to inuade France.

Hugh Creſſingham regent of Scotland.

King Edward burdened by the Scotiſh writers of tyrannie.

The Scotish lords assemble at Striueling.

hauing knowledge that king Edward was passed ouer the seas, they got them all togither straightwaies, and assembled in councell at Striueling, where by generall agréement, twelue noble men were chosen to be gouernors of Scotland, euerie one in their limits appointed, that they might the better prouide to resist the enimie. Amongest these gouernors, John Cumin earle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wisedome and singular knowlege in all affaires, as well of peace as of war.

Twelue gouernors elected in Scotland.

John Cumin.

This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie, and with the same entered into Northumberland, where he wasted with fier and sword all that countrie. After this, he laid siege to Carleill, but he wan nothing there, the towne was so well defended. In that season also, the fame of William Wallase began to spring, a yong gentleman of so huge stature and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and knowledge in warlike enterprises, and hereto of such hardinesse of stomach in attempting all maner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not ante where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one sir Andrew Wallase of Cragie, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inward hatred against the English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the Scots, and was of such incredible force at his comming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without all helpe, he would not feare to set vpon three or foure Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

William Wallase beginneth to wax famous.

Sir Andrew Wallase knight father to William Wallase.

When the fame therefore of his worthie acts was notified thorough the realme, manie were put in good hope, that by his means the realme should be deliuered from the seruitude of the Englishmen within short time after. And herevpon a great number of the Scotish nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises. By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to haue got him into their hands. At length, when occasion serued to vse the helpe of such a notable chieftaine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Scotishmen as gouernour vnder John Baliol, to deliuer his countrie from bondage of the English nation. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall benefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands. Neuertheless, this William Wallase by commission had of William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, auoided and put them forth of all parts of Scotland, leauing neither temporall nor spirituall person of their bloud within that realme. For shortlie after, by publike authoritie, he receiued the armie that John Cumin earle of Buchquhan had led before, and constreined those Scots that fauored king Edward, to obeie his commandements, in renouncing all such faith and promise as they had giuen or made vnto him.

Abbeies of Scotland in Englishmens hands.

Castels won by William Wallase.

This done, he passed forth with great puissance against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castels within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & manhood he wan the castels of Forfair, Dundée, Brechen and Mountros, sleaing all such souldiers as he found within them. Wallase now toifull of this his prosperous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chiefest capteins and officers of those Englishmen that kept the castell of Dunoter, were gone forth to consult with other Englishmen of the forts next to them adioining, came suddenlie to the said castell, & tooke it, not leauing a man aliue of all those whome he found as then within it. Then after he had furnished that hold with his owne soldiers in most defensible wise, he went to Aberden. The towne he found in maner void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so stronglie garnished with men and munition, that

Dunoter won by William Wallase.

considering it might not be woone without great murder, he raised from thence, and returned into Angus. King Edward as then being in France, hearing of these exploits atchiued by this Wallase his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble capteins vnto his lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into Scotland to redresse the matter.

Hugh Cressingham sent into Scotland

Wallase in the meane time had laid siege vnto the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of the comming of this armie against him, he raised his siege, & went to Striueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie shuld not passe the same, according as the report went his intent was to do. Here incountring with the enimies, the third Ides of September, he obteined a verie worthie victorie, for he slue not onelie the foresaid Cressingham with a great part of his armie being passed the riuer, but also forced the residue to flee, in such sort, that a great number of them were drowned, and few escaped awaie with life. Thus hauing gotten the vpper hand of his enimies here at Striueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper, which shortlie after vpon his returne thither, was rendred vnto him by those that were within in garrison. There were manie of the Scotish nobilitie the same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie and vittels, if he would onelie receiue them into fauour, whereunto he granted. By which meanes, sundrie other castels were yéelded vnto him, the which after he had garnished with men, munition, and vittels (according as was thought requisit) he brake vp his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faithfull friends vnto the castell of Striueling.

Hugh Cressingham slaine at Striueling and his armie discomfited by William Wallase.

The castell of Couper rendred to Wallase.

Afterwards perceiuing that through scarsitie of corne, great dearth arose on each side within the realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that behalfe, and herevpon he determined to passe with a mightie armie into England, and to soiourne there the most part of the winter, in susteining the whole number of his men of warre on such prouision as they might find within the bounds of their enimies countrie. He commanded therefore that all the Scots, appointed to go with him in that iournie, should be readie at a certeine day and place prefixed. But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aberden and other) for that they disobeied his commandements set forth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebels and traitors to their countrie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his commandements were the better obeied, so that hauing got togither an huge host of men, he entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting and spoiling the countrie euen vnto Newcastell. Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe into Scotland, loden with spoile and glorie of their prosperous atchiued iournie. They entred into England (as Io. Maior writeth) about the feast of All saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, liuing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Dearth in Scotland.

The policie of Wallase to relieue the peoples lacke in time of dearth.

Disobedience punished.

Wallase inuadeth Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.

Edward king of England, being informed of the great slaughter of his people, and what damage the Scots had done in Northumberland, returned in great displeasure out of France into England, and sent his ambassadors vnto Wallase, sore menacing him, for that he had inuaded his realme in such cruell wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him word) full little haue done, if he had béene at home himselfe. Wallase hereunto answered, that he had taken the aduantage for the atchiuing of his interprise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scot-

K. Edwards message vnto Wallase.

The answer of Wallase to K. Edwards message as the Scots do write.

land, at ſuch time as he was choſen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in deciſion of the right and lawfull title of the parties that ſtroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare vnto king Edward, that he inuaded England in defenſe of his owne natiue countrie, and that he was fullie bent to implote his whole indeuor to deliuer the ſame from all maner of ſubiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done to them by the Engliſhmen in times paſt; he willed the Engliſh ambaſſadors to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he purpoſed to hold his Eaſter in England (if God afforded him life) and that in deſpite of king Edward, and all ſuch as would beare armor againſt him.

Wallaſe entred England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedlie according to his promiſe he kept his day: for aſſembling togither an armie of 30000 men, he entred into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was readie with an armie vpon Stanelmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were readie to haue ioined, the Engliſhmen withdrew, hauing no luſt (as ſhould ſeeme) to fight with the Scots at that time) who perceiuing them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue ruſhed forth of their rankes to haue purſued in chaſe after them: but Wallaſe (doubting leaſt the Engliſhmen had ment ſome policie, and ſaieng (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor inough for him that he had inforced ſo mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forſake the field) cauſed the Scots to keepe togither in order of battell, and ſo preſeruing them from the deceitfull malice of their enimies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honors ſaued, beſides the infinit ſpoiles and booties which they got in this iornie.

Wallaſe is enuied.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to ſupport Wallaſe in all exploits and enterprizes which he toke in hand, ſo afterward when his fame began to wax great, to the derogation of other mens renowmes, ſuch as were farre his ſuperiors in birth and linage, that fauor which manie bare him at the firſt, was now turned into enuie, hauing no ſmall indignation, that a man of ſo baſe parentage ſhould ſo ſurmount them in all honor and dignitie. Thoſe that enuied him moſt, were of the Cumins bloud, and Robert Bruſe. King Edward being aduertiſed of this enuious grudge, and new ſedition amongſt the nobles of Scotland, had ſecret conference by his agents with the chiefeſt amongſt thoſe that thus enuied the high glorie of Wallaſe, and vpon truſt of ſuch practiſe as was concluded by reſon of the ſame conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallaſe, who miſtruſting no guile, had raiſed a power to reſiſt him: but now being come in ſight of the Engliſhmen, there roſe a right odious contention betwixt the head capteins, who ſhould haue the leading of the vantgard, which is reputed a moſt high honor among the Scotiſhmen. And among other, John Steward, and John Cumin, thought ſcorne, that Wallaſe a man of ſo low beginning, ſhould be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallaſe conſidering that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto him by agrement and conſent of the three eſtates, thought it no reaſon that he ſhould giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as ſaith Iohn Maior, the lord Steward had before vpbraided him with his pride, comparing him to an owle, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now inriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himſelfe aboue all other birds.

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland.

Wallaſe raiſeth a power to reſiſt him.

Strife for the leading of the vantgard.

In the meane time came the Engliſhmen vpon them right fiercelie, before the Scotiſh chiefteins (hauing their breſts filled with more malice one againſt another, than with deſire to defend their countrie againſt their enimies) could bring their men into anie perfect araie. Herewith at the comming to the point of ioining, the Cumins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the reſidue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruſe ſeruing that day among the Engliſhmen, fetched a compaſſe about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, ſo that they were in maner compaſſed in, and beaten downe on each ſide: yet Wallaſe left nothing vndone that might perteine to the dutie of a valiant capteine. But at length, all his indeuors notwithſtanding, the Scots (ouerſet with multitude of enimies, as the Scotiſh writers affirme) were ſlaine in ſuch huge numbers, that he was conſtreined to draw out of the field, which ſuch ſmall remnants as were left aliue. The Engliſhmen purſued fiercelie after him, namelie one valiant capteine named Frere Brian Jaie, a templer, whome Wallaſe perceiuing to be within his danger, ſtepped forth vnto him, and ſlue him there in ſight (as it is ſaid) of all the Engliſh armie. Which valiant act of Wallaſe cauſed the Engliſhmen ſomewhat to ſtaie, for doubt of further perill by their vnwiſe purſute likelie to befall them. In this infortunate battell, were ſlaine on the Scotiſh ſide, John Steward of Bute, with his Brandans (for ſo they name them that are taken vp to ſerue in the warres forth of the Stewards lands) Makduffe earle of Fife, with ſir John Graham, whoſe death was much lamented by Wallaſe, as one whome he highlie eſteemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Manie other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whoſe names would be too long to rehearſe. This battell was ſtriken on Marie Magdalens daie, in the yeere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Engliſhmen haue holden it euer ſince an happie day for to fight againſt the Scots.

The Cumins fled.

The Scots diſcomfited at Falkirke.

Frere Brian Jaie ſlaine by the hands of William Wallaſe.

Nobles of Scotland ſlaine at the battell of Falkirke.

Marie Magdalens day proſperous for the Engliſhmen to fight againſt Scots.

✻ When William Wallaſe was paſſed the riuer Carran, where he might defend himſelfe, and gather his diſperſed people, Bruſe deſired to ſpeake vnto him, which Wallaſe did not denie. Whereupon each of them (drawing alone by themſelues without any arbitrers to the bankes of the riuer, in ſuch place as it was narroweſt, and they might without anie companie beſt heare one another; Bruſe began to ſay as followeth. I doo much muſe, thou moſt valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncerteine fauor of the common people, and to ſtand againſt the mightieſt king of our age, ſupported with the greateſt forces of the Scots: and dailie to offer thy ſelfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward aſſured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou ſhouldeſt ouercome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdome, and if thou be ouercome, there reſteth no refuge for thee, but onelie the mercie of thine enimie. And doſt thou not ſee the Cumins, and mee, and the moſt of the nobilitie, to follow the Engliſh faction? Neither doſt thou conſider the malice of the princes conceiued againſt thee? Looke vnto thy ſelfe, and thou haſt but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a ſmall number of the commons (which are more vncerteine than the wind) to follow thee, whoſe fortune is now almoſt ouerthrowne. All theſe words Iohn Maior ſuppoſeth that Robert Bruſe did ſpeake, to ſerch the mind of Wallaſe, whether he ment to aſpire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallaſe had left the field, than otherwiſe to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan. lib. 8. Leſleus epiſ. Roſſ. li. 6. p. 235. Conference betweene Wallaſe & Bruſe.

To whome Wallaſe anſwered in this ſort. The end of all my trauell was not to atteine the kingdome;

"done; for my birth and fortune neither did or could deſerue it, and my mind did neuer deſire it: but the "negligent ſlouth of thée (to whome the right of that diademe doth apperteine, and who doth græðilie hunt "thereafter) made my citizens (perceiuing themſelues deſtitute of faithfull gouernors) to follow me, and "cauſed me (when I ſaw them in that miſerie, rather "butcherlie tone, than in honeſt ſeruitude to be oppreſſed) to ſéeke for libertie. Which ſuerlie I had obteined for them and you, if the nobilitie had not ſo euillie ſtriued againſt me, reſtrained themſelues for comming into the field, and had but ſent their hinds (which till their land) forth to the battell, at which time I had ſcarſe 10000 men, & thoſe of cõmon ſort. "Trulie if the princes had not béene impediment thereto, I could haue brought forth to fight a hundred thouſand bold and chéerefull ſouldiers. But now in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles againſt me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to poſſeſſe the "kingdome, I giue thée faithfull warning, eſpeciallie to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more regarded the glorie of their countrie, than of ſecret malice to others, would not ſo wickedlie haue forſaken the field, what hate ſoeuer they had conceiued againſt me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of England, they are not bound to kéepe it: in a wicked promiſe no oth is to be performed. I am now weарie of my life, and rather deſire to die, than to liue in this ſort, to ſée the miſerie of my beloued countrie. Wherefore imbrace you this thraldome (which is ſo much eſtéemed of you) to whome filthie ſeruitude with eaſe ſéemeth more pleaſant, than honeſt libertie with danger: for I had rather chooſe willing death with fréedome (in which I meane to ſpend my bloud) than to doo as you haue done, becauſe the loue of my countrie ſhall not depart from my hart, before the life of my bodie depart from his office. Which being ſaid, Bruſe burſt forth in teares, conſidering the nobilitie of the mind of Wallaſe, although perhaps he nothing miſliked the miſfortune of the man, as doubting the end of all his pretenſe to be, to atteine to the crowne. This being thus done, they both depart to their companies. By which conference (ſaith Leſlee biſhop of Roſſe) this good was wrought to Scotland (to recompenſe the ouerthrow of Falkirke) that Wallaſe partlie by the bitternеſſe of his words, and partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now draw Bruſe from the Engliſh, to take part with the Scots.)

1298. But notwithſtanding all theſe valiant ſpéeches of Wallaſe, when he conſidered the infortunat diſcomfiture by him ſo treacherouſlie receiued, he came to Perth, and there vttering by complaint the iniurious enuie of the nobles againſt him, he renounced and diſcharged himſelfe of all the authoritie which had béene committed to his hands, touching the gouernance of the realme, and went into France, as ſaith Leſleus. But Iohannes Maior ſaith, that he neuer came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The ſame time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that name, and ſurnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in his hart for the miſerable calamities thus chanced to his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that chieflie for the quarrell of France, ſent his ambaſſadors vnto Edward king of England, who had latelie before maried his daughter, requiring that there might be ſome peace or abſtinence of warre granted. At his requeſt therefore a truce was taken betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, to indure from the feaſt of All ſaints, till the feaſt of Pentecoſt next following.

The Scots in the meane time ſore oppreſſed by reaſon of long warres, ſent ambaſſadors to pope Boniface, in preſenting a verie grieuous complaint vnto him, for the great affliction done to them by king Edward, who was fullie bent by iniurious meanes (as they alledged) to conquer their realme, and therefore they beſought him to conſtreine king Edward by vertue of his prerogatiue, which he pretended to haue ouer the realme of England, to ſtand to his order in deciding the right concerning the liberties of Scotland, which might no other waies be determined, but by intollerable damage falling to the people through blind deſire and couetous ambition of the nobles, contending for the crowne. The pope (as is ſaid) after he had by good and deliberat aduiſe heard the matter, gaue ſentence with the Scots, that they had full cauſe of warres in defenſe of the liberties of their countrie, againſt K. Edward and his fautors. ¶ But for this matter, looke in the Engliſh chronicles, where it ſhall well appéere, that the pope by theſe letters of king Edward, was fullie ſatiſfied of his ſuperioritie ouer Scotland.

The Scots ſomewhat recomforted herewith, ſhortlie hereupon choſe John Cumin to their gouernor, in purpoſe to trie with the Engliſhmen for their liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertiſed, ſent forthwith an armie into Scotland, which paſſed through the countrie to ſaint Johns towne, with great damage of thoſe that were adiudged rebels to king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner vnto Forthrie, at this ſeaſon was ſubiect to the Engliſhmen, ſauing ſuch few of the inhabitants, as liued within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient liberties of their countrie, than to anie deſire of preſeruing their goods or liues. John Cumin therefore, deſirous to redreſſe this heauie miſerie and lamentable caſe of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraſer fellow with him in the adminiſtration of the warres againſt the Engliſhmen, and therewith gathering an armie of eight thouſand hardie men of warre, ſetteth in hand to reuenge the iniurious doings of the enimies, chaſing out of the realme all ſuch officers with their ſeruants, as king Edward had placed in anie roomes within the bounds of Scotland; and ſuch as reſiſted, he purſued in moſt cruell wiſe, not ſparing to put them vnto the ſword in all places, where he might find them.

King Edward ſore kindled in diſpleaſure with theſe attempts of ſuch deſperat perſons, raiſed an armie of thirtie thouſand men, and ſent the ſame into Scotland, vnder the leading of a verie ſtout and valiant capteine, named Radulph or Rafe Confraie. This Radulph at his comming into Scotland, toke ſmall regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided his armie into three parts, euerie part conteining ten thouſand men, and appointed them to paſſe forth to forraie the countrie, and to meet altogither at Roſlin, in ſuch ſort and time as he preſcribed. John Cumin and Simon Fraſer being aduertiſed hereof, gathered their powers togither, to the number of ſeuen or eight thouſand men, and determined to trie the chance of battell with one part of the Engliſh armie firſt, truſting that if they happened to haue the vpper hand of one of the three parts, the other two would be the more eaſie to deale with. The Scotiſh capteins reſolued thus vpon that point, exhorted their people to remember how they were to fight in defenſe of their wiues, their children, their goods, and liberties of their countrie, againſt ſuch as ſought to bring them into thraldome and vile ſeruitude.

With which words the Scots were ſo imboldened, that minding either to die or to win the victorie, they gaue the onſet ſo fiercelie on their enimies, that the firſt battell of the Engliſhmen was quicklie ouerthrowen and vanquiſhed. But ſcarſelie had they gathered the ſpoile, when an other part of the Engliſhmen came vpon them with more fiercenеſſe than the other

wallaſe renounceth his office.

Philip king of France.

A truce.

Scotiſh ambaſſadors ſent to pope Boniface.

John Cumin the yonger elected gouernor of Scotland.

An armie of Engliſhmen ſent into Scotland.

Scotland againe inuaded

Radulph Confraie.

I remember not that anie of the Engliſh nobilitie bare this ſurname in thoſe daies, wherefore I thinke it was the lord John Segraue. John Cumin and Simon Fraſer.

The firſt battell of the Engliſhmen ouerthrowne.

The second battell ouercome.

other before: neuertheleſſe, the Scots incouraged with their freſh wonne victorie, got themſelues ſpéedilie into arraie, & receiued their enimies with ſuch incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the vpper hand of theſe alſo. But ſcarſe had they made an end with this ſecond battell, when the third part was at hand readie to charge them, being now ſore infeebled, what thorough wearineſſe and wounds receiued in the two former incounters, beſides the want of ſuch of their numbers as were ſlaine: yet by exhortation of their capteins, and the valiant preſence of the officers of bands beſide, they ruſhed forth on their enimies with ſuch earneſt forwardneſſe to receiue them, that after a verie ſharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the Engliſhmen had eſcaped the Scotiſhmens hands, had they not béene ſo wearied with continuall fight, that they were not able to follow anie great waie in the chaſe.

The third battell of the Engliſhmen vanquiſhed at Roſlin.

1302.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is before rehearſed, vpon ſaint Matthewes day, in the yéere after the birth of our Sauiour 1302. The glorie of this victorie was great, conſidering that thirtie thouſand Engliſhmen well furniſhed, & thoroughlie appointed for warre, ſhould be thus in one day vanquiſhed with an handfull of Scotiſhmen. For as their hiſtories make mention, they paſſed not eight thouſand at the moſt: and therefore all men ſuppoſed that it came to paſſe by the ſingular fauour and grace of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long inioy the benefits of ſo notable a victorie. For king Edward hearing of this diſcomfiture of his people at Roſlin, gathered a mightie armie of Engliſhmen, Gaſcoigns, Iriſhmen, and ſuch Scots as tooke his part, and hauing all his furniture and purueiance readie both by ſea and land, he ſet forward with the ſame to inuade the Scots on ech ſide. The Scots perceiuing they were not of puiſſance able to reſiſt his inuaſion, withdrew to their ſtrengths: by means whereof the Engliſh armie paſſed through all Scotland, euen from the ſouth parts to the north, & found few or none to make reſiſtance, except Wallaſe, and ſuch as followed his opinion, which were fled to the mounteins and woods, to eſchue the malice of the Engliſhmen.

The matter is amplified by the Scots to the vttermoſt.

The great preparation of king Edward to inuade the Scots.

The Scots withdraw to their holds.

The Engliſh armie paſſeth through Scotland from the ſouth parts to the north.

It is ſaid, that king Edward required by a meſſenger ſent vnto this Wallaſe, that if he would come in and be ſworne his liege man and true ſubiect, he ſhould haue at his hands great lordſhips and poſſeſſions within England, to mainteine his port as was requiſit to a man of verie honorable eſtate. But Wallaſe refuſed theſe offers, ſaieng that he preferred libertie with ſmall reuenues in Scotland, before anie poſſeſſion of lands in England, were the ſame neuer ſo great; conſidering he might not inioy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The caſtell of Sterling at the ſame time was in the kéeping of one ſir William Athred knight, who would not render it to king Edward by anie ſummons or other meanes, till after three moneths ſiege he was conſtreined to giue it ouer vnder theſe conditions; That all perſons being within the caſtell, ſhould depart by ſafe conduct with bagge and baggage at their pleaſure. Neuertheleſſe king Edward cauſed the ſaid ſir William Athred to be conueied to London, where he remained as priſoner manie yeeres after.

K. Edward ſendeth vnto Wallaſe.

Wallaſe refuſeth the offers of K. Edward

The caſtell of Sterling rendred.

This Athred the Scotiſh bookes name Dukes.

Sundrie other caſtels were taken by force the ſame time by king Edward, and all ſuch as reſiſted, being found within anie of them, ſlaine without mercie or ranſome. Amongeſt other, the caſtell of Urquhard in Murrey land was taken by force, and not one left aliue that was found in the ſame (one gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with child, was in that reſpect preſerued. She was the wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that houſe, though by reaſon ſhe was got into poore apparell, the Engliſhmen tooke hir but for ſome other woman of meaner eſtate. She therefore with hir life ſaued, being ſuffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where ſhe was deliuered of a ſon, that was named at the font-ſtone Alexander, who when Scotland was recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands, came to king Robert le Bruſe, requiring him to be reſtored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other poſſeſſors. King Robert doubtfull what to dow héerein, for he thought it neither conuenient that a prince ſhould take lands or poſſeſſions from noble men, which had béene giuen to them in reward of their manhood, ſhewed in defenſe of the realme; neither iudged he it reaſon to kéepe him from his rightfull inheritance that had loſt his father, his friends, and all his whole ſubſtance in the like cauſe and quarell by iniurie of the common enimies.

The castell of Urquhard taken by force.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuiſed this meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine other lands in Mar, nothing leſſe in value (conſidering the largeneſſe and fertilitie) than the other of Urquhard were: and willed him to content himſelfe with thoſe, in recompenſe of ſuch as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties might be ſatiſfied, and no man ſhould ſéeme to haue wrong in being depriued of his rightfull poſſeſſions. This Alexander Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was called Forbeſſe, for that he ſlue a beare in thoſe parties, by great and ſingular manhood. And ſo the ſurname of the Forbeſſes had beginning, as deſcended from him. Scotland being ſubdued by the mightie puiſſance of king Edward, he went about to aboliſh all the old ſtatutes and ancient conſtitutions of the realme, truſting by that meanes, that Scots liuing togither with Engliſhmen, vnder one vniforme maner of lawes, they ſhould finallie ſort themſelues to be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the ſupreme gouernement of their publike weale, as alſo in all other things, touching the friendlie ſocietie of life.

The beginning of the name of the Forbeſſes.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scotiſh nation, with all manner of bookes, as well thoſe conteining diuine ſeruice, as anie other treatiſes of profane matters, to the end that the memorie of the Scots ſhould periſh: and thereto appointed greeuous puniſhments for them that ſhould diſobeie his commandements héerein, in kéeping anie of the ſaid bookes vndefaced. And he ordeined alſo, that the Scots ſhould occupie church bookes after the vſe of Sarum, and none other. Moreouer, he compelled all ſuch Scotiſhmen as were of anie ſingular knowledge in learning or literature, to be reſident in Oxford, doubting leaſt the Scotiſh nobilitie increaſing in politike prudence by their inſtructions, ſhould ſeeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scotiſh writers doo report) to extinguiſh the name of Scots, togither with their rule and empire, paſſed through the moſt part of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate which he had to the Scotiſh antiquities, at his comming to Camelon, he commanded the round temple ſtanding ouer againſt the ſame, to be throwen downe, which was builded (as before is ſhewed) in the honor of Claudius the emperor, and the goddeſſe Victoria. But for that his commandement was not immediatlie put in execution, he changed his purpoſe, and appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius, with the ſuperſcription of his name, ſhould be taken awaie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be ſet vp; commanding the place to be called Arthurs hoif (as ye would ſay) Arthurs

Chronicles and other bookes burnt.

Scotiſhmen learned, commanded to be reſident in Oxford.

The temple of Claudius was at Colcheſter, and not in Scotland, whatſoeuer Hector Boetius or other dreame thereof.

Arthurs hoif.

thurs court.

The marble chaire is conueied into England, and placed in Westminster.

Moreouer king Edward at his returning into England, toke the chaire of marble with him, and causing it to be conueied vp to London, did place it at Westminster, where it remaineth yet vnto this day. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotland, he appointed all the Scotish lords to assemble at Scone, where he caused them to take a new oth, that from thencefoorth they should take him for their souereigne lord, and to obeie him in all things as lotall subiects. The nobilitie of Scotland was sworne to him that day (Wallase onelie excepted) who eschued more than the companie of a serpent, to haue anie thing to doo with the Englishmen, touching anie agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their desires. Moreouer, to keepe the Scots from rebellion, king Edward ordeined Odomare de Valence to be gouernour there, as his generall lieutenant ouer the whole realme of Scotland in his absence. And hauing thus set all things in good and quiet order (as he supposed) he returned into England with great ioy and triumph.

The nobilitie of Scotland sworne to K. Edward.

Wallase eschueth to agree with the Englishmen.

Odomare or Aimer de Valence gouernour of Scotland vnder king Edward

In the meane time, Iohn Cumin surnamed the red, and Robert Bruse hauing conference togither, complained the one to the other of the miserable seruitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood by the oppression of king Edward. And at length vpon offers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if by anie meanes they might deliuer the realme out of the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be king, that is to say, the Bruse, and the other, that is to say, the Cumin, should inioy all the Bruses lands and possessions, with manie other preferments of honors and dignities, as next vnto him in all authoritie touching the gouernement of the realme. There were indentures made betweene them, subscribed with their names, and sealed with their seales interchangeablie, for the full ratifieng of couenants agreed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortlie after, vpon deliuerie of those writings, Bruse went into England, for he might not remaine long in Scotland, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as was thought) king Edward would haue put both him and his brethren vnto death long before, if he might haue once got them all into his hands.

Conference betwixt Cumin and Bruse.

Indentures of agreement betwixt Cumin & Bruse, touching the conspiracie.

John Cumin (after that he and Bruse were thus agreed vpon articles, and departed the one from the other) began to doubt, least this conspiracie deuised betwixt them, would not sort to anie luckie conclusion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great puissance of king Edward, either else for that his authoritie and power (as he mistrusted) would not be great, if the Bruse once atteined the crowne: and hereupon he sent one of his seruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, conteining the couenants of the conspiracie, signed and sealed with Bruses owne hand and seale. The messenger deliuered this writing in secret wise to king Edward, declaring vnto him the whole matter, as it was passed and concluded betwixt the Bruse and his maister, according to instructions giuen him in that behalfe. But king Edward at the first gaue light credit either to the writings or words of the Cumin, supposing that the same proceeded onelie through enuie, which he bare towards the Bruse, euer dreading lest he should beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruse once atteined anie authoritie within the same. Yet at length, king Edward pondering with himselfe the whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the matter, he shewed the counterpane of the indenture vnto Bruse himselfe, questioning with him, if he knew his owne hand: Bruse stoutlie denied that he

John Cumin doth doubt.

Cumin discloseth the conspiracie.

Robert Bruse is examined.

was priuie to anie such deuise or writing, and therefore desired of king Edward to haue the same for one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & then if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and maliciouslie deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put him in danger of life, he would forfait all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or elsewhere. King Edward, because he coniectured at the first how this accusation of Cumin was nothing like to be true, granted his request, wherein manie iudged he did vnwiselie: but such was the ordinance of almightie God, that Bruse should escape that danger, to accomplish that wherevnto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester immediatlie after that Robert Bruse was departed from the kings presence, sent vnto him twelue sterling pence, with two sharpe spurs, whereby he coniectured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoid out of the waie in most spéedie wise, whereupon he causing a smith to sho three horsses for him, contrarilie with the calkins forward, that it should not be perceiued which waie he had taken by the tract of the horsses, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

He denieth his writing.

Robert Bruse doth flée.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be iudged in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, sent out a great manie of horsmen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might anie where haue found him. But Bruse hasted forth with such spéed in his iournie, that the seuenth day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Annandale, and there found Dauid, or (as some bookes haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a worthie yong gentleman, vnto whome (they musing what he meant by his sudden comming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cumin, and how narowlie he had escaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, consented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his flight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cumins seruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maister the said Cumin, signifieng by the same, that if Bruse were not the sooner put to death, there would insue shortlie such trouble and ruffling in Scotland against K. Edward, that it would be much adoo to appease it.

He commeth to Louchmaben.

Robert Fleming.

A seruant of Cumins taken with letters on him.

These letters beeng found about Cumins seruant, through means of yong Fleming, the Bruse after he had apposed the bearer throughlie in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maister the said Cumin was in the friers at Dunfrise, he first slue this fellow that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all hast possible came to Dunfrise, by the guiding of the same Fleming, where in the quier of the friers church there he found Cumin. And reasoning the matter there with him, for that he had vsed him so euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end (after some multiplieng of words togither) Robert Bruse plucked forth his sword, and stroke the foresaid Cumin a sore blow in the bellie, and thereupon fleeing out of the church, met with two of his dearest friends, James Lindseie, and Roger Kirkpatrike, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the church in such hast, demanded of him what was the matter: I trow (said he) that Cumin is slaine. Why (said they againe) hast thou attempted so high an

Cumin was at the friers in Dunfrise.

an enterpriſe, and left it doubtfull: And immediatlie herewith they went to the place where Cumin lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of him whether he thought he had anie deaths wound, or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good ſurgian. And for that he answered how he truſted to do well inough if he might haue a good ſurgian in time; they gaue him three or foure other wounds ſo grieuous and deadlie, that forthwith vpon the ſame he yéelded vp the ghoſt. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About the ſame time was William Wallaſe taken at Glaſkow by the means of ſir John Menteth and others, in whome he had euer put a moſt ſpeciall truſt; but they being corrupted with the offers of large rewards promiſed by king Edward to ſuch as could helpe to take him, wrought ſuch fetches that he was apprehended at length by Odomare de Valence earle of Penbroke, who with a great power of men brought him to London, where he was put to death, and his quarters ſent into Scotland, and ſet vp in ſundrie great townes there for a ſpectacle, as it were to giue example to other. This was the end of that puiſſant champion William Wallaſe, praiſed amongſt the Scotiſhmen aboue all other in that age, for ſo much as he would neuer yéeld or conſent to acknowledge anie ſuperioritie in the Engliſhmen ouer his countrie, no not when all other had ſubmitted themſelues to king Edward as his liege ſubiects and moſt obedient vaſſals. It is ſaid, that when he was yong and went to ſchole, he learned by heart two verſes of his ſchoolemaiſter, which euer after he bare in mind, and vſuallie would rehearſe them, (when a toy toke him in the head) as followeth.

Cumin is ſlaine.

1305.

Wallaſe is taken.

Wallaſe is brought to London.

He is put to death.

*Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,*
*Nunquam ſeruili, ſub nexu viuito fili.*
My ſonne I ſay, freedome is beſt,
Then neuer yeeld to thrals arreſt.

Iohn Fourdon. Iohn Maior.

Of this William Wallaſe one Henrie, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my nativitie (ſaith Iohn Maior) compoſed a whole booke in vulgar verſe, in which he writed all thoſe things vulgarlie ſpoken of this Wallaſe. But I do not in all points ſaith the ſame author, giue credit to the writings of ſuch as he was, who onelie get their food and clothing (whereof this man was moſt worthie) by reciting of hiſtories before the nobilitie of Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

BVt now touching Bruſe; after he had ſlaine Cumin (as before is mentioned) he purchaſed an abſolution from Rome for that act: and to the end he might then through authoritie obteine ſome aid to reſiſt the puiſſance of his aduerſarie king Edward, he went by ſupport of friends vnto Scone, & there cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day of March, though he had no great number that toke his part in the beginning, as ſhortlie after well appeared. For when he ſhould aſſemble an armie againſt a power of Engliſhmen that were ſent againſt him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to get togither anie ſufficient number to reſiſt his aduerſaries, though with thoſe few which came vnto him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and ſo incountring with Odomare de Valence lieutenant of the Engliſh armie at Meffen the 19 day of June 1306, he was there put to flight; and though the ſlaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged to be an euill ſigne to haue ſuch infortunat lucke vpon his entering into the eſtate, the peoples fauor ſhranke greatlie from him.

Abſolution from Rome.

Robert Bruſe is crowned king of Scotland, the firſt of that name.

Iohn Maior. King Robert is diſcomfited at Meffen.

Odomare de Valence after he had obteined this victorie againſt king Robert, baniſhed the wiues of all thoſe that ſupported the ſame Robert, by means whereof, manie ladies and gentlewomen were conſtreined to flée into woods, and other deſert places, to eſchew the crueltie of their aduerſaries. King Robert alſo after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl, and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of Auguſt at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe with the Cumins and other ſuch Scots & Engliſhmen as were aſſembled in thoſe parties readie to purſue him, and had the like lucke here that had chanced to him before at Meffen; for he was put to flight after the ſame maner, though he loſt here but few of his men, neither in the fight nor chaſe. This place Dalreie is as much to ſay, as the kings field: Buchan lib. 8, which is alſo called Dalwkie by I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19, who ſuppoſeth that Bruſe had ſo hard a beginning for a puniſhment of the death of Cumin, ſlaine in the church by him and his friends. Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto him in theſe two ſeuerall battels, he was left ſo deſolat and vnprouided of all friendſhip, that he was conſtreined for his refuge to withdraw into the woods and mounteins, with a few other in his companie, and there liued on herbs and rots oftentimes for want of other food.

King Robert eſtſoones diſcomfited in Atholl.

Fr. Thin.

The miſerable ſtate of K. Robert in the beginning of his reigne.

WHileſt he remained in this eſtate of aduerſe fortune, there were two that ſhewed themſelues right truſtie and faithfull ſeruants vnto him aboue all the reſt, the earle of Leuenor, and Gilbert Hate: for though either inforced by perſecution of enimies, or conſtreined through ſome other neceſſitie, they departed ſometimes from his preſence; yet did they euer acknowledge him for their ſouereigne lord and onelie king, readie at all ſeaſons to ſerue and obey him in each behalfe. The moſt part of all other his friends yea and ſeruants, in that preſent miſerie, did clearelie forſake him; ſo that ſometimes he was left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad to kéepe himſelfe ſecret in deſert places, where no perſon lightlie vſed to reſort. His wife & quéene fled to ſaint Duthо, and chanced to be taken by William Cumin earle of Roſſe, who deliuered hir to king Edward, by whoſe commandement ſhe was committed to ſafe kéeping at London, where ſhe remained till after the battell of Bannockſborne. His brother Nigell was alſo taken, and ſo afterwards were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexander, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, of whome ſome were executed at Carleill, and ſome at Berwike. Nigell was taken at the caſtell of Kildrome whither he fled, and came to Berwike. Thomas and Alexander were taken at Locreis, and carried to Carleill, and ſo beheaded. Io. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finallie the moſt part of all ſuch as had aided him before, and were now ſhronke from him, were within one yeare after, either ſlaine or kept as priſoners in England.

The earle of Leucnor and Gilbert Hate faithfull ſeruitors to king Robert.

King Roberts wife taken.

Nigell Thomas and Alexander brethren to king Robert are taken and put to death.

Yet though he was thus left deſolat of all aid and ſuccor, hauing his brethren and other of his friends murthered and ſlaine to his vtter diſcomfort and ruine (as was to be ſuppoſed) he neuertheleſſe liued euer in hope of ſome better fortune, whereby in time to come he might recouer the realme out of the enimies hands, and reſtore the ancient libertie thereof to the former eſtate. As for the paines which he toke in liuing barelie for the moſt part by water & rots, & lodging oftimes on the bare earth, without houſe or other harborough, he was ſo accuſtomed thereto by haunting the warres in his youth, that the ſame gréeued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude, ſuch was his valiancie and moſt excellent fortitude of mind and courage, that no iniurious miſchance of froward aduerſitie could abaſh his inuincible heart and manlike ſtomach. At length, after he had wandered from place to place in ſundrie parts of Scotland,

King Roberts good hope in time of extreme aduerſitie.

His inuincible hart and vndaunted ſtomach.

Scotland, the better to auoid the sleights of them that laie in wait to apprehend him, he got ouer into one of the Iles, where comming vnto one of his speciall friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in those parts, he was most hartilie welcome, and gladlie of him receiued, to his great ease and comfort.

King Robert getteth ouer into the Iles.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, hee got support of men, armor and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he passed ouer vnto Carrike, & winning the castell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he slue all the Englishmen, which he found within it, and bestowed all the spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his souldiers and men of warre. His friends that laie hid in couert and secret corners, hearing of these his doings, began from each side to resort vnto him, by whose assistance shortlie after he wan the castell of Innernesse, and slue all them that were within it in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most part of all the castels in the north, racing & burning vp the same till he came to Glennesse, where being aduertised that Iohn Cumin with sundrie Englishmen and Scots were gathered against him, because he was vpon a strong ground, he determined there to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and wondering at his manlie courage, durst not approch to giue him battell, but sent ambassadors vnto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of some communication for a peace, till they might increase their power more strongly against him: which being done, they pursued him more fiercelie than before. Neuertheless K. Robert receiued them at all times in such warlike order, that they might neuer take him at anie aduantage, but were still driuen backe with slaughter and losse, though the same was of no great importance to make account of, but such like as happeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light incounters, where the battels come not to ioine puissance against puissance. The fame whereof yet procured him the fauour of sundrie great barons in Scotland.

King Robert purchaseth aid in the Iles.

He winneth the castell of Carrike.

His power increaseth.

Innernesse castell taken.

King Robert commeth to Glennesse.

Fr. Thin. Simon Fraser and Walter Logan executed.

✻ About this time, Simon Fraser, and Walter Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie fauouring their countrie) were taken (by such as followed the faction of Cumin) deliuered to the English, sent to London, and there executed. Almost about which time, Iames Dowglasse ioined himselfe to the part of king Robert. This Iames being the sonne of William Dowglasse, was a yong gentleman very actiue and forward in all chiefe exercises and arts. Who when he gaue himselfe to studie at Paris (hearing that his father was by the king of England cast in prison, in which he shortlie after died, as is before noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his life after the aduise of his friends. But being without liuing, & all his other friends by misfortune dispersed: he committed himselfe to the seruice of W. Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whome hee was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well interteined: vntill king Edward comming to Sterling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of Scotland) to besiege Striueling: at what time Lambert going to Sterling to salute the king, caried Dowglasse to attend vpon him, to the end to prefer him to his liuing and inheritance. Wherevpon the bishop finding the king at conuenient leisure, besought him to be fauourable to this Dowglasse; to restore him vnto his fathers patrimonie: and that (receiuing the yong man into his fealtie and defense) it would please him to imploie him in his faithfull and warlike seruice: adding further such commendations in the behalfe of Iames, as for that time he thought most conuenient. But the king vnderstanding his name and kinred, spake bitterlie of the disobedience and stubbernesse of his father William Dowglasse; further answering, that he would neither vse the same Iames, nor his trauell in anie thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore him to his patrimonie, because he had with the same gratified other that well deserued it. For which cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still in the bishops seruice, vntill Bruse came into Merne, at what time (least he might lose the opportunitie to offend king Edward, whome he secretlie in heart disdeined) this Dowglasse departed from Lambert his maister, taking with him all the bishops gold, and certeine of his best horsses, with the which, hauing in his companie diuerse other hardie yong gentlemen, priuie to his doings, he fled with all spéed vnto king Robert, offering him his seruice, and to spend his life in his quarell and defense.) The bishop was priuie to his cousins going awaie, yea and counselled him therevnto, though he would by no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he might haue run in danger for his cloked dissimulation. The Dowglasse was ioifullie receiued of king Robert, in whose seruice he faithfullie continued both in peace and warre to his liues end.

A craftie dissembling prelate.

Though the surname and familie of the Dowglasses was in some estimation of nobilitie before those daies, yet the rising thereof to honor chanced through this Iames Dowglasse: for by meanes of his aduancement, other of the same linage toke occasion by their singular manhod and noble prowes shewed at sundrie times in defense of the realme, to grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that their mightie puissance in mainrent, lands, & great possessions, at length was (through suspicion conceiued by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hearing of the doings of his aduersarie king Robert, doubted (if some redresse were not found in time) lest the Scots reioising in the prosperous successe of his said aduersarie, would reuolt wholie from the English obeisance: and herevpon purposing with all spéed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than euer he had raised before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a right sore and grieuous maladie, whereof he died shortlie after at Burgh vpon sands, as in the English historie more plainlie doth appeare, though Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The rising of the Dowglasses to honor.

The death of king Edward Longshanks.

The English writers make mention, that a litle before he departed out of this world, there were brought vnto him 55 yong striplings, which were taken in the castell of Kildrummie, after it was wone by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be done with them, he commanded they should be hanged incontinentlie, without respect to their yong yéeres, or consideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pitie. After his decease, his sonne Edward of Carnaruan succéeded in the gouernement of England, who following his fathers enterprise, called a councell at Dunfreis, summoning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the same, and caused a great number of them at their comming thither to do their homage vnto him, as to their superior lord and gouernor: but yet diuers disobeied his commandements, and would not come at his summoning, vpon trust of some change of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewd counsell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe nobles of his realme.

The cruelties of king Edward as is noted by the Scotish writers.

Edward of Carnaruan, sonne to Edward Longshanks.

Homage to king Edward of Carnaruan

Shortlie

Shortlie after this, the said Edward of Carnaruan returned into England, and in the meane time John Cumin erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faithfull affection toward the new English king. He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause his enimies to giue place: but king Robert though he was holden with a sore sickenesse at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a horselitter to be caried forth with the same against his enimies, who abiding him at a streight, supposed it had bin an easie matter for them to be put to slight: but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation, for in the end the Cumin with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Enuerrour, ten miles distant from Aberden, on the Ascension daie, wherewith king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation of mind, that he was suddenlie therupon restored to his former health, hauing at that time also taken the castell of Aberden, which he vtterlie destroied, and caused to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his enimies might haue no more refuge thereby.

John Cumin discomfited by king Robert at Enuerrour 1308. Fr. Thin.

Donald of the Iles discomfited by Edward Bruse.

In the same yere Donald of the Iles came with a great armie of Englishmen and Scots against K. Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruse the kings brother, at the water of Deir. At this battell was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine of the English part, with a great number of other about him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner.

Argile subdued by king Robert. This was in 1309, as Iohn Ma. saith.

Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous fortune, obteining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued the countrie to his obeisance, but also tooke Alexander lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that countrie, and banished him with all his friends into England, where shortlie after he deceassed. In the yere next following, king Edward came with an armie into Scotland, where ioining with an other armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid him, he passed through the countrie vnto Ranfrew, and at length without atchiuing anie notable enterprise worthie the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

K. Edward commeth into Scotland. Anno 1310 as should seeme by Io. Maior.

In the same yeere, through continuall warres, there rose such dearth & scarsitie of things in Scotland, that neither corne nor other vittels could be had for monie: for the ground in manner generallie through the countrie laie vntilled, and beasts with all kind of cattell were driuen awaie, as booties taken by the enimies. By reason wherof the famine so increased on each side, that the people were constreined to eat horsses, and other lothsome flesh & meats, thereby to susteine their liues. In the yere following which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert chased the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland, winning manie castels out of their hands, diuerse of the which he raced and consumed with fire. After this entring at sundrie times into England with his fierce armie, he brought from thence innumerable booties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Englishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the Scots had suffered in the yeres before, by the outragious force and puissance of king Edward. On the eight day of Januarie next insuing, King Robert wan by fine force the strong towne of Perth, fleaing and hanging all the people both English and Scotish, which were found in the same. He threw also the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castels of Dunfreis, Aire, Lanarke, with manie other strengths and castels were rendered vnto him, and cast to the ground.

A sore dearth.

1311. Castels recouered by king Robert.

King Robert inuadeth England.

1312. Io. Ma. The towne of Perth recouered, otherwise called S. Johns towne.

Castels won.

The castell of Rokesburgh was taken by sir James Dowglasse on Feastings euen, in the yeere 1313, when they of the garison were ouercome with immoderate surfetting by meats and drinks excessiuelie taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is. In that yeere also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Murrey, wan the castell of Edenburgh. In which yeere also, Bruse wan the Ile of Man; Iohn Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yeere Edward Bruse besieged the castell of Striueling: but the strength of the house was such, what by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauell and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, proued vaine for the time. Within this castell as capteine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Mowbray, a Scotish man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, munition, and all maner of puruiance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that finallie Edward Bruse, perceiuing no meanes whereby to atchiue the enterprise, which he had rashlie taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well inough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the capteine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once moue him to giue anie care thereto, insomuch as at length he sought to trie him another way forth, which in the end toke better effect than was likelie it would haue done, considering the lacke of circumspection vsed in the bargaine making: as thus.

Rokesburgh wonne on Shrouetuesday. 1313.

The castell of Edenburgh wonne.

Striueling castell besieged.

Sir Philip Mowbray.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good done, there was a motion made betwixt him and the capteine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortresse were not succoured within twelue moneths next insuing, it should then be rendered vnto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be vsed against it. This composition was vnwiselie made, as most men iudged: for euerie man of anie wisedome might easilie coniecture, that king Edward hauing so long day to make his prouision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so stronglie, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie shewed in this behalfe: but yet hee would not go about to breake the couenant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid hee might not well want.

In vnwise composition.

King Robert offended with his brother.

In the meane time king Edward sent forth messengers with letters, not onelie vnto all his subiects, but also vnto all his confederats and alies, to haue men of warre taken vp and retained to serue him in his warres against the Scots, which he intended to follow to the vtter destruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onlie such as were appointed by commissioners of the musters, but also a great number of other that offered themselues of their owne accord to go in that iournie, namelie such as had little to liue vpon at home, and trusted to amend the matter by some good fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it is reported by the Scotish writers, that such aid came to the English, were these; Holand, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Gascoigne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois. For all these at that time were either subiect to the king of England, or else in confederate league with him. There were also manie Scots that were English by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

K. Edward taketh vp souldiers.

Out of what countries K. Edward had aid of men.

But

But the number of naturall Englishmen exceeded anie one nation beside, insomuch that the whole armie what of one and other, conteined (as the fame went) one hundred and fiftie thousand footmen, and almost as manie horsemen, beside cariage-men, coistrels, women, and lackies, but the fame herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the truth. *Fame oftentimes exceedeth the truth.* For it is not to be thought (as Iohn Maior himselfe writeth) that he should get such a number togither, not for that England it selfe is not able to set forth such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie men as are to be found in England of lawfull age, so manie able personages may be found there to passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and sufficient prouision, or else they will not streine themselues thereto. Nevertheless, the whole number by all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers as Englishmen, brought their wiues, their children, and whole household-meinie with them, in hope after the countrie were once subdued, to haue dwelling places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit: for so had king Edward promised them. *K. Edwards promise.* By reason whereof the disorder was such, that no warlike discipline might be obserued amongst them; for men, women, and children, were all mixt togither, with such clamor and noise, through the huge number of people, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie ordered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insolent of such incredible number, toke no heed at all to the gouerning of them, supposing victorie to be alreadie in his hands; insomuch that at his comming to the borders, he toke aduise with his councell to what kind of torment and death he might put king Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all. He also brought with him a religious man somewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to describe the whole maner of his conquest and victorie ouer the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all things would come to passe as he could wish or deuise. *K. Edward thinketh himselfe sure of victorie.* This Carmelite, as may appeare in Iohn Bales booke, intituled A summarie of the writers of great Britaine, was named Robert Baston, and had the gouernance of an house in Scarburgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is said) of that cote himselfe. *Robert Baston a Carmelite.*

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all his doings by good & prudent aduise, and with 30000 men, right hardie and throughlie exercised in wars, came forth against his enimies, shewing no token of feare in the world, but boldlie pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike arate, vpon a plaine a little aboue Bannockshorne. *Iohn Ma. hath in his booke 35 thousand.* Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of his people, or for that he would shew how little he doubted the puissance of his enimies, least they should haue him in contempt, it is vncerteine. *King Robert his comming toward the battell.* Indeed there were diuerse expert warriours amongest the Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearelie bought: the wisedome and manhood of king Robert was knowne so well amongst them, that they were assured he would not ieopard himselfe in such a case, but that he knew he had such fellowes about him, as would sticke to their tackle. *The opinion of expert warriors of king Edwards.*

Moreouer the Scots by appointment of their king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterprise, had cast deepe pits and ditches in the place where it was iudged the battels should ioine, and pitched sharpe stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer slightlie with greene turfes or sods, in such wise that a few footmen might passe ouer well inough; but if anie great number should come prealling togither, or that anie horsemen came there vpon, the sods would shrinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to get out of those pitfals. *Trenches made by Scots to ouerthrow the Englishmen.* By the place where king Robert was thus incamped, there runneth a great broke or water called Bannockshorne, so named of oten-cakes called bannocks, which were vsed to bee made commonlie at the mils standing on the banks of the said water. *Bannockshorne.* It falleth into the Forth right famous afterwards by reason of this battell fought neere to the same.

When both the armies were approched within a mile togither, king Edward sent eight hundred horsmen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Striueling, to giue notice to sir Philip Mowbrate the capteine, that he was come with his armie to succour him. K. Robert being aduertised of their gate, & beholding them which way they toke, he sent Thomas Randall with fiue hundred Scotish horsmen to saue the countrie from spoile, who with singular manhood incountering with those Englishmen in sight of both the armies, there insued a cruell fight betwixt them for so small a number, continuing a long space with vncerteine victorie. *The fight of Th. Randall with 500 Scotishmen in his companie against 800 Englishmen.* In the meane time sir Iames Dowglasse, dreading that his speciall friend the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with multitude of the Englishmen, came to K. Robert, and falling on his knees before him, required licence to go forth to the support of them that were thus fighting with their enimies: which bicause the king would not grant at the first, he rushed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his companie a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the purpose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, hee might put the enimies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come neere to the place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had got the victorie with great murther of the Englishmen, he staied and went no further; least he should by his comming seeme to bereeue them the glorie of the victorie, which had wone it with so great prowesse & singular valiancie. All those in the Scotish campe were relieued, in good hope of greater successe to follow in the whole enterprise by so happie a beginning. The Englishmen passed litle thereof, but yet for that the Scots should not ware proud, and take ouermuch courage thereby, *The Englishmen determine to giue battell.* they determined to giue them battell the next morow. *King Robert prepareth to receiue the enimies by battell.* King Robert with great diligence caused his people to prepare themselues readie to receiue the enimies, though he was nothing able to match them in number, deuising which waie he might traine them into the ditches before prepared. He commanded through the armie that euerie man should on the next morow receiue the sacrament of the Lords bodie, through the which they might haue the better hope of victorie against the vniust inuaders of their realme and countrie.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that all things would prosper with them, euen as they could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of the lands and goods of their enimies, as should seeme to them good, and most for their owne auaile. But king Robert all the night before the battell toke litle rest, hauing great care in his mind for the suertie of his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration this chance, and an other while that; yea and sometimes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his praier to God and saint Phillane, whose arme as it was set and inclosed in a siluer case, he supposed had *Saint Phillane.*

beene the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his praiers, the case suddenlie opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonied therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the armie within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field, and left the armie at home, least that relike should haue beene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the armie otherwise than well.

A subtill chapleine.

A matter deuised betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The king verie toifull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in praier and thankesgiuing. On the morow he caused all his folks to heare diuine seruice, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchchaffraie did celebrate before the king that day, and ministred vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the armie. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessarie it was for them to shew their wonted manhood, considering that such an huge multitude of people was brought thither against them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as alies to the Englishmen, with full purpose vtterlie to extinguish the Scotish name and memorie, and to plant themselues in their seates and romes, as in possessions vtterlie voided of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scotishmen against the enimies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing words and insolent brags of the same enimies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their harts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed what a number of rascals were amongest them, without anie skill of warrelike affaires, not taken vp by choise and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference togither, in hope of spoile and booties, hauing not else whereupon to liue at home in their countries.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

Moreouer, if nothing else might raise their harts in hope of victorie, their iust cause sith they came in defense of their countrie against iniurious inuaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarell, hauing partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they atteined the victorie. Finallie, the more to stirre their harts to doo valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to atchiue, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enimies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approued souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safelie vndertake for them that they would slea two of the enimies a peece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to incourage his people.

Fr. Thin. ✻ But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech much different from this, in the mouth of Bruse, further saieng, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he vttered these words, and bareheaded imbraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole armie, he reached to euerie man his hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was ouerwearied before he had shaken 35000 men by the hands.) On the other part, king Edward caused the colonels of ech nation within his campe, to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinit riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superioritie. Againe, he willed they should haue in remembrance what irrecourable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

The exhortation of king Edward.

✻ Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kinglie robes, is said to haue vsed these speeches to the armie. If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiors farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse peeces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engins of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots do want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clokes like vnto the wild mounteine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall ioine, will soone subdue them. Maruell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue ouercome (in fight) some weake companie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Bruse (nourished by my good father) to the end that he might receiue worthie punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: wherefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (aliue) these other two wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my father, in that kingdome. Wherefore now shew your selues valiant persons, that you may againe recouer the same, at this day possessed by the vniust and vnrightfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure forth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

Fr. Thn. Iohannes Maior maketh K. Edward to speake (by his pen) what he list himself.

Io. Maior forgot that guns were not yet inuented.

K. Edward a good mathematician by Maiors hyperbolicall speeches.

But yet when they should march forward in arraie of battell towards the Scots, they might scarse be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuertheless, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their capteins, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoo, by reason of the vnrulie multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongest the horsemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the middest of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Randulfe, & James Dowglasse, capteins of verie approued valiancie, vnder whome went seuen thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, other wise called Baterans or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thousand men: but for that he was suspected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with him

Incombrance in an armie.

The order of the English battels.

The appointing of the Scotish battels.

The first battell.

The second.

him certeine ancient gentlemen of great ſobrietie and circumſpection, to qualifie his haſtie and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftéene thouſand fighting men, the king himſelfe led, ſhewing a verie chérefull countenance amongeſt them, ſo farre forth, that euerie one that beheld him, conceiued in his mind an aſſured hope of victorie to ſucceed.

The third.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie aforeſaid (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the king) came forth before the battels, with the crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a ſtandard [admoniſhing them valiantlie to take in hand the defenſe of their countrie, and the libertie of their poſteritie: for (ſaith he) you muſt not euerie man fight as it were for his owne priuat defenſe, his owne houſe and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men for euerie man muſt fight for the libertie, life, patrimonie, children, and wiues of all the realme: for ſuch and ſo great is the dignitie of our countrie, as they which deface or ſpoile it, are to be puniſhed with perpetuall fier, and they which do preſerue it, are to be recompenſed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And herewithall this abbat inſtructed them of manie things touching the loue of their countrie, which nature hath ſo planted in all men, that for the preſeruation and libertie therof, none ſhould refuſe ante danger, no not the loſſe of life, yea though (if it were poſſible) that it might be manie times loſt therefore. Which done, he feared not to admoniſh them to worſhip the image of Chriſt, which he ſhewed them on the croſſe.] Incontinentlie wherupon, the Scotiſh armie fell on knées before it, deuoutlie commending themſelues to almightie God.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie bearing a croſſe. Fr. Thin.

Leſleus epiſc. Roſſ. li. 7. pag. 244. ſaith, it was Mauricius the abbat a man of ſingular pietie and puritie of life, ſuch vertue they can find in their clergie.

The Engliſh armie beholding the Scots fall on knées, thought verelie they had yéelded without ſtroke ſtriken. But when they ſaw them riſe againe, and to come forward, they began to be ſomewhat doubtfull. And herevpon ruſhing togither, at the firſt ioining a great number of people on either ſide were beaten downe & ſlaine. The archers which were arraied on the vtter ſkirts of the Engliſh wings, ſore annoied the Scots, till finallie Edward Bruſe came on their backs with a thouſand ſpeares, and brake them aſſunder, in ſuch wiſe that they did but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinentlie herewith a battell of horſſemen to the number of thirtie thouſand, came ruſhing togither all at once in ſhocke, to haue borne downe and ouerridden the Scots; but being ſo in their full race galloping with moſt violence towards them, they tumbled into the foſſes and pits before mentioned, in ſuch wiſe one vpon another, that the moſt part of them was ſlaine, without all recouerie. Neuertheleſſe the Scots in maner oppreſſed through the huge multitude of the enimies, were néere at the point to haue béene vanquiſhed. [During which conflict ſaith Buch. this happened (which though it be a ſmall thing to put in writing, yet was ſuch as oftentimes it chanceth in battell, and as brought no ſmall benefit to the perfection of their buſineſſe) that king Robert (who continuallie rode before the battell appointed to his gouernement) holding a mace of warre in his hand (and keeping the firſt order in the arraie) was eſpied of an Engliſhman that knew him verie well: and forthwith rode full againſt Bruſe with his ſpeare. But the king beating the ſtroke aſide, came to his Engliſh aduerſarie, ouerthrew him by the force of his horſſe, in the end killed him with his mace & ſo left him dead. Wherevpon, the common people beholding the valure of their king and capteine, did with great force by the inſtigation of their fierce and fierie minds (and not by the kings perſuaſion) fall vpon their enimies in ſuch ſort, that they ſéemed to haue had the victorie of the aduerſe battell of their enimies: had it not béene for the Engliſh archers, which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom Bruſe (ſending out certeine light horſſemen) did ſone repreſſe: whereby the Scots incouraged, made their partie good, rather by hidden policie, than prepared force. For a ſtratagem by the Scots deuiſed, and an error by the Engliſh therof conceiued, did far more hurt to the enimie, than the power aſſembled in the field. For that deuiſe in the end was the cauſe that the Engliſh loſt the victorie, being in this ſort.]

Fr. Thin.

Nothing omitted for the glorie of their nation, ſince valure is commendable in all men, but moſt in a king *Et virtus in hoſte laudatur.*

The firſt ioining.

Thirtie thouſand Engliſh horſſemen ouerthrowen in trenches.

The Scots which were appointed to attend the carriage, as carters, wainemen, lackies, and the women, beholding in what danger their maiſters, friends, & countriemen ſtood, put on ſhirts, ſmocks, and other white linnen aloft vpon their vſuall garments, and herewith binding towels and napkins to their ſpeares, and to other ſuch ſtaues as they got in their hands, placed themſelues as well as they could in arraie of battell, and ſo making a great muſter and ſhew anew, came downe the hill ſide in the face of their enimies, with ſuch a terrible noiſe and hideous clamor, that the Engliſhmen fighting as then with moſt furie againſt the Scots with vncerteine victorie, and beholding this new reenforce comming downe the hill vpon their faces, ſuppoſing verelie it had béene ſome new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deed, for that they ſaw themſelues vneth able to ſuſteine the violent incounter of the Scots then preſent. And herevpon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearelie vanquiſhed: on whome the Scots followed with inſatiable ire, and ſlue them down on all ſides where they might ouertake them. Sir James Dowglas with foure hundred choſen horſſemen, was commanded by king Robert to purſue the king of England with all ſpéed, to trie if he might ouertake him.

The Engliſh mens hearts begin to faint.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

Dowglas (according to his charge) followed him in chaſe to Dunbar, & caſting betwixt that and the borders, laie in wait to haue taken him, if he had returned by land; but he being receiued into the caſtell of Dunbar by Patriſke Dunbar erle of March, with fiftéene earles in his companie, was by the ſame earle of March conueied into certeine veſſels, lieng there at anchor, with the which he paſſed alongſt by the ſhore into England, to ſhew an example of the vnſtable ſtate of princes: for though this Edward was that day in the morning right proud of the great puiſſance and number of people which he had about him, not vnlike ſometime to the great armie of king Xerres, yet he was conſtreined before the euening of the ſame day, to ſaue his life in a poore fiſhers boat. In this battell were ſlaine fiftie thouſand Engliſhmen (as the Scotiſh writers affirme) amongſt whome was the earle of Glocester, with two hundred knights. On the Scotiſh part were ſlaine about foure thouſand, and amongſt other two valiant knights, ſir William Mepount, and ſir Walter Roſſe. The ſpoile was ſo great of gold, ſiluer, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scotiſh armie was made rich thereby: and beſides this, they got little leſſe monie and riches by ranſoming of priſoners taken at this battell, than of ſpoile gotten in the fight, campe, and field. But the death of ſir Giles Argentine, that died amongſt other in this mortall battell, was ſo diſpleaſant to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had ſometimes with him in England, that he reioiſed little of all the gaine got by ſo famous a victorie. He cauſed his bodie to be buried right honorablie in ſaint Patriks church, beſide Edenburgh. The quéene king Roberts wife, who had béene kept

King Edward eſcapeth

The vnſtable ſtate of worldlie puiſſance.

The number of Scots ſlaine.

Sir Giles Argentine ſlaine.

King Robert killeth an Engliſhman.

The quéne king Roberts wife reſtored to hir huſband

in captiuitie the ſpace of 8 yeares, was in England now deliuered by exchange for one of the nobles of England, which was taken at this battell. The rich clothes of ſilke, veluet, and gold, which were found in the Engliſh campe, were diſtributed to the abbeies and monaſteries of the realme, to make thereof veſtments, copes, and frontals for altars. The Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought thither by king Edward to deſcribe the victorie of the Engliſhmen, was taken priſoner amongſt other, and commanded by king Robert to write contrarilie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had ſéene: who thereupon gathered his ruſtie wits togither, & made certeine rude verſes beginning thus.

Verſes made by Robert Waſton the Carmelite.

*De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,*
*Riſum retrudo cùm tali themate ludo.*
With barren verſe this rime I make,
Bewailing whileſt ſuch theame I take.

There be ſome that haue iudged, how this victorie was atteined by the ſingular fauor of almightie God, by reaſon of miracles which they rehearſe to happen at the ſame time. The night before the day of the battell, there came to the abbeie of Glaſtenburie two men in complet armour, deſiring to lodge there all night: the abbat kéeping an houſe of great hoſpitalitie, receiued them right gladlie, and making them good cheare, demanded what they were, and whither they were going: who anſwered that they were the ſeruants of God, and going to helpe the Scots at Bannorſborne. On the morrow the chamberlaine found them departed before anie of the gates were opened, & the beds faire made, and not ſtirred otherwiſe than as they left them ouer night. The ſame day that the battell was foughten, a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the people at Aberden, how the Scots had gotten a famous victorie againſt the Engliſhmen, and was ſéene ſhortlie after to paſſe ouer Pictland Firth on horſſebacke. It was ſuppoſed by the people that this was ſaint Magnus, ſometime prince of Orkenie, and for that cauſe king Robert endowed the church of Orkenie with fiue poundes ſterling of the cuſtomes of Aberden, to furniſh the ſame church, with bread, wine, and wax.

Miracles if ye liſt to beléeue them.

Manie noble men for their approued manhood ſhewed in this conflict, were highlie rewarded at the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming, by whoſe means he reuenged the treaſon wrought againſt him by John Cumin, with ſlaughter of the ſame John, had the lands of Cumnernald giuen him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the ſaid Cumin. It is reported by writers, that two knights of Brabant that ſerued amongeſt the Engliſhmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words ſpoken in the Engliſh campe againſt king Robert, who being ſomewhat moued therewith, and miſliking ſuch diſmeaſured talke, wiſhed in words that the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which with K. Edward informed thereof, cauſed them by a trumpet to be conueied vnto the Scotiſh campe, with commandement to aid king Robert to the vttermoſt of their powers, purpoſing to puniſh them according to his mind, if he atteined the victorie, as he had no doubt but he ſhould. Herevpon, before the ioining of the battels, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that whoſoeuer brought their heads vnto him, ſhould haue an hundred marks in reward.

Robert Fleming rewarded for his faithfull ſeruice.

A proclamation.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had run for his ſake, rewarded them with great riches of the ſpoile got in the field, with the which they returning into Brabant, built a goodlie houſe in Antuerpe, naming the ſame Scotland, and cauſing the Scotiſh armes, and the picture of Bruſe to be ſet vp in the ſame, appointed it for a lodging to receiue them of the Scotiſh nation that ſhould reſort vnto that towne, as may appeare euen vnto this day. And this was done for a memoriall, to ſhew what loue and hartie benevolence theſe two knights bare towards king Robert and his people, for the great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glorious victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the natiuitie of ſaint John Baptiſt, in the yeare 1314.

The Scotiſh houſe in Antuerpe builded.

1314.

Fr. Thin.

* About this time for the varietie of fortune (in ſo ſmall a courſe of yeares) happened a thing not vnworthie the reporting. For John Wentith, which before betraied his déere friend Wallaſe to the Engliſh, being therefore (as of right he ought) extremelie hated of the Scots, was (in recompenſe thereof beſide manie other rewards) benefited with the gardianſhip of the caſtle of Dunbriton: which fort (after all the other caſtles before ſaid were recouered to the Scots) was almoſt the onlie thing (except ſome few others) that remained in the hands of the Engliſh: and becauſe this fort was by nature inexpugnable, king Robert dealt with the captéine (by ſuch as were friends and of kinred vnto him) to betraie the caſtle into his hands, promiſing great recompenſe therefore. Wherevnto this Wentith by no means would agrée, vnles K. Robert would giue to him the earledome of Lennox for his reward. Wherevpon the king being greatlie in doubt what to ſay therein, (though in déed he vehementlie longed for the ſaid caſtle) becauſe he did not thinke the obteining thereof to be of ſuch good vnto him, as that he would therefore offend or loſe the earle of Lennox; who had in all his calamities béene the moſt certeine, and almoſt the onelie friend of the king: which doubt, when the earle vnderſtood; he forthwith came vnto him, willing him in no wiſe to refuſe the condition; wherevpon the bargaine was concluded betwéene John Wentith and the king, and that in ſuch ſort, as it was moſt ſolemnelie confirmed.

Buchanan.

John Wentith made captéine of Dunbriton caſtle.

Now, when the king ſhould come to receiue this caſtle (according to compoſitions) as he was in the wood Colchon, a mile diſtant from the ſame, a certeine carpentar called Rowland came thither ſecretlie vnto him, & deſired licence that he might ſpeake to the king, for he would diſcouer a great matter touching a treaſon that was deuiſed and prepared againſt him, by the captéine of Dunbriton. Which pardon obteined, he opened vnto Bruſe, that below in the wine-cellar of the caſtle, were a number of Engliſh incloſed, which at dinner ſhould either take or kill the king (being then ſafe) after that he had obteined the caſtle. Wherevpon the king nothing abaſhed, but kéeping on his former determination, & being (according to appointment) receiued by the ſaid John Wentith in the caſtle of Dunbriton: after that he had ſearched all other places, and was courteouſlie inuited to ſit downe to dinner; anſwered that he would not eate, vntill he had looked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuſe, and to defer the time, the captéine anſwered that the ſmith was abſent and caried the key away with him. But the king not waiting for the comming of the ſmith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar doore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which, the armed men were brought forth before the king, who being ſeuerallie examined, confeſſed the whole matter; and further, that there was a ſhip readie in the hauen to haue caried the K. priſoner into England, if they had taken him aliue. Wherevpon the reſt being puniſhed, John Wentith was onelie caſt into priſon, & reſerued from further paine: becauſe the king would not offend his friends & kinred in ſo dangerous a time as that was. For this Wentith had manie beautifull daughters maried to men of great power & riches. After which impriſonment of this

Engliſhmen incloſed in a cellar to kill king Robert after his enterance into Dunbriton caſtle.

his Pentith was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of Bruse, vnder whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

1314. The crowne of Scotland intailed. Margerie the daughter of king Robert by his first wife.

Immediatlie after, king Robert called a parlement at Aire, where, by consent of the three states he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruse, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such heires, then should the crowne descend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minoritie, he should then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to James Dowglasse.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was maried by the aduise of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceassed, maried shortlie after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of Ulster, on whome he got a sonne named Dauid, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Mauld. The first was maried to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named John: the second departed this world in hir infancie. After the mariage solemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and townes in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, aswell townes as baronies, sundrie new prerogatiues and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie to the townes of Perth, Dundee, and Aberden.

The second mariage of king Robert.

The issue of king Robert by his second wife.

Liberties by king Robert.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they tooke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recouer their libertie, now after so notable an ouerthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requiring that it might please him to send his brother Edward Bruse, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that iournie in hand, and so with a small power of Scotishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and ioining with an armie of such as were readie to assist him there, he tooke the towne of Vlster, and slue a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward Bruse was proclamed king of that realme, and certeine of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and procéedings, for the suertie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to sustéine the grieuous yoke of the English thraldome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they séemed to passe little of his commandements in that behalfe, for they dailie sought how to make themselues strong in that part, least they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enimies were about to get forth of their hands.

1315. The lords of Ireland require aid of king Robert. Vlster. Edward Bruse proclamed king of Ireland. The Englishmen passe little on the popes commandements.

King Robert being informed how through the reenforcement of the English armie, being dailie refreshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast away, he left sir James Dowglasse gouernor in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of victels & other prouisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constreined to eate horsses and other such lothsome meats, therewith to sustéine their languishing liues. At length being approched within a daies iournie of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vnwiselie with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the ouerthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is vncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staied till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourtéenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Sée more hereof in Ireland. King Robert passeth ouer into Ireland. Edward Bruse is slaine in Ireland. Sée more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, eftsoones to inuade Scotland: and herevpon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue done some great feat. But sir James Dowglas the gouernor, hauing likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine three notable capteins on the English side: as sir Edmund Lilaw a Gascoigne capteine of Berwike, with sir James Neuill, and the third sir James Dowglasse slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should do anie good at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way forth the Englishmen commonlie were euer too good for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fléet of ships, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each side, and tooke manie rich booties from the inhabitants néere to the shore.

K. Edward sendeth a nauie into Scotland.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties done by the Englishmen, came forth with fiue hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such inuasions: but when he perceiued that the enimies were of greater number than he was able well to incounter, hauing but an handfull of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclare bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about three score armed men in his companie, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forward againe towards the enimies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onset vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first incounter to the number of fiue hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their botes lieng at Dunbritsell, which they entred in such haste, that one of the botes being pestered with ouer great number, sanke with them before they could get to their ships. K. Robert euer after customablie called this Wil. Sinclare his owne bishop, for the noble prowes which he shewed in this enterprise.

Englishmen discomfited. William Sinclare called K. Roberts bishop.

In the same yeare Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Bruse was borne, which Robert after the death of K. Dauid le Bruse was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, the second day of Aprill

Robert Steward borne. 1318.

Berwike recouered.

recouered the towne of Berwike out of the English mens hands, which they had held for the space of twentie yeeres before. It was taken now by practise, through meanes of one Spaldein an Englishman, who for his labour had certeine lands giuen him in Angus, which his posteritie inioieth to these daies.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

*Trulie it were a wonderfull processe to declare what mischiefes came through hunger and other misfortunes, by the space of 11 yeeres in Northumberland; for the Scots became so proud after they had gotten Berwike, that they nothing esteemed the English nation. But (amongst other things by the Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de Gardonne came with 160 men, to driue awaie the cattell pasturing by Norham, which the people of the towne perceiuing, ran forth and incountered with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them, had not Thomas Grey capteine of the castell, seeing them in some ieopardie, issued forth with 60 of his souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their horsses. The which Grey had beene twise before besieged in the castell of Norham, once almost by the space of a whole yéere, and another time by the terme of seuen moneths, in which he behaued himselfe like a worthie gentleman, in that his enimies got none aduantage of him, although that during the siege, they had erected manie fortresses before the castell, to annoie such as were within: of which forts they made one at Uplitlington, and one in the church of Norham, the castell whereof had beene twise teinted and in danger of losse, had not the lord Persie and Neuill (being great succourers of the marches) rescued the same. For at one time the vtter ward of Norham castell was taken in the time of this Grey on saint Katharins eeuen, which the Scots kept not but three daies, and their purpose in winning the same did vtterlie faile them.)

Ri. Southwell.

After that the earle of Murrey had recouered Berwike, he and the lord James Dowglasse in the moneth of Maie inuaded England with a puissant armie, passing further into the countrie than the Scots had béene accustomed to do before time, burning as they went forward the townes of Northallerton and Burrowbridge; and comming to Ripon, they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein; but compounding with them that kept the church against them for a thousand marks, they forbare to burne anie of the buildings. After they had taried here three daies, they departed thence, and went to Knaresburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating the woods (into the which the people were withdrawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great bootie, and returning homewards by Scipton in Crauen, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came backe into Scotland with their spoiles and prisoners without anie resistance. [This castell of Knaresburgh was taken by John Lilleborne, which after rendered himselfe to the king vpon certeine conditions.]

Fr. Thin.

1319.

In the yeere following, king Edward came and laid siege vnto Berwike, but the towne was so well defended, that he was constreined with small honor to returne home, and leaue it as he found it. For in the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege before Berwike, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, and the lord James Dowglasse assembled their forces together; but perceiuing themselues too weake to remoue the siege by force, they passed by, and entring into England, wasted and spoiled all before them, keeping on their way vnto Burrowbridge: whereof when the citizens of Yorke were aduertised, with their capteins William Melton their archbishop, and the bishop of Elie, not making them of the countrie once priuie to their purpose, but hauing in their companie a great number of priests and men of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day in the after none, not farre from the towne of Mitton vpon Swale, twelue miles distant from Yorke northwards.

Berwike beseiged.

Ri. Southwell.

The Scots enter further into England thã they were accustomed, euen vnto wetherbie (as Fourd. saith.)

William Melton archbishop of yorke.

The battell at Mitton vpon Swale.

But forsomuch as the most part of the Englishmen were not expert in the feates of warre, and came not in anie orderlie arraie of battell, they were easilie vanquished & put to flight by the Scots, who were readie to receiue them in good order, close togither in one entier squadrone, and after their accustomed maner, at their first ioining they gaue a great showt, wherewith the Englishmen out of hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots perceiued, they got them to their horses, and followed the chase most egerlie, beating downe and sleaing the Englishmen, neither sparing religious person nor other, so that their died to the number of foure thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst the rest was the maior of Yorke one. In the water of Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the number of a thousand. To be short, if night had not come the soner vpon, it was thought scarse there should anie of the English part haue escaped.

The Englishmen discomfited.

The maior of yorke slaine.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of Berwike, vnderstood what mischiefe the Scots did within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to haue incountered with his enimies: but the Scots aduertised of his purpose, returned with all their prisoners and spoile by Stanemore, and so through Gilland, and the west marches, withdrew home into their countrie. About the feast of All saints, when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in their haruest, so that their barnes were now stuffed with corne, of the which prouision they were to liue all the yéere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the said two capteins, the earle of Murrey, and the lord Dowglasse, entered into England, and burnt the countrie of Gilland, taking away both such people as they tooke prisoners, and also all the cattell which they might meet with, and so kept vpon their iournie till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemore, destroieng all afore them, & then returning through Westmerland, practised the like mischiefe there, in burning vp houses and corne in all places where they came, as they had done before in Gilland. And finallie passing through Cumberland with the like hauocke, at length they drew home into their owne countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and plentie of great riches which they had got in that iournie. [And the souldiers going backe againe toward Scotland, fought with the commons of Newcastell at the bridge end, for certeine displeasures done vnto them, in which conflict sir John Perith knight was slaine, and manie other squires belonging to the constable and marshall. About which time also, king Edward (lieng at Lieth to go vnto Edenburgh) was constreined to returne for lacke of vittels.]

The Scots inuade England.

Burgh vnder Stanemore.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

About the same time died Margerie Bruse king Roberts daughter. Shortlie after also was a truce taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scotland for a certeine time. Then king Robert hauing no trouble, neither within his realme nor without, caused a parlement to be holden at Perth, where hée required the lords to shew their deeds and charters whereby they held their lands. The lords after long aduisement taken herein, at length pulled out their swords all at once, declaring that they had none other euidence nor charter to shew for the tenure of their lands. King Robert was somewhat amazed at this sight, and tooke no small indignation therewith, but

Margerie Bruse deceaseth.

A parlement at Perth.

The euidence and charters whereby the lords of Scotland held their lands.

but yet he diſſembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant ſtomachs: neuertheleſſe, he purpoſed to be reuenged of their proud preſumptions, when more opportunitie of time ſerued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuiſed amongſt themſelues how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, ſo to auoid all danger that might follow of his diſpleaſure conceiued thus againſt them. For the accompliſhment of this their treaſonable practiſe, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and ſeales betwixt them, & minded to ſend the ſame into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing ſome inkeling of this their purpoſe, cauſed diligent watch to be laid by the way for ſuch as ſhould paſſe into England from them with the ſaid bond, inſomuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings incloſed within his pilgrims ſtaffe.

Conſpiracie of the lords againſt king Robert.

A palmer taken with writings on him.

King Robert vnderſtanding by theſe writings all the manner of the treaſon, and what they were that had conſented to the ſame, haſtilie ſent for the whole number of them, as though there had beene ſome matter in hand wherein he wiſhed to haue their aduiſe. They were no ſooner come, but ſtreightwaies calling them before him, he queſtioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and ſeales, and immediatlie therewith ſhewed the writings, which were found in the palmers ſtaffe: and becauſe they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within ſundrie caſtels, till he had taken further aduiſe in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwike, and there arreſted the capteine of the towne, named ſir William Soulis, and cauſed him to be conueied to Perth (committing the ſaid William Soulis (as ſaith Io. Maior) with the counteſſe of Straherne, to perpetuall priſon) where ſhortlie after he called an aſſemblie of all the eſtates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yeere after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was Dauid Abernethie, the ſiſters ſonne of king Robert, accuſed as partie to the treaſon aforeſaid, though being laboured vnto by the reſt of the conſpirators to ſoine with them therein, he refuſed ſo to doo, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & loſt his head, the people ſore lamenting his miſhap, for the great valiancie which was knowne to be in him, hauing ſerued honorablie manie yeeres before againſt the Saracens, and other miſcreants in the parties of beyond the ſeas, where he was called the flower of chiualrie.

The lords that had conſpired, are committed to ward.

The blacke parlement.

1320.

Dauid Abernethie loſeth his head.

In deed the king himſelfe would gladlie haue ſaued his life, but for that he minded to doo iuſtice on the reſidue, and finding no man to make ſute for him, he permitted the execution to proceed againſt him. On the morrow after, he cauſed all the reſidue of the traitors to be brought forth to iudgement, and ſentence being giuen againſt them, he commanded without delaie that they ſhould be executed. Then came diuerſe and ſundrie perſons in moſt humble wiſe to make ſute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinſmen: but he made them plaine anſwer, that there was none to be found that would make interceſſion for the ſauing of his kinſmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing ſo grieuouſlie, in compariſon of them for whome they now made ſute; and therfore he bad them be contented, for they ſhould aſſuredlie haue according to that which they had deſerued. And therewith were the officers commanded to make haſt with the execution, which was done incontinentlie without anie further reſpit.

Among other were theſe, Gilbert de Malet, Iohn Cogi knights and Richard Bron a notable warriour. Iohn Maior.

Execution without reſpit

There were ſome that were accuſed to be partakers in this treaſon, but yet for that no euident proofes could be produced againſt them, they were diſmiſſed, as Walter Warwell, with Walter Berclaie ſhiriffe of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hameline Keldrinton, and Euſtace Rathe, knights; beſides eight others. But yet the counteſſe of Straherne & William de Soulis were condemned to perpetuall priſon. The earle of Buchquhanes lands, who ſuffered at that preſent, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made conſtable of the realme in place of Iohn Quincie, who likewiſe ſuffered at the ſame time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Reth, togither with the office of the ſtewardſhip of the realme. About the ſame time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchaſed that a legat was ſent from the ſée apoſtolike into Scotland, to admoniſh king Robert to ceaſſe from further diſquieting the realme of England, by ſuch cruell inuaſions, as were ſurmiſed that he wrongfullie exerciſed againſt the ſame realme. But anſwer was made hereunto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderſtand that the whole occaſion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelie proceed of the couetous deſire in the Engliſhmen, ſeeking to conquer that realme without anie iuſt claime or title: and therefore they thought it reaſon firſt to ſuppreſſe the loftie ſtomachs of the Engliſhmen; and then if there were ante thing worthie to be reformed on their behalfes, they would be contented to ſtand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat diſpatched home, without other effect of his errand [ſauing (as ſaith Buchanan) he curſſed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

A legat ſent from Rome to the Scots.

The anſwer made to the legat.

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and waſted the countrie before him, till he came to the recroſſe, which ſtandeth vpon Stanemore. Howbeit it ſhould ſeeme by that which Richard Southwell writeth hereof, that king Robert was not preſent himſelfe in perſon in this iournie, but that he appointed the earle of Murrey to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feaſt of the Epiphanie entered into England, and comming to Darington, ſtaied there for a ſeaſon, whileſt the lord Iames Dowglaſſe, and the lord Steward of Scotland went abroad to harrie and ſpoile the countrie on ech ſide, the one of them paſſing forth towards Hartilpole and Cliueland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondſhire, hauing no capteine amongeſt them to defend their countrie from that grieuous inuaſion of the enimie, gaue a great ſumme of monie in like manner, as at other times they had done, to haue their countrie ſpared from fier and ſpoile.

King Robert with an armie in Scotland.

Ri. Southwell.

1321.

The biſhoprike of Durham burnt by the Scots.

Richmondſhire redeemed from ſpoile with a ſumme of monie.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repared vnto the duke of Lancaſter then lieng at Pomfret, and offered to go into the field with him againſt the Scots, he would not once ſtirre his foot, by reaſon of the diſcord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howſoeuer the matter went, king Edward ſore grieued in his mind with ſuch inuaſion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leauie an armie of an hundred thouſand men, what on horſſebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be readie to enter into Scotland at Lammas next: whereof king Robert being aduertiſed, ment to preuent him, and therupon in the octaues of the Natiuitie of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt,

The duke of Lancaſters diſloialtie.

King Robert inuadeth England.

Baptist, he entered into England with an armie néere to Carleill, and burnt a manor place that sometime belonged to him at Rosse, and Allerdale, and spoiled the monasterie of Holme, notwithstanding his fathers corps was there interred.

The abbeie of Holme burnt.

From thence he marched forward, destroieng and spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so keeping vpon his iournie, passed Oden sands, towards the abbeie of Fourneis: but the abbat méeting him on the waie, redéemed his lands from spoile, and brought king Robert to his house, and made to him great chéere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and marching forward vnto Cartmele beyond Leuin sands, burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a priorie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they also burnt, saue onelie the priorie of blacke monks, and a house of preaching friers. Héere came to them the earle of Murrey, and the lord James Dowglasse with an other armie, whereupon marching further southwards, they came to Preston in Anderneis, and burnt that towne also, the house of friers minors onelie excepted.

Fourneis abbeie.

Leuin sands.

The towne of Lancaster burnt.

Preston in Anderneis burnt.

And thus being foure score miles within England from their owne borders, they returned homewards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other bооties which they had got in that iournie, comming to Carleill on the éeue of saint Margaret, and lodging about that towne the space of fiue daies, they wasted and destroied the corne, & all other things that came within their reach. Which done, on saint James euen they entred into Scotland againe, hauing béene within England at this time thrée wéekes and thrée daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie came to Newcastell, and desirous to be reuenged of such iniuries done to his subiects, entered into Scotland, and passing forth till he came to Edenburgh, through want of vittels and other necessarie prouision, he was constreined to returne home within the space of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertised of his comming, had caused all the corne and cattell in the countrie to be conueied out of the waie into certeine forts, whereunto the Englishmen might not come to get it into their hands, & so to relieue themselues therewith. But in their returning homeward, somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled and burnt the abbeies of Melrose, and Driburgh, with diuerse other religious houses and places, not sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the inhabitants that fell into their hands.

K. Edward raiseth an armie.

He entered Scotland.

The abbeies of Mewrose or Melrose & Driburgh burned.

In reuenge hereof, king Robert shortlie after entred with a puissant armie into England, spoiling & wasting the countrie, till he came almost to Yorke. At length, hearing that king Edward was comming towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of ground betwixt the abbeie of Biland and saint Sauiour, there to abide battell; which king Edward refused not to giue, though in the end he was put to flight with his whole power, and chased with great slaughter both of Englishmen and Normans, which were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie were taken prisoners, as John de Britaine earle of Richmond, and Henrie Sowlie, with others. This battell was fought in the yéere of our Sauiour 1323, 15 daies after the feast of saint Michaell the archangell. King Edward lieng the same time at the abbeie of Riuale, aduertised of this ouerthrow, fled and got him into Yorke, leauing his plate and much other stuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his sudden departure, which the Scots comming thither found, and tooke awaie with them. And from thence they passed forth into Yorkeswold, spoiling and wasting the countriemen vnto Beuerleie, which towne for a summe of monie they were contented to spare, and so then they returned homewards, entering againe into Scotland on All soules day, which is the second of November, after they had remained within England at that time the space of a moneth and foure daies.

K. Edward is put to flight.

The earle of Richmond is taken.

1323.

Ri. Southwell.

Riuale abbeie.

Yorkeswold wasted by Scots.

Shortlie after, king Robert sent an ambassador to the French king [to pacifie him offended with them for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, which was accomplished with this new condition added to the former articles, that if it chanced that succession failed touching the inheritance of the crowne of either realme, so that a doubt should rise, who ought by right to inioy the same, the claime and title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles of both the realmes; and further, that they should not onelie remoue and exclude all such as went about wrongfullie to vsurpe the crowne, but also to defend and mainteine the true inheritor to the vttermost of their powers. In confirmation of this couenant, both the kings receiued the sacrament. And for further ratifieng of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas (then) they had the popes consent hereto, neither he, nor ante of his successors hereafter should dispense with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void and of none effect.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The bond of amitie betwixt Scotland and France renewed with new articles.

A prouiso.

In this yéere 1323 (as Richard Southwell reporteth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto Newcastell, there to treate of some agréement of peace. For the king of England came Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke, the lord Hugh Spenser the yonger, and foure other persons sufficientlie authorised. And for the king of Scots came the bishop of saint Andrewes, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, and foure other persons likewise of good calling. After much talke, in the end they agréed vpon a truce to indure for 13 yéeres, which was proclamed in both realmes about the feast of saint Barnabie next insuing. About this time also, or not long before, an Englishman descended of noble linage, called Hamton, chanced for speaking certeine words in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwards priuie chamber, named John Spenser; insomuch that fighting togither about the same words, Hamtons hap was to slea this Spenser, & thereupon knowing there was no waie but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with all speed into Scotland, where he was receiued of the king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he called by the name of Hamilton.]

Ri. Southwell.

Hamton an Englishman, of whome the Hamiltons are descended.

Fr. Thin.

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scotland vnto this day, increased so in kinred and honor, by reason it was in processe of time mingled with the kings bloud, that few linages in that realme are of like estimation. They are now called Hamiltons, somewhat changed from the name of their first beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made by king Edward the second gardian or capteine of the castell of Bristow in England, the which he kept vntill the comming of quéene Isabell against hir husband Edward the second, at what time he deliuered the same into the hands of the said quéene, and returned into Scotland.]

The Hamiltons mingled with the kings bloud. Fr. Thin.

1325. Scala chron.

In the meane time, Edward king of England being ruled altogither by two of the Spensers, as Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre into the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as commons, that in the end he was deposed of all kinglie

K. Edward deposed.

kinglie authoritie, committed to priſon, and in fine ſecretlie murthered, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainelie appéereth.

His ſonne Edward the third was placed in his rome, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the yéere 1326. In the night of the ſame day in which he receiued the crowne, the Scots ment to haue ſteine the caſtell of Norham by ſcaling, and they went ſo cunninglie about their purpoſe, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the wals: but the capteine of this caſtle Robert Maners being warned afore hand of their comming by one of his ſouldiers that was a Scotiſhman borne, ſuddenlie aſſailed them, ſlue nine or ten of them, and toke fiue priſoners aliue, but ſore wounded, ſo as this miſfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might haue bene a forwarning of their loſſes to follow in the daies of his gouernement.

His ſon Edward the third crowned. 1326.

Ri. Southwell.

The caſtell of Norham.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in England, king Robert though he might ſéeme to haue title iuſt inough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had poſſeſſed now not onlie by rightfull conqueſt, but alſo by lawfull intereſt of inheritance for a certeine number of yéeres, by conſent of all the eſtates of the realme; yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and to conclude the ſucceſſion of the Balioll from all claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he ſent ſir James Dowglaſſe into France vnto the lord John Balioll, to require him to tranſpoſe and reſigne all the challenge of right and intereſt which he might ſéeme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himſelfe as his heires & ſucceſſors for euer, to king Robert le Bruſe, and his heires. In conſideration of which reſignation, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be appointed forth in Scotland.

James Dowglaſſe ſent into France to the Balioll.

The Balioll being now ſore worne with age, and thereto blind of bodilie ſight, lightlie conſented vnto this motion, conſidering (as he ſaid) he toke it to be the ordinance of almightie God, that king Robert ſhould inioy the gouernement of the Scotiſh kingdome, as moſt worthie and able thereto, hauing deliuered the ſame, and defended it moſt valiantlie from the hands of moſt cruell enimies. He called therefore his friends and kinſmen togither, in the preſence of whome he wholie reſigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie intereſt or claime which might be auouched for anie cauſe or conſideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that preſent day. After the returne of ſir James Dowglaſſe forth of France, with ſo good expedition and diſpatch of that buſineſſe wherabout he was ſent, king Robert verie ioifull thereof, aſſembled a parlement of the nobles and other eſtates of the realme at Cambuſkenneth, where he procured a new act to be eſtabliſhed touching the ſucceſſion of the crowne, which was, that if his ſonne Dauid deceaſſed without heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Margerie Bruſe his daughter, ſhould ſucceed in poſſeſſion of the crowne. All the lords at the ſame time were ſworne to mainteine this ordinance.

The reſignation of the Balioll to king Robert.

A parlement at Cambuſkenneth.

In act for the ſucceſſion of the crowne.

In the meane while, king Edward the third ſent vnto king Robert for peace, but forſomuch as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretenſe, no concluſion thereof inſued, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert ſhortlie after fell ſicke, by reaſon whereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to trauell himſelfe, he committed the adminiſtration of all things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall, earle of Murrey, and to the lord James Dowglaſſe, two capteins, for their high prowelle and noble valiancie in thoſe daies greatlie renowned. Theſe two hardie chieftains aſſembling an armie of twentie thouſand men, or (as ſome writers haue) 25 thouſand, entered with the ſame into Northumberland, waſting & ſpoiling the countrie on ech ſide. [And incountring with an aſſemblie of the Engliſh at Darlington, there ſlue manie of them, and put the reſt to flight.] Againſt whome came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thouſand men: of the which number there were (as Froiſſard ſaith) eight thouſand horſſemen, and 24 thouſand archers. At their comming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the ſmoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houſes, and townes, where the enimies were: but yet becauſe they taried not long in a place, but paſſed on without ſoiorning here or there, the Engliſhmen might not come néere to fight with them.

Thomas Rokeſbeie

Randall and to James Dowglaſſe.

They inuade Northumberland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

1327.

King Edward the third commeth with an armie againſt them.

King Edward therefore was counſelled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at ſome aduantage as they ſhould returne, which was thought ſhould be ſhortlie, as well for lacke of vittels, as alſo to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the Engliſh armie drew that waies forth. But comming to the riuer of Tine, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the ſtreame was ſo riſen, that neither horſſe nor man might paſſe, ſo that the armie was conſtreined to incampe there for the ſpace of three daies, in great ſcarſitie of vittels, till they were faine to ſend vnto Newcaſtell (which was diſtant from thence 26 miles) and to Carleill (which was about 22. miles thence) for prouiſion, which was ſent them from thoſe places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certeine light horſſemen ſent abroad into the countrie, to vnderſtand where the Scots were, and to view their doings. [Upon proclamation before made by the king (that who ſo could bring him word where the Scots were harbored, ſhould haue a hundred pounds of yéerelie reuenues in recompenſe for the ſame; Thomas Rokeſbeie after diligent ſearch, brought word to the king thereof:] for thoſe which were ſent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mounteine, not paſt fiue miles from the Engliſh campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had ſéene and learned of the enimies doings.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

King Edward right ioifull of the news, cauſeth his armie to be diuided into three battels, and forthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enimies laie. And comming about none daies within ſight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was ſo ſtrong, what with the heigth of the ground, & thereto defended on the one ſide with the courſe of a riuer, that by no means they might be aſſailed without great and manifeſt danger. The Engliſhmen in the end thought it beſt to chooſe forth a place to incampe in for that night, and ſo doing, ſent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto ſome euen ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refuſed ſo to do, alledging that ſith the Engliſhmen were three to one in number, it was no reaſon to will them to forſake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and choſen forth for their owne defenſe.

The Engliſh men ſent to the Scots.

The anſwer of the Scots.

Thus were they incamped néere togither either in ſight of other for the ſpace of three nights, euerie day ſhewing themſelues in order of battell, without breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horſſemen, which on either part now and then came forth

The rule of things committed to Thomas

and

and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes a man might haue seene good emptieng of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceiued how they were gone, and thereupon sending forth light horsemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but remoued to an other hill a little off, lieng fast by the same riuer, and there lay incamped more stronglie than before. Incontinentlie herevpon, king Edward raiseth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill where the Scots with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one ouer against the other, James Dowglasse tooke aduise with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprise.

The Scots dislodge.

The English armie raised.

He chose forth two hundred of perfect good horsemen, mounted vpon verie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night season he passed stilie by the English watch, that he was not once descried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the mouing of the horsse feet, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe. But yet per the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had persed through, euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cords of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue beene slaine, had not the Scots withdrawen the sooner for doubt of being inclosed with their enimies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglasse yet returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scotish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this brunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, tooke better heed after to their watch.

An enterprise exploited by sir James Dowglasse.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eightéene daies, till at length the Scots priuilie in the night conueied themselues away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had done sufficientlie inough for that time. It chanced that in the euening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement giuen through the Scotish campe, that euerie man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglasse at a certeine houre the same night, but whither they intended to go, it was vnknowne, saue onelie amongest the capteins. Herevpon the English doubting least the Scots minded to giue them a camisado that night, placed themselues in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might see about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scotish trumpeters taken by the English scouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scotish armie was broken vp and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing suffered themselues to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they hasted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for hast they had left behind them: but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 20000 paires of hieland shoes, which are made of the greene hides of beasts vntanned. Also they found three hundred hides of sauage beasts set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreouer, they had left behind them fiue hundred dead carcasses of beasts & sheepe, which for that they could not driue them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were likewise found fiue Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trees, which were quicklie losed and committed to the cure of surgians. The enimies being thus departed, king Edward by aduise of his councell brake vp his campe, and returned to London, supposing it but lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

The Scots secretlie returne home to their countrie.

King Edward breaketh vp his campe.

In this yeare died Walter Steward, father to Robert Steward, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following, or rather the same yeare, Q. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruse the prince deceassed, and was buried in Dunfirmling in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1328. In the same yeare, king Robert wan the castell of Norham, and shortlie after besieged the castell of Alnwike, where were slaine William de Mountalte knight, John Clapanen, and Malisius de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scotish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadors sent from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that K. Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part, and Cumberland on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages done to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert should pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suertie and ratification of this finall agréement and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Jane the sister of king Edward should be coupled in mariage with Dauid Bruse the prince of Scotland.

1326, as Io. Maior saith, but that cannot be, if she died the same yeare that the Scots were besieged in Stanhop parke.

Norham castell wonne.

Alnewike besieged.

Ambassadors sent from K. Edward for a peace.

A peace concluded with England in the yeare 1328, after the account of them that begin the yeare at Christmasse.

Jane, or rather Jone, the sister of king Edward, maried to Dauid Bruse prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, wherevnto all the seals of the great lords within both the realms were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Berwike within a while after, on the eighteenth day of Julie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardros the seuenth day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was grieuouslie vexed with a leprosie, which thus finallie made an end of him, in the twentie fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes knowen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not béene the greater, it might haue brought him in despaire of all recouerie: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enimies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the vttermost of his power: yet he nothing discouraged herewith, ceassed not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countrie from the yoke of seruile bondage (which he beléeued would succéed by the gouernment of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chances) he attained the effect of his whole indeuors, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same fullie to passe.

The death of king Robert.

1329.

King Robert tasted both prosperous and aduerse fortune.

His fame therefore did spread hugelie, not onelie amongst

The fame of king Robert.

amongſt his owne people, but alſo amongſt ſtrangers, inſomuch that his due praiſe was not wanting, no not euen amongſt and in the midſt of his verie enimies. For (as it is ſaid) on a time it chanced that king Edward the third, ſitting at a banket amongſt his nobles, fell in talke with them of warlike enterprizes, and of ſuch notable capteins as had excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, after much reaſoning to and fro, he proponed this queſtion to the king of heralds, that as then ſtood by, commanding him to declare which were the three moſt worthie & valiant capteins that he had knowne in all his daies. The herald adviſing with himſelfe of this matter, ſtaied a ſpace, in which meane while all the companie were quiet, longing to heare his anſwere therein, both for that they knew his ſkill was ſuch as was able beſt to giue ſentence in ſuch a matter; and againe, for that manie of them thought hee would haue numbred ſome of thoſe that were there preſent amongſt thoſe three. But the herald did not onelie know all the noble men within the realme of England, but alſo all ſuch ſtrangers as had in anie wiſe excelled in Martiall proweſſe, hauing all their acts and valiant dooings in freſh memorie, and thereupon boldlie vttered his mind as followeth.

His praiſe amongſt the enimies.

A queſtion proponed to an Engliſh herald by king Edward the third.

The heralds anſwer to the queſtion.

"The firſt, moſt worthie and valiant chiefteine (ſaid he) that hath liued in theſe our daies, was Henrie the emperour: for he ſubdued three kings and three realmes, and mainteined his imperiall eſtate and proſperous felicitie to his liues end. The ſecond, was ſir Giles of Argentine, who in three ſundrie battels againſt the Saracens got the victorie, & ſlue two of their principall capteins with his owne hands. The third (if vnder your graces correction I may praiſe the enimie) I muſt iudge to be Robert Bruſe king of Scotland: whom the herald had no ſooner named, but all thoſe that were preſent, with ſcornfull laughter began to ieaſt at the heralds preſumption, for that he durſt ſo malapertlie in the kings preſence honor the enimie with ſo high praiſe. At length, at the heralds requeſt, the king commanded them to be ſtill. The herald then began againe thus: I beſeech your highneſſe (ſaid he) if I haue ought offended, to take my words in good part: for I haue beene euer of this opinion, that the truth ſhould in euerie caſe be vttered, receiued, and allowed in your preſence; namelie, where your highneſſe commandeth anie man to declare the ſame. This one thing therefore I ſhall deſire you to conſider, that if a man muſt needs be vanquiſhed, it is leſſe diſhonor to be vanquiſhed of him that is knowne for a right valiant perſonage, than of him that is but a coward. Moreouer, to ſhew plainelie vnto your grace, how much I eſteeme the valiancie of king Robert (whome I perceiue ſome here may not abide to haue numbred with the two former moſt valiant capteins) if truth might appeare, I durſt be bold to preferre him with good cauſe before them both: for the valiant acts atchiued by Henrie the emperour may be aſcribed rather to the wiſedome of his councellors, than to his owne valiantneſſe and prudence: but contrarilie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie, and deſtitute of friends and all conuenient aid, recouered the realme of Scotland, by his ſingular manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and eſtabliſhed it with ſuch tranquillitie, that he appeared more terrible to his enimies of England, than euer they had beene afore to his ſubiects of Scotland. ¶ Theſe or the like words vttered by the herald, were well allowed of the king, and ſtopped the mouths of them that toke the matter ſo ſtrangelie at the firſt."

The herald is ſcorned.

The heralds excuſe.

The heralds opinion.

The opinion of the herald concerning king Roberts valiancie.

But now to returne to the purpoſe. King Robert a little before the time of his death, called togither into the chamber where he laie, the chiefeſt peeres of his realme, and there in preſence of them all, committed vnto them the gouernment of his ſonne Dauid, a child as then not paſt ſeuen yeeres of age. He alſo aduiſed them of ſundrie things touching the rule of the realme after his deceaſe, which he perceiued was at hand. And firſt he counſelled them, that in no wiſe they ſhould at anie time make an abſolute lord ouer the Iles, becauſe the people of the ſame are of nature vnſtedfaſt, and ſone ſeduced and brought to moue rebellion againſt the king, into the which being once fallen, they are not eaſilie reduced to their due obedience againe, by reaſon their countries are of ſuch ſtrength, that they cannot be approched but by ſea, as inuironed with the ſame. Secondarilie, he aduiſed them neuer to appoint anie ſet battell with the Engliſhmen, nor to ieopard the realme vpon the chance of one field: but rather to reſiſt and keepe them off from indamaging their countrie, by often ſkirmiſhing, & cutting them off at ſtreicts & places of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be diſcomfited, they may haue ſome power yet reſerued to make new reſiſtance. Thirdlie, he forbad them in anie wiſe to make any long peace with England; for naturallie men war dull and ſlouthfull by long reſt and quietnes, ſo that after long peace, through lacke of vſe and exerciſe of armes, men are not able to ſuſteine anie great paines or trauell.

The admiſe giuen by king Robert vnto his nobles before his deceaſſe.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Engliſhmen would continue in peace no longer than there wanted opportunitie and conuenient occaſion for them to attempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it beſt, that the Scots ſhould neuer conclude anie perpetuall peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than for three or foure yeeres at the moſt. He willed them further, to conſider one thing, that when their appeared leaſt occaſion of warres with England, then they ought to be moſt circumſpect, leaſt peraduenture their enimies ſhould come at vnwares, and find them vnprouided for timelie reſiſtance. Hereunto he deſired them, that after his deceaſſe, they would chooſe ſome one of the moſt worthie capteins within the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Jeruſalem, and there to ſee it buried within the temple, before the holie ſepulchre of our Lord. For if he had not beene for a long ſpace hindered by vrgent buſineſſe of warres at home, and laſtlie preuented by death, he had vowed to haue paſſed with an armie into the holie land, in defenſe of the chriſtian faith, againſt the Turkes and Saracens.

His deſire to haue his heart borne to the holy ſepulchre.

Hereupon when he was dead, the lords by one aſſent, appointed ſir James Dowglaſſe to take this enterprize in hand, who willinglie obeied their order, as he that had euer during the life of king Robert, ſerued moſt faithfullie the bodie wherein the ſame heart was incloſed, & for this cauſe the Dowglaſſes beare the bloudie heart in their armes. * The commendations of which king Robert, Buchanan ſetteth forth (to comprehend manie things in few words) to be: that he was euerie way a moſt worthie perſon, and that there were few to be found (from the former heroicall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of vertue. For as he was in battell moſt valiant, ſo was he in peace moſt temperate & iuſt. And though his vndiuided good ſucceſſe and perpetuall courſe of victories (after that fortune was once ſatisfied or rather wearied with his misfortunes) were verie great, yet he ſeemeth to Buchanan to be farre more wonderfull in his aduerſe fortune: whoſe valure of mind was ſuch, that it could not be broken (no not ſo much as weakened) by ſo manie euils as happened vnto him at one time: whoſe ſingular conſtancie appeared by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his valiant brethren. And beſides that, his friends were

The cauſe why the Dowglaſſes beare the bloudie heart.

Fr. Thin.

There is no bodie but hath his ſhadow, no roſe but hath his pricke.

at

at one time vered with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Bruse oppressed at one time with all these kinds of euils, that he was driuen into extreame pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recouerie of the kingdome, neither did or said anie thing vnbeseeming the noble mind of a king, for he offered no violent hands to himselfe, as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marius did he pursue his enimies with continuall hatred. For when he had recouered his former estate, he so liued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembred himselfe to be a king ouer them, and not an enimie vnto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and prouided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subiects did not so much lament his death, as that they were depriued of so iust a king and godlie father.)

Hyperbolicall commendations.

Sir James Dowglasse then chosen as most worthie to passe with king Roberts heart vnto the holie land, closed the same in a case of gold, imbalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclare and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed forth till he came to the citie of Jerusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This done, he resorted with such number as he had brought thither with him, vnto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turks, and there in companie with them, he did so noble seruice against the common enimies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honor to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he tooke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was driuen on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granado, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon, readie to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The valiancie of James Dowglasse shewd against the Turkes.

James Dowglas commeth on land in Spaine.

The Dowglasse, to make his manhood and prowesse the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue vnder him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enimies, with prosperous successe, till at length hauing too much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought so manie noble men to their deaths) hee waxed negligent, and tooke small regard of dangers that might insue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enimies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglasse, one of the most valiant knights that liued in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 57 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turkes, at it is written at length (saith Bellenden) in Scotichronicon. He might haue beene right necessarie for the defense of Scotland, if his chance had beene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the yere of Grace 1330.

James Dowglas slaine by the Saracens in Spaine.

How often James Dowglasse had got the victorie.

1330.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, yee shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne Dauid, a child scarse seuen yeeres of age, was proclamed king, and afterwards crowned at Scone, the 23 day of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minoritie, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernor of the realme, who for the space of foure yeeres in the latter end of K. Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sickenesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernor by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recouered their hinderance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addressed therefore certeine ambassadors immediatlie after the death of king Robert, vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadours found the king of England easie inough to be intreated for the grant of their suit, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of three yeeres.

Dauid.

1331.

Earle Thomas Randall gouernor of Scotland.

Ambassadors sent into England.

A truce for three yeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be prouided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrie, if necessitie so required. [Wherefore when he was going to Wictone (a towne in Galloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strong assemblie of theeues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: whervpon sending forth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saieng, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Moreouer, for the better prose of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bridles, with all other such instruments and stuffe as perteined to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stollen or taken awaie, the shiriffe of the shire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finallie, such punishment was exercised against theeues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than euer it was in anie kings daies before. Manie insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his seuere chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might bee cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their liuings. By this meanes he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slouthfull roges and vagabunds.

A meane to haue iustice executed.

Punishment of theeues.

A laudable ordinance against vagarant persons.

It is said, that during the time whilest such strict punishment was exercised against offendors, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorised and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrie, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the shiriffe: neuertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search and

and triall, who had the plow irons, that finallie the truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie falſehood the partie giltie was hanged, as he had well deſerued. The gouernor himſelfe, for that he ſaw how hard it was to reduce them that had beene brought vp in ſlouthfull loitering, vnto honeſt exerciſe, held euer about him a gard of warlike perſons, that hee might the more eaſilie oppreſſe all ſtubborne offendors, which would not ſubmit themſelues to his commandements. Thoſe that appeared before him, vpon ſummons giuen, had fauourable iuſtice, tempered with much mercie miniſtred vnto them.

Vpright iuſtice.

Iuſtice tempered with mercie.

Others that refuſed to obeie, were purſued with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it happened on a time at Haddington, where threeſcore euill and naughtie diſpoſed perſons being gathered togither, robbed and ſpoiled the people on each ſide: and for that they regarded not, but rather miſuſed a purſeuant, whom he ſent vnto them, they were all taken incontinentlie by his foreſaid gard, which followed the ſaid purſeuant at the heeles, and without reſpit hanged them vp on gibbets to giue example to others. Thorough ſuch rigorous iuſtice, no rebellion was heard of within the realme of Scotland manie yeres after, ſo that ſuch tranquillitie folowed, that not onelie theeues and loitering lubbers were daunted, but the realme alſo aduanced in wealth and riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enimies thereof. King Edward aduertiſed of this great felicitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began to enuie the ſame, and imagined with himſelfe, that if earle Thomas, the author of the ſame felicitie were diſpatched out of the way, it ſhould not onelie impeach the proceeding of ſo great wealth to the Scots, but alſo make for the ſuertie of the realme of England: for the ſingular manhood and high proweſſe of this earle was by him and other his nobles ſore ſuſpected.

Stubborne rebels sharpelie punished.

K. Edward enuieth the felicitie of the Scots.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by ſleight, which might not be done by force, that afterwards the realme of Scotland might be the more infeebled, and as it were made open to receiue diſpleaſure at his hands. For king Dauid was yong, and manie of his nobles bare ſmall good will either towards him, or his houſe, for the ſlaughter of their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement. Hereupon he deuiſed, which way he might beſt deſtroie earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his imagined hope, as to atchiue anie luckie enterpriſe againſt the Scots. At length he deuiſed to diſpatch him by poiſon: and after he had long debated by whome he might worke that feat: finallie he found none ſo fit for his purpoſe, as a monke of the order and facultie of thoſe, that wandering from place to place, can with diſſembling viſage ſay that thing with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order, put no difference betwixt ſhame and honeſtie, cloking their erecrable wickednelle vnder the feined ſhadow of their hypocriticall cowles.

K. Edwards purpoſe to deſtroie earle Thomas (as the Scots do write.) But this is a kind of practiſe amongſt men to forge ſlanderous reports to bring princes in contempt.

This monke, fullie inſtructed in that wherabout he was ſent, came into Scotland, and feining himſelfe to be a phyſician, got credit within a while amongſt the people, to be a man of moſt excellent knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that being made priuie to the matter, ſet forth his cunning and practiſe to the vttermoſt, declaring what notable and moſt deſperat cures he had taken in hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the ſame, where all other had quite giuen them ouer: namelie he brated it abroad, that for healing of the ſtone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all chriſtendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures which he had ſhewed vpon ſundrie noble men, both in England and France. This he ſpake, for that it was knowne, how the lord gouernor was ſore vexed with that diſeaſe, hoping by this meanes to haue him in cure, that he might thereby the more eaſilie worke his diueliſh enterpriſe.

A monke ſent into Scotlād to poiſon the gouernor. The fittеſt inſtrument to bring ſuch a thing to paſſe.

And euen according to his deſire it came to paſſe: for being taken for ſuch a man as he was named to be, he was ſent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handeled the matter ſo with words, that the gouernour was contented he ſhould take him in hand, which he did with ſuch wicked intention, that perſuading him to keepe ſuch diet as he preſcribed, and herewith to take ſuch ſirrups & other things as he would giue him, at length he moſt traitorouſlie poiſoned him in deed. The venem was of ſuch mixture, as would not ſlea him out of hand, but by little and little waſte his entrails, that the monke might haue leaſure to eſcape home into England, ere it were perceiued what he had done. He therefore after he had miniſtred his wicked poiſon, found meanes to conueie himſelfe out of the waie, and returned moſt ſpeedilie into England, informing king Edward how he had delt. The gouernor feeling himſelfe tormented dailie worſe and worſe in his ſtomach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he began to doubt the matter, and ſhortlie after learned by phyſicians that he was poiſoned, and that the venem had taken ſuch hold within his bowels, that it was not poſſible to remoue it.

The gouernor is poiſoned.

The monke fleeth.

In the meane time was king Edward come with an armie to the borders, purpoſing to inuade Scotland, for that he thought how the gouernour was either dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he ſhould find occaſion to atchiue ſome enterpriſe, highlie to his aduantage. But the gouernour aduertiſed hereof, raiſed a power, and though he were not able either to ride or go, yet he cauſed himſelfe to be caried forth in an horſelitter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour was comming towards him with an armie, & that himſelfe in perſon quite contrarie to his expectation, he ſent an herald vnto him for meane of communication of ſome peace, as was outwardlie pretended, though nothing elſe was ment but that he ſhould eſpie how all things in the Scotiſh campe ſtood. The gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arraied himſelfe in his beſt apparell, that it might appeere he was rather recouered of his infirmitie, than otherwiſe weake and feeble thorough his diſeaſe, and then cauſing the herald to be brought before him, where he was ſet in a chaire, to heare what his meſſage was, which conſiſting in certeine demands not greatlie agreeable to reaſon, the gouernour with bold countenance anſwered, that he truſted within ſhort time to make it knowne, what right the Engliſhmen had to moue ſuch vnreaſonable requeſts, and thus diſpatching the herald, he gaue him all ſuch gorgeous and rich apparell as he ware at the ſame time when he thus talked with him.

K. Edward his purpoſe to inuade Scotland.

The gouernour in an horſelitter is caried forth to incounter the Engliſhmen.

An herald ſent to the gouernour.

The gouernours anſwer to the herald.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not perceiuing otherwiſe by his report, but that the gouernor was in health, he returned immediatlie with his armie into England, and licencing euerie man to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and as one that had diſſembled with his prince (for ſo he tooke it) cauſed him to be burnt for his vntruth. Thus was the wretch righteouſlie recompenſed, as he had moſt iuſtlie deſerued. In the meane time, the gouernour returning homewards, through force of the venem ſtill increaſing, deceaſſed at Muſcleburgh, and was buried at Dunfirmling, in the yeere of our redemption 1331. [He left behind him two ſonnes,

The monke is burnt.

Fr. Thin: Buchanan. 1331.

Thomas and John, worthie ſuch a father, they being perſons of great valure, and friends to their natiue countrie.]

Two gouernours choſen to rule Scotland.

After his deceaſſe, by common conſent of the three eſtates of the realme in councell aſſembled, Patrike earle of March, and Dauid earle of Mar were choſen gouernors, the firſt (that is to ſay, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the ſouth ſide of the Forth, and the other (that is to ſay, the earle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north ſide. Shortlie after roſe great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Baliol, the ſon of John Baliol before remembred, as thus:

Twinam Lorison.

It chanced there was one Twinam Lorison, a gentleman borne, but ſpotted with vile conditions, as adulterie, and diuerſe other, for the which being put vnder cenſures of the church by the officiall of Glaſcow: he tooke at length the ſame officiall as he was going towards the towne of Aire, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paied two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long vnpuniſhed: for ſir James Dowglaſſe, before his paſſage to the holie land, would not ſuffer him to reſt, till he had conſtreined him to flee into England for his more ſafegard.

Scotiſh lords baniſhed into England.

At his comming into England, he met with Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, and manie other Scotiſhmen, which were baniſhed in times paſt by king Robert, for that they aſſiſted the king of England againſt him. Theſe perſons being driuen out of the realme, and confederat altogither in one band, remained in England long time after, euer truſting to ſee ſome occaſion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne natiue countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceaſſed, this Twinam Lorison in name of them all was ſent ouer into France to perſuade Edward Baliol to attempt the recouerie of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and deſcended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Baliol had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pithie perſuaſions of the earneſt meſſenger, declaring how eaſie a matter it were for him to atchiue, conſidering the aid which he ſhould haue in England, both at the kings hands, and alſo by the Scotiſhmen which remained there in exile, by whoſe meanes he might aſſure himſelfe of ſupport inough within Scotland it ſelfe, after he was once entered: finallie he concluded to paſſe ouer into England, to proue what purchaſe he might make there.

Twinam Lorison ſent vnto Edward Baliol.

Edward Baliol commeth into England

At his comming thither, he made ſute to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarell towards the atteining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to paſſe with proſperous ſucceſſe, he promiſed to hold the ſame of him and his ſucceſſors as ſuperior lords thereof. King Edward gladlie vpon that condition, condeſcended to his requeſt, notwithſtanding the aliance contracted with king Dauid, by the mariage of him with his ſiſter. Herewith he appointed forth ſir thouſand men well apparelled and araied for the warre, to paſſe by ſea with the Baliol, and other the confederats into Scotland, truſting that vpon their arriuall there, they ſhould find no ſmall number of friends to aſſiſt them. For beſide the Baliol, there was the lord Henrie Beaumount a Frenchman, who had maried the earle of Buchquhanes daughter and heire: alſo the earles of Atholl & Angus [the lords Perſie and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferres, John Mowbrate] & other Scotiſh lords ſuch as were baniſhed Scotland, when K. Robert le Bruſe recouered it out of the Engliſhmens hands. Theſe were appointed to go with the Baliol to aſſiſt him in that enterprize: and likewiſe the lord Stafford, and diuerſe other Engliſh capteins, wherevpon when all their prouiſion was once readie, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a ſhipbord, and ſailing forth by the coaſt till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land neere the towne of Kingorne, and ſhortlie after, incountring with Alexander Seiton, they ſlue him, and put his ſolkes to flight.

The Engliſh writers ſpeak but of two thouſand, or 2500. at the moſt.
Ri. Southwell.

Fr. Thin.

Edward Baliol landeth in Scotland.

Alexander Seiton is ſlaine.

Baliol verie ioifull of this happie ſucceſſe, came with his people to Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, whereof the earles of Mar and March being aduertiſed, they raiſed two mightie armies, and haſted toward the enimies, not as though they ſhould haue to doo with men of warre, but to chaſtiſe a number of theeues and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioine both togither in Stratherne, that they might iointlie ſet vpon their enimies both at once. The Baliol ſeeing the matter brought ſo farforth, that no feare of death nor ſtarting-hole by flight might auaile him, boldlie came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Duplin neere to the water of Erne, truſting that if his armie would ſtand to it, and fight with manlike conſtancie, he ſhould weild his enimies well inough, notwithſtanding their huge number. The ſame night came the earle of Mar with his power, and incamped with the ſame within ſight of the Engliſh armie, but the earle of March lodged about fiue miles from thence, at Dthirardour.

Edward Baliol at Duplin.

The earles of Mar and March gather their people.

The Scots that were with the earle of Mar, hauing knowledge of the ſmall number of their enimies, made no accounts of them, ſo that they neither tooke heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defenſe of themſelues, but fell to ſinging, danſing, reuelling, and drinking, in moſt diſſolute manner. The Baliol taking occaſion hereof, determined to aſſaile them the ſame night in their campe; and thereupon cauſing his people to make them readie to accompliſh that enterprize, in the dead of the night he iſſued forth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, paſſeth the ſame by the ford, where one Andrew Murrey of Tullibard had pight a ſtake of ſet purpoſe, in midſt of the ſtreame, to ſhew them the waie. Thus hauing got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noiſe or din, ſo ſecretlie as might be deuiſed, he entered the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of Mar, the Scots generall, before he was once deſcried. Heere at the firſt was the earle himſelfe ſlaine, lieng faſt aſleepe in his bed, after with huge noiſe they ſet vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then buried in ſleepe without all defenſe. And thereupon followed ſo cruell ſlaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes readie to die, welteriug togither in their owne bloud. And if it had not beene that Edward Baliol had cauſed ech of his men to wrap a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the night) his friend from his foe.

The negligence of the Scots.

The earle of Mar is ſlaine in his bed.

Sée more hereof in England.

The Engliſhmen were ſo earneſtlie bent to the ſlaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the bloud and murder of them, ſo that they ſaued none whome they might ouertake. There were ſlaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thouſand, beſide innumerable of the commons. A certeine number of the Scots that eſcaped out of the place, cloſed themſelues togither, and in purpoſe to be reuenged on the Engliſhmen for the death of their fellowes, returned vpon them againe, and were ſlaine themſelues euerie mothers ſonne. The chiefeſt nobles that were ſlaine at this battell, were theſe,

The great ſlaughter of Scots.

Thirteene thouſand ſaith Ric. Southwell.

The earle of Mar was not ſlaine in the night as before ye haue heard, but

now in the morow following as ſaith Southwell. Noble men ſlaine at Duplin.

theſe, the earle of Mar generall of the armie, Robert Bruſe earle of Carrike, Alexander Fraſeir knight, William Hay conſtable of Scotland, with all his linage ſo wholie, that had not his wife as then being great bellied, beene afterwards deliuered of a ſonne, all his ſurname had béene vtterlie extinguiſhed. [Whereupon ſaith Buchan. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruſe, William Seintclere biſhop of Dunkeld, and Doncan Makduffe deſpairing of good ſucceſſe, ſware fealtie to Balioll.] There were ſlaine also Robert Keith marſhall of the realme, with manie of his ſurname, Dauid Lindſeie of Glenneſke, Alexander Beiton, George Dunbar, Robert Strathaquhen, Thomas Haliburton, and John Skrimgeour knights, with manie other ouerlong to rehearſe. The earle of Fife & a few other were taken.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Fife taken.

This battell was fought on the thirteenth day of Auguſt, in the yeare 1332. After that Edward Balioll had atchiued this victorie thus at Duplin, he went ſtraightwaies vnto Perth (otherwiſe called ſaint Johns towne) and giuing aſſalt thereto, quickelie entered it by force, without anie great reſiſtance. The earle of March that lodged (as is ſaid) the ſame night that the battell was fought, not paſt fiue miles off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and towne, came with his people arraied in good and perfect order vnto Perth aforeſaid, to beſiege the Engliſhmen with Edward Balioll and other as then within it. But hauing lien there a certeine ſpace, and filled the ditches in the meane time to ſuch aduantage, that it was thought if he had giuen the aſſalt, he muſt néeds haue entered, he ſuddenlie raiſed from thence, and departed, to the vnſpeakeable damage (as was thought) of the whole Scotiſh nation. The ſiege being thus raiſed, there came dailie great numbers of nobles and commons to the Balioll, offering him their aid and ſeruice as his loiall ſubiects, towards the atteining of his right to the crowne.

1332. H. B.

Perth woone by the Balioll

Perth beſieged by the erle of March

He raiſeth his ſiege.

HEreupon, perceiuing his power ſufficientlie increaſed, and receiuing the othes of the earle of Fife, and William de Seintclere biſhop of Dunkeld, he went accompanied with them and a great number of other, vnto Scone, where he was crowned the 24 day of September, in the yeare laſt before remembred, and receiued there the ſame time the homages and fealties of a great companie of nobles & gentlemen, at that ſolemne feaſt there aſſembled. King Dauid being not paſt nine yeares of age, to auoid all dangers in that troubleſome time, as deſtitute of ſuccors, by aduiſe of his councell, was conueied ouer into France with quéene Jane his wife, ſiſter to Edward king of England, and was moſt friendlie receiued by Philip king of France the ſirt of that name, ſo that they remained there with him for the ſpace of nine yeares. And in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remained at the deuotion of king Dauid, vnderſtanding that K. Edward le Balioll ſoiourned within the towne of Perth, otherwiſe called ſaint Johns towne, which ſtandeth almoſt in the middle part of the realme, and was at that preſent not cloſed with anie wall, or rampire, they raiſed their powers, and beſieged him within the ſame towne, he hauing as then no great companie about him.

Edward Balioll crowned king of Scotland, not the 24 of September, but the fourth of October, as Ri. Southwell ſaith.

King Dauid is conueied ouer into France.

Ri. Southwell.

Saint Johns towne beſieged.

Whereof when they of Galloway had aduertiſement, becauſe the king was their ſpeciall lord and chiefe gouernor, they aſſembled togither vnder the conduct of the lord Euſtace de Pakeſwell, and inuaded the lands of thoſe Scotiſhmen that had thus beſieged their lord king Edward Balioll, and by that means conſtreined the aduerſaries to leuie their ſiege. Whereupon earle Patrike and the new earle of Murrey, with the lord Andrew de Murrey, and the lord Archembald Dowglaſſe, with an armie aſſembled in all ſpéd, entered into Galloway, doing all the miſchiefe they could deuiſe, with fire & ſword, taking & bringing away from thence a great number of cattell and other goods; but they ſlue no great number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawen out of the way for feare of this terrible inuaſion. Thus did the Scots in that part of the realme ſpoile & harrie each others countries.

Galloway inuaded.

In the meane time, king Edward le Balioll fortified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of Fife to the kéeping thereof, whileſt he with an armie paſſed into the countrie; but before he returned, his aduerſaries (that is to ſay) the ſonnes of them that had béene ſlaine at the battell of Duplin, Robert Keith, Alexander Lindſeie, James and Simon Fraſeir wan S. Johns towne in the third moneth, after they had laid ſiege thereto, as Hector Boetius ſaith. But whither that is to be intended after the firſt beſieging thereof, or now after their laſt comming thither, I can not affirme; but as the ſame Boetius writeth, now when the towne was woone, the earle of Fife, and Andrew Murrey of Tullibard, were taken, with other of their complices. The earle with his wife and children were ſent to the caſtell of Kildrummie, there to remaine vnder ſafe kéeping; but Andrew Murrey for his treaſon afore committed, was beheadded. The towne being thus woone, was deliuered to the kéeping of John Lindſeie. But Buchan. out of an other author ſuppoſeth that it was not committed to the cuſtodie of anie; but that the walls were pulled downe to the ground. The gaining of this towne put the Scots in hope of more proſperitie to ſuccéed.

Saint Johns towne fortified.

Saint Johns towne woone.

And thereupon John Randoll the earle of Murrey, ſonne to earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Dowglaſſe lord of Galloway, the brother of James Dowglaſſe latelie ſlaine (as before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fraſeir and others, gathered a great armie, and came with the ſame [and William Dowglaſſe lord of Liddeſdale to Mauket] againſt the Balioll, who being aduertiſed thereof, met them in Annandale, where incountring togither, after cruell fight & great ſlaughter on both parts, at length Baliols part was put to the worſt, ſo that he himſelfe was glad to flée, hauing got an horſſe without a bridle, and reſted not till he came to Roxburgh, or rather to Carleill, as Richard Southwell ſaith. In this battell were ſlaine ſir Henrie Balioll, a man of great valiancie, ſir John Mowbraie, Walter Cumin, and Richard Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruſe earle of Carrike, and the lord of Galloway were taken priſoners, and ſaued by the helpe of the earle of Murrey, for that they had ſubmitted themſelues to the Balioll but latelie before. Shortlie after the atchiuing of this victorie, Andrew Murrey a man of great puiſſance and poſſeſſions was choſen to be gouernor, as colleage and aſſociat with the earle of March. Theſe two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was minded to inuade Scotland with a maine armie, ſent ſir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen vnto Berwike for defenſe of that towne and caſtell; [Alexander (as ſaith Buchan.) being capteine of the towne, and Patrike Dunbar capteine of the caſtle and borders aioining.] Shortlie after, the new gouernor Andrew Murrey was taken priſoner at Roxburgh, by reaſon that hauing put his enimies to flight in a ſkirmiſh which he made with them at the bridge without the caſtell, he purſued ouer raſhlie in the chaſe, and was incloſed amongſt them, and ſo taken yet he might be reſcued. [At which time alſo William Dowglaſſe lord of Liddeſdale was ſent to Annandale, to defend the weſt marches.] There

The battell diſcomfited and put to flight in Annandale.

Andrew Murrey choſen fellow gouernor with the earle of March.

Andrew Murrey the new gouernor is taken priſoner.

Ri. Southwell. Crab, a pirat taken.

was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countriemen would not ransome him, but to his further griefe had slaine his sonne within Berwike, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

William Dowglasse of Liddesdale taken prisoner.

About the same time William Dowglasse of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, The flower of chiualrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were deteined in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglasse was sonne to sir James Dowglasse, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance sworne and promised to king Dauid:

Edward king of England purposeth to subdue the Scots.

Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and herevpon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whome he reteined out of Normandie, Aniou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yéeld themselues to the Balioll. The Scots perceiuing themselues thus ouerset with enimies on each side, sent John Randoll earle of Murrey into France vnto king Dauid, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the force of the enimies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwike both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfullie that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie issues and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were atchiued with variable fortune.

The earle of Murrey is sent into France.

Berwike is besieged.

Buchanan.

William Seiton bastard sonne to the capteine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bastard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittels, the capteine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilest things passed thus at Berwike, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archembald Dowglasse to be gouernor in place of Andrew Murrey. This Archembald Dowglasse raising a mightie armie of Scotishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withdraw king Edward from the siege of Berwike to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised an other shift; for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capteine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that vnlesse he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton capteine of Berwike.

Archembald Dowglasse chosen gouernor in place of Andrew Murrey.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the couenants, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his aduantage: but king Edward (as saith the Scotish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respit. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pitifull sight, and weieng with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes moued him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie with faith promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had ouercome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enimies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonor should redound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorouslie deliuered into the enimies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honor and renowme of faithfull & lotall subiects. Againe they were yong inough to beget and bring forth new children, where they should be neuer able to recouer honor once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enimies hands, they should séeme to betraie their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and souereigne.

Sir Alexan. Seiton in doubt what to do.

The manlie stomach of Alexander Seitons wife.

With such & manie other the like words, this noble & worthie ladie persuaded hir husband to refraine his inward griefe, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chéere vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honor or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honor, for the righteous quarell of their countrie: [at what time K. Edward remoued his campe to Halidon hill.] Archembald Dowglasse the gouernor, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from K. Edwards armie, fullie resolued to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwike from further danger of the enimies force.

Sir Alexander Seitons sonnes executed. Fr. Thin.

Archembald Dowglas purposeth to giue battell.

Yet were there sundrie prudent councellors in the Scotish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enimies at that present, considering the huge number of practised souldiers which they had amongest them, and the want of skilfull warriours on his side, hauing few with him saue yongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, for that they had beene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselues with meat, drinke, and sléepe for that night, and to prouide themselues readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arraied his people in order of battell. The vauntgard was gi-

uen

The appointing of the Scotiſh battels.

uen to Hugh, lord Roſſe, hauing with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and John Fraſeir, and John Purrey lieutenant to the earle of Purrey, who as then was ſore tormented with a grieuous maladie or ſickneſſe. The ſecond battell was committed to the gouernance of Alexander Lindſeie, with whome were ioined Alexander Gordon, Reinold Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the gouernor himſelfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the ſons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

The policie of the Engliſh men.

On the other part, the Engliſhmen were nothing ſlow to come forward to incounter the Scots, but at the firſt to take the vantage of the ground, they gaue ſomewhat backe, withdrawing to the ſide of an hill, which they hauing once got, boldlie turned themſelues to the Scots that purſued them ouer raſhlie, in hope that the victorie had béene alreadie theirs: but being here fiercelie receiued by the Engliſhmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each ſide, though they inforced themſelues with all their might to be reuenged both for old and new iniuries which they had receiued, and ſo ſlue no ſmall number of the enimies; yet in the end was the Scotiſh armie put to flight, and more ſlaughter made in the chaſe, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Engliſhmen making forwards to get before the Scots, ſo ſtopped their paſſage, that they were ſlaine miſerablie on each ſide, as they had bene incloſed within a toile or deere-ſtall. There were but few in number that were taken priſoners, thoſe on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a ſmall number which were kept ſecret by ſome of the Engliſhmen for profit of their ranſome. There were ſlaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtéene thouſand men, amongeſt whome were theſe as principall: Archembald Dowglas the gouernour, John Steward, James Steward, and Alane Steward, the ſonnes of Walter Steward; the earle of Roſſe, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bruſe earle of Carrike, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraſeir. This battell was fought on Magdalen day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

The Scotiſh armie put to flight.

The great ſlaughter of Scots.

The number of Scots ſlaine at Hallidon hill.

1333. H.B. Buchanan.

*Ferias.

¶ That this number and therewith manie mo do abound by one yeare, Wil. Hariſon doth gather togither by the *feries, becauſe Adam Meremouth ſaith, that Magdalen day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tueſday, Berwike was ſurrendered. But for ſo much as the ſame Meremouth maie be perhaps deceiued, or miſtaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margent the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, ſpeciallie in this place, the rather becauſe he agréeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our Engliſh writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the ſame Boetius ſaith, that it was fought on Magdalen day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Walſ. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the nintéenth of Julie being ſaint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was ſtriken, is called Hallidon hill.

Immediatlie vpon this ouerthrow of the Scotiſh power, Alexander Seiton and Patrike Dunbar capteins of Berwike, deſpairing of all ſupport, yéelded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goods ſaued, and to become ſubiects to king Edward. Herevpon, when they had receiued their oths, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build vp againe the caſtell of Dunbar vpon his owne coſts and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he ſaw he was not able to defend it againſt the Engliſh power comming toward him. K. Edward accompliſhing his deſire, returned backe into England, leauing behind him with the Balioll, manie great lords of England (amongſt whome for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that vſing the aduiſe and counſell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as ſhould be thought expedient. Edward Balioll herevpon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garriſons of Engliſhmen in moſt part of all the ſtrengths and caſtels of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, fiue of them onelie excepted, which were kept by ſuch Scotiſhmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promiſed to king Dauid. For Dunbreton was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumirnald, Lochleuin by Alane of Lepont, the caſtell of Kildrummie by Chriſtine Bruſe, and Urquhart by Robert Lauder, the pile of Loudopin, a ſtrong thing of ſo ſmall a compaſſe, was in the keeping of one John Thomſon [who were ſupported with monie by Philip the French king] Theſe capteins would by no means neither yéeld themſelues nor their fortreſſes to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the vttermoſt for the behoſe of their ſouereigne lord and maiſter king Dauid.

Richard Talbot.

All the fortreſſes of Scotland in Baliols hands, fiue onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cauſe the Engliſhmen to ſurceaſſe from further vexing the Scots, by their cruell inuaſions made into their countrie: but when the popes ambaſſadors came about this matter into England, they were ſo little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that meſſage, and ſo were they glad to returne without doing anie thing in the matter whereabout they were ſent. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promiſing there by ſolemne oths, neuer to remoue anie rebellion againſt him in times to come. In the meane time roſe great altercation betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Mowbray for certeine lands in Buchquhane [which Edward the firſt had giuen John Mowbray, brother of this Alexander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed thoſe lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the ſaid Alexander, but the Mowbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

The popes ambaſſadors not regarded.

A parlement at Perth.

Strife betwixt Mowbray & Beaumont. Fr. Thin.

After long contention, Mowbray had the lands adiudged to him by ſentence of the Balioll, by reaſon whereof, Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, fauouring the cauſe of Henrie Beaumont, began to practiſe ſuch conſpiracies againſt the Balioll, that to auoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former ſentence by him giuen on the behalfe of Alexander Mowbray, and by new ſentence adiudged the lands vnto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had maried the inheritor thereof, which ſentence he was conſtreined to change (ſaith Buchanan) by this means. *Balioll (fauouring Alexander) and hauing adiudged the matter on his ſide, ſo offended the minds of the aduerſaries, that they feared not openlie to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceiued that they nothing profited therein by their ſpeeches, they all departed from the court to their owne poſſeſſions, of which faction Talbot, whileſt he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbreton: Beaumont doth ſtrengthen Dungard a ſtrong caſtell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but alſo the whole countrie adioining, to be ſubiect to his gouernement. Cumin (returning to the part of Dauid Bruſe) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and fenſing the places of ſtrength thereabouts, armeth himſelfe to withſtand all force,

1334. Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior.

The towne of Berwike yéelded to K. Edward on S. Margarets day, as Ri. Southwell. ſaith.

ſtrante be prepared againſt him. Balioll fearing the conſpiracie of theſe great men, changeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (wherof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cumin vnto him, by the gift of many rich poſſeſſions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which ſhortlie after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puiſſance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuerſie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was alſo driuen to that extremitie, that he muſt haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enimies. For now Alexander, ſtroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be reuoked) forſaking the Balioll, ioined him ſelfe with Andrew Murrey gouernor of Scotland (for Dauid Bruſe) hauing a little before ranſomed himſelfe, with a great maſſe of monie out of the Engliſhmens hands. Theſe things (although done at ſeuerall times) we haue ioined togither, leaſt by often repeating of them in other places, the courſe of the hiſtorie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murrey beſieged Beaumont in the caſtell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he ſurrendered the ſame, vpon condition that he might freelie repaire into England: at what time alſo Richard Talbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of Iohn Cumin of Scotland (for now manie Engliſh nobles poſſeſſed great reuenues in Scotland by mariages) hearing of theſe newes, that Balioll was forſaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes.

1334. Scala chron.

Scala chron. Iohn Maior.

¶ This yeere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grieuouſlie wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetouſnes, to haue robbed him of ſuch monie as K. Edward had liberallie beſtowed vpon him.)

Scala chron.

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Rainfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obeiſance, had the keies of the caſtell of Rothſaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by ſir Alane Lile ſhiriffe of Bute [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the caſtell of Rothſaie, hauing before made him ſhiriffe.] Thus did the Balioll increaſe in puiſſance, by ſuch confluence of people as dailie ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, & he inriched them liberallie with lands and goods ſtill as they came to him, thereby to win there good wils. He ſought by all meanes poſſible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the perſon whome he knew to haue moſt right, next vnto king Dauid to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foreſight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of fifteene yeeres, was conueied [with bote and horſſe, by the helpe of William Hariot and Iohn Gilbert] to the caſtell of Dunbreton, where he was ioifullie receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capteine.

The caſtels of Rothſaie and Dunnone deliuered to the Balioll. Fr. Thin.

Robert Steward.

Fr. Thin.

The Balioll being ſore offended, that ſuch caſtels as were kept by his enimies, were ſo great an impediment to his interprizes, by ſuccouring and relieuing his aduerſaries to make warres againſt him, he got togither an armie, and the next yeere laid ſiege to the caſtell of Lochleuin: but perceiuing that this caſtell might not be woone without long ſiege, he appointed ſir Iohn Striueling to continue the ſiege with a great power of men, vntill the caſtell were yeelded. There were left alſo with him, Michaell Hariot, Dauid Wemis, and Richard Paleuill, with diuerſe other. Theſe capteins adviſing the place and ſite of the caſtell, lodged themſelues within the churchyard of ſaint Serfe, beſide Kinroſſe, making baſtiles and other defenſes within the ſame, for their more ſafegard. Within the caſtell were two valiant capteins to defend it, the one named Alane Uepont and Iames Lambie, citizens of ſaint Andrews.

Lochleuin beſieged.

Alane Uepõt and Iames Lambie capteins of Lochleuin.

The enimies aſſaied all the meanes that might be deuiſed to haue woone this caſtell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuiſed a ſubtill ſleight, whereby to compaſſe their intent, on this wiſe. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it iſſueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & ſtones, that the water being ſo kept in, might riſe to ſuch an height, that it ſhould ouerflow the caſtell, and ſo drowne all the people within it. And to cauſe the Loch to ſwell more ſpeedilie, they turned the courſe of diuerſe riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the ſame Loch. It chanced at the ſame time, that ſir Iohn Striueling capteine of the ſiege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfirmling for deuotion ſake, to viſit the ſhrine of ſaint Margaret, ſometime quéene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Uepont then capteine of the caſtell, hauing vnderſtanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine ſouldiers with him, rowed forth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with ſuch engins as he had deuiſed for the purpoſe, aſſaied to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept vp the water, which when they had brought to paſſe, they returned quickelie againe to the caſtell.

A deuiſe to drowne the caſtell.

The water hauing once gotten an iſſue, within a while ware the hole ſo large, that entering with more violence, it finallie brake downe the banke, and ruſhed forth with ſuch an huge ſtreame, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning vp the baſtils and tents of them that lay at ſiege there, and caried the ſame with men and all downe into the deepe ſea, they were ſo ſuddenlie taken, yer they could make anie ſhift to eſcape. Alane Uepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, iſſued forth of the caſtell, & ſetting vpon thoſe that had eſcaped the danger of the water, ſlue part of them, and put the remnant to flight. Iohn Striueling hearing the miſchiefe that had happened to his folks, returned to the ſiege, and made a vow neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the caſtell, and ſlaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and ſaw it was not poſſible to win that fortreſſe, he was conſtreined to raiſe his ſiege, and to go his waies, after he had loſt thereat no ſmall number of his people. This ſiege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent ſeaſon, in the yeere 1335.

The baſtiles and tents of them that lay at ſiege drowned.

1335.

In the yeere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by ſea and land, to enter into Scotland. He ſent by ſea 70 ſhips well and ſufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a ſore tempeſt manie of thoſe veſſels periſhed betwixt Inchketh and the North land. He himſelfe hauing the Balioll in his companie, with fiftie thouſand men, came by land vnto Glaſcow, and perceiuing there was little for him to do, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl gouernor in his rome, to ſubdue the reſidue of the rebels, and to win thoſe ſtrengths, which as yet were defended againſt him. Dauid Cumin left thus to be gouernor in Scotland, toke vpon him the rule in name both of the king of England, and alſo of the Balioll, and ſeized into his hands all thoſe lands in Murrey and Buchquhane, which perteined to Robert Steward, confiſcating all the goods of ſuch the inhabitants, as would not be ſworne vnto him. [Who notwithſtanding that hee was of ſuch great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great poſſeſſions of his

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland both by ſea and land.

Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl gouernor of the Balioll in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

his owne, would yet neuer vſurpe anie ſuperioritie to him himſelfe in ſtile, but paſſed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Baliol king of Scots. At what time none would publikelie profeſſe him a ſubiect to Dauid Bruſe, but botes, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, Dauid Bruſe.]

Incontinentlie heerevpon, Robert Steward aſſembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhow, and ſuddenlie tooke the caſtell of Dunnone, ſleaing all the Engliſhmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as ſaith Iohn Maior) came with 400 men, and by the teſtimonie of Buch. was a man of great power in Argile.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this proſperous beginning, aſſembled togither to the number of foure hundred perſons, and ſet forward, that they might come to ſupport Robert Steward in ſuch his late begun enterpriſes: and being incountered by the waie by Alane Lile ſhiriffe of Bute, they laid ſo luſtilie about them, that they ſlue the ſhiriffe, [with Iohn Gilbert capteine of the caſtle of Bute] there in the field, & diſcomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. Theſe people of Bute, (called the ſeruants of Bawdanus) ſeeing ſuch ſtirs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of ſtones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the ſhiriffe, they in the end killed him with ſtones, and put the reſt to flight.] Diuerſe of them taken priſoners, were brought awaie, and preſented vnto Robert Steward, who in recompenſe of this ſeruice, granted ſundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from paieng tribute for their corne and graine. Such felicities ſucceeding one another, cauſed manie of the Scots to ſoine themſelues with Robert Steward, in hope to recouer the realme out of the Engliſh mens hands. Amongſt other, Thomas Bruſe earle of Carrike, and William Canther [whome Iohn Maior calleth Carucher, & Buchanan Carruder of Annandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

The ſhiriffe of Bute ſlaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. Iohn Maior.

A releaſement of tribute.

Fr. Thin.

About the ſame time, the earle of Murrey returned forth of France, and landed at Donbriton, where he was moſt ioifullie receiued by the ſaid Robert Steward. Shortlie after the ſaid Steward, and the ſaid earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and alies [as Godfrie Roſſe, and others] came into Clidesdale, Kanfrew, Kile, Cunningham and Aire, which togither with Ros and Murrey, they reduced to the obeiſance of king Dauid. [At which time (as ſaith Buchanan) did Kanfraie come to his old lords the Stewards.] The earle of Murrey alſo, to reuenge the iniuries done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberden, and there learning where he ſoiorned, made thither with all ſpeed: but the earle of Atholl vnderſtanding how all the countrie tooke part with his aduerſaries, fled into the mounteins, where he ſuſteined his life with hearbs and roots for a time, and durſt not come forth to ſhew his head. At length, when he ſaw no waie to eſcape, he came forth and in moſt humble wiſe ſubmitted himſelfe to the lords that defended the part of king Dauid. They receiuing him vpon his ſubmiſſion, ſware him to be true vnto king Dauid, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king Dauid, as he had beene afore to ſubdue them to the obedience of the Baliol, they ſuffered him to depart.

The earle of Murrey returneth forth of France.

Fr. Thin.

Countries reduced to the obeiſance of king Dauid.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Atholl flieth into the mounteins.

He ſubmitteth himſelfe.

About the ſame time, ſir William Dowglaſſe of Liddeſdale, and Andrew Murrey, were ranſomed home out of England, for a great ſumme of monie, after they had beene kept there by the ſpace of three yeeres in captiuitie. At their comming to Edenburgh, they found the lords aſſembled in councell, at

Sir william Dowglaſſe, and Andrew Murrey ranſomed.

the which Iohn Randolph earle of Murrey, and Robert Steward, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scotiſhmen at this time reuolted from the king of England, ſubmitting themſelues to king Dauid, as Alexander Ramſay, a verie ſkilfull warrior, Laurence Preſton, Iohn Herring, and Iohn Haliburton knights, with diuerſe other.

The earle of Murrey and Robert Steward elected gouernours.

* After this, Iohn Randolph, and Robert Steward, were ſent into the north parts with a ſtrong armie, gathered of ſuch as were wearied by the Engliſh gouernement, whereat Dauid Cumin (being feared with the ſudden aſſemblie) fled for his ſafetie, whome they egerlie purſued, and taking him (being then beſet in a narrow ſtreict, and oppreſſed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yeeld (without anie more circumſtances) to their faction, who then ſwearing fealtie to Dauid Bruſe, was permitted to depart vpon his promiſe: wherevnto they gaue ſuch faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie diſſemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruſe. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Louthian, and ioined himſelfe with his old friend William Dowglaſſe latelie returned out of England, & now with great ſlaughters of his enimies egerlie reuenged the long lothſomneſſe of his impriſonment: to whome alſo to make their partie the ſtronger, came Andrew Murrey, which was taken at Bokesborowe. Wherefore theſe gouernours ſufficientlie garded with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the kalends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reaſon of the ſecret hartburning harbored in the boſoms of William Dowglaſſe, and Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl: the cauſe whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowglaſſe did obiect vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no ſooner deliuered out of priſon from the Engliſh: amongſt which nobilitie, Steward fauored Cumin, and almoſt all the other tooke part with Dowglaſſe. Which diſſention amongſt the nobilitie, was occaſioned for ſuſpect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with ſo great a traine: for he brought thither ſuch number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the reſt of the aſſemblie, to the increaſe of which ſuſpicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aſpiring mind, and certeine rumors ſpred abroad of the comming of the Engliſh, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defenſe.)

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Hector Boet. ſaith it was holden at Darſie.

Edward king of England vnderſtanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to aſſaile them both by ſea and land: and ſo prouiding a nauie of an hundred and foure ſcore ſhips, ſent the ſame well vittelled and manned to ſaile into the Forth, the which being there arriued, burnt and ſpoiled the townes on both ſides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they loſt manie of their veſſels by a tempeſt. King Edward himſelfe, togither with Edward the Baliol entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thouſand men, leading the ſame to the towne of Perth, otherwiſe called ſaint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being ſolicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was readie to turne againe incontinentlie to his ſide [who after accordinglie, with Godfrie of Roſſe, & Alexander Mowbraie, with other, came to the king of England.]

Ye may read more of this matter in the hiſtorie of England.

A nauie ſent into Scotland.

Shipwracke.

K. Edward inuadeth the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The ſame time, whileſt the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Namure (whom the Scotiſh writers wrongfie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purpoſing to paſſe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was diſcomfited

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Namure, named Guy.

comfited on the Burrowe moꝛe, beſide Edenburgh, by the power of the gouernours, and others, which were there aſſembled againſt him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as Iohn Fourdon writeth) foꝛ the ſtrangers fought verie valiantlie: inſomuch that if William Dowglaſſe, with diuerſe other, had not come downe from Pictland hils to the aid of the Scots, whileſt they were thus fighting, the ſtrangers that day had woone the victoꝛie. But now diſcouraged with the ſudden comming of this freſh aid to their aduerſaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edenburgh: neuertheleſſe keeping themſelues in oꝛder of battell, they fought ſtill: and at length comming to Edenburgh, they were dꝛiuen by thoꝛough the friers ſtreet, and ſo by an other ſtreet, called ſaint Marie Wind, where one ſir Dauid de Anand, a verie valiant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enimies, by reaſon whereof he was ſo kindled in wꝛathfull deſire to be reuenged, that with an axe which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduerſarie (that had hurt him) ſuch a blow on the ſhoulder, that he claue him downe togither with his hoꝛſſe, that the axe ſtaied not till it light vpon the verie hard pauement, ſo as the pꝛint of that violent ſtroke remained to be ſéene a long time after in one of the ſtones of the ſame pauement.

Iohn Fourdon.

William Dowglaſſe commeth to the ſuccour of the Scots.

Dauid de Anand a Scotiſh knight.

Hyperbole.

The ſtrangers ſtill retiring, and manfullie defending themſelues, at length got to the hill where Edenburgh caſtle ſtandeth, and there ſlue their hoꝛſſes, making as it were a rampier of their carcaſſes, ſo to defend themſelues from the foꝛce of their enimies: but being inuironed by the Scots on ech ſide all that night, and hauing neither meate noꝛ dꝛinke wherewith to ſuſteine their languiſhing bodies, the which beſide hunger and thirſt, were ſoꝛe tormented with cold alſo, and want of conuenient lodging, they yéelded themſelues the next day, with condition to haue their liues ſaued. When the ſpoile of the field (where they firſt ioined) was gathered, amongſt the dead bodies there was found a woman of an huge ſtature, who in the beginning of the battell ſtept foꝛth befoꝛe hir companie, and incountering in ſingular fight with an eſquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaw, ſhe ouerthꝛew him, and afterwards beating downe hir enimies on ech ſide, long it was yer ſhe might be ouerthꝛowne, which chanced not befoꝛe ſhe was inuironed about on ech ſide with hir enimies.

A woman of manlike foꝛce and ſtature.

The earle of Namure hauing yéelded himſelfe into the hands of the gouernours, was verie courteouſlie vſed, the earle of Murrey not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but alſo granting him licence to depart: and foꝛ his moꝛe ſuertie, he went himſelfe in perſon with him to the boꝛders, to ſée him ſafe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambuſh that lay in wait foꝛ the earle of Murrey, he was taken pꝛiſoner, and bꝛought to king Edward. Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murrey one of the gouernours was thus taken, ſuppoſing king Edwards part to be much aduanced thereby, came ſtreightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith eſtſones vnto Edward Baliol, and was againe eſtabliſhed by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was befoꝛe. The king of England, hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and toke the Baliol with him, foꝛ doubt leaſt when he had recouered the whole gouernement of the realme, he ſhould ſhꝛinke awaie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his foꝛmer authoꝛitie, began to exerciſe great crueltie againſt all thoſe that were enimies to the Baliol.

The earle of Murrey is taken pꝛiſoner.

The earle of Atholl reuolting to the Baliol is eſtſones eſtabliſhed gouernoꝛ.

The king of England returneth home taking the Baliol with him.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patꝛike Dunbar earle of March, Andꝛew Murrey, & William Dowglaſſe, with other) toke great deſpite thereat, and raiſing an armie to reſtreine his inſolent doings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertiſed (as then lieng at ſiege befoꝛe the caſtle of Kildꝛummie) roſe and met them in the fields within the foꝛreſt of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a ſoꝛe battell, and had gone awaie with the victoꝛie, had not Iohn Crag capteine of Kildꝛummie ſallied foꝛth of the caſtle with thꝛee hundꝛed freſh men, and comming to the ſuccour of his friends, renewed the battell in ſuch earneſt wiſe, that the aduerſaries thereby were diſcomfited, earle Dauid their chiefteine being ſlaine in the field, with Walter Bꝛide, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken pꝛiſoner, & beheaded the next day, being Newyéres day. Foꝛ the battell befoꝛe mentioned was fought the laſt day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further ſaith, that the earle of Atholl had with him thꝛée thouſand men againſt his aduerſaries, which were not paſt eleuen hundꝛed.

The earle of Atholl is ſlaine.

Fourdon.

* This Dauid earle of Atholl was verie inconſtant & gréedie of gouernment, who if he had bꝛought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did moſt grieuouſlie oppꝛeſſe the giltleſſe and poꝛe people, and wickedlie oꝛdered all things after his own fanſie, without reaſon.) Cumin earle of Atholl was ſlaine on this wiſe: Andꝛew Murrey was choſen gouernour in place of the earle of Murrey, taken (as befoꝛe is ſaid) by the Engliſhmen. This Andꝛew Murrey in the beginning of his new office, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule woꝛke in the noꝛth parts of the realme, againſt ſuch as fauoured not the Engliſh part, he left that ſiege, and went againſt them, with whome incountering in battell, he ouerthꝛew their armie, and put them all to flight.

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior li. 5. cap. 14.

Andꝛew Murrey choſen gouernoꝛ.

The Cumins put to flight.

At this bickering were ſlaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuerſe other valiant men, though enimies foꝛ the time vnto the gouernour. This victoꝛie reduced all the noꝛth parts of Scotland vnto the obeiſance of king Dauid. Few Engliſhmen after the ſame abode within the noꝛth bounds of Scotland, except thoſe that were within the caſtle of Dungard in Buchquhane. At length this caſtle was woone, & all that kept it ſlaine, except Henrie Beaumont the capteine, who being ſwoꝛne neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the caſtle of Lochindoꝛis, and laid ſiege to it, where within was the countelle of Atholl, the wife of the late ſlaine earle Dauid. This woman hauing knowledge afoꝛehand, that hir houſe ſhould be beſieged, had ſent vnto the king of England and to Edward Baliol foꝛ ſuccours.

The noꝛth parts of Scotland reduced to the obeiſance of king Dauid.

The caſtle of Dungard woone.

The caſtle of Lochindoꝛis beſieged.

The king of England hauing now doubting leaſt all the ſtrengths in Scotland, kept by ſuch as were his friends, would be loſt without recouerie, if the ſame were not the ſoner reſcued, he raiſed an armie of foꝛtie thouſand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the caſtle of Lochindoꝛis afoꝛeſaid. The Scots that lay there at ſiege, vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, bꝛake vp, and departed from thence. Héerevpon, when he had refreſhed the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he toke the countelle foꝛth with him, and paſſed with bloudie ſwoꝛd thoꝛough Murrey, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberden. [Then he went to Striueling, where he ſtronglie repared the caſtle: from whence he toke his iournie to Botheuill, and there alſo in winter he made the caſtle

The king of England commeth to raiſe the ſiege of Lochindoꝛis.

The towne of Aberden burned by the Engliſhmen.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

ſtle ſtronger, in which he placed a valiant garriſon: to this fort the lord Berkeleie conueied vittels from Edenburgh, and in one night diſcomfited William Dowglaſſe that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did ſhortlie loſe all the ſaid caſtels, which he had before with ſo great care fortified.] His nauie being on the ſea at the ſame time, entered into the Forth, and ſpoiling (as other had done afore time) the church of ſaint Colme, felt reuenge thereof ſhortlie after: for that ſhip (as they tell the tale) wherein ſaint Colmes gods (for ſo they call them) were laden, ſanke to the bottome of the ſea, without force of anie tempeſt, or other apparant occaſion.

The towne of Perth newlie fortified.

The king of England at his comming to Perth, forth of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne vnfortified, cauſed the ſame to be newlie fenſed with wals and bulworks, at the charges and onelie expenſes of theſe ſir abbeies, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinoch, Dunfirmling, & ſaint Andrewes. Henrie Beaumont alſo, who contrarie to his oth before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capteine of ſaint Andrewes. Alſo Henrie Ferrar was made capteine of the caſtle of Lucres, William Montacute of Striueling, William Felton of Rockeſburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Vthred. Whileſt king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this maner, his brother (ſurnamed by the Scotiſh writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the weſt parts of Scotland had exerciſed much crueltie, as well againſt the enimies of the Engliſhmen, as againſt thoſe that were fauourers and friends vnto them, inſomuch that paſſing through Galloway, Carike, Kile, and Cunningham, he put all to the fier and ſword that came in his waies. He burned the church of ſaint Bute, and a thouſand perſons within it, which were fled thither for ſafegard of their liues. At his comming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being ſore offended with him for his miſordered doings, verie ſharpelie reproued him for the ſame: and forſomuch as he anſwered him ſomewhat frowardlie, he plucked forth his ſword, and there thruſt him through the bodie, euen before the altar of ſaint John, wiſhing that all ſuch might periſh on the ſame wiſe, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place hallowed and vnhallowed; as being no reaſon, that the church ſhould be anie more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

His crueltie.

K. Edward ſleeth his brother Eltham.

It may be, that king Edward ſlue ſome other man in this ſort, as the Scots heere do write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and ſurnamed John of Eltham, becauſe he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was ſo made awaie, for he died of a naturall infirmitie, as by our Engliſh writers it manifeſtlie appeereth. But now to proceed with the hiſtorie, as we find it written. Such things accompliſhed in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Baliol behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the ſame time, Henrie Beaumont ſlue all ſuch Scots as he might lay hands on, that had beene at the battell of Kilbleine, where his coſine Dauid Cumin was ſlaine. Moreouer now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Murrey came forth of the mounteins, into the which he was before withdrawen to eſchue the furie of the Engliſhmen, and by the aſſiſtance of ſundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the caſtle of Kincleuin, and raſed it to the earth. Shortlie after he came into Mernes, and there tooke the caſtle of Kilneſſe, and likewiſe raſed the ſame.

He died of a naturall infirmitie, as by the Engliſh writers it appeereth.

K. Edward returneth into England.

Andrew Murrey commeth forth of the mountains.

He winneth the caſtle of Kincleuin.

Then paſſing forward, he burned Dunnoter.

On the other part, the Engliſhmen made no leſſe ſpoile and deſtruction on ech ſide where they came, ſo that the Mernes, Angus, Stermond, and Gowrie through ſpoile, murther, & other diſgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waſte and deſolat. At length, this Andrew Murrey aſſembling a great power, with ſupport of them of Murrey, Mar, and Buchquhan, fought with his enimies at Panmore in Angus, where he obteined the victorie with huge ſlaughter of Engliſhmen, and other his aduerſaries. In this battell was ſlaine Henrie Mountfort, who latelie before had beene ſent by king Edward into Scotland to ſupport the Baliol, beſide foure thouſand others, the moſt part gentlemen: ſo that this ouerthrow was verie diſpleaſant to the king of England, hauing his ſide ſore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murrey paſſed through Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the caſtle of Lucres, with all the other ſtrengths of Fife, the caſtle of Couper onelie excepted.

The calamitie chancing to ſundrie countries of Scotland thorough continuall wars.

The victorie of Andrew Murrey gotten at Panmore.

Henrie Mountfort ſlaine.

The caſtle of Lucres ouerthrowne.

*Andrew Murrife gardian of the Scots (and ſir Dauid Braſe) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to beſiege the caſtle of Edenburgh (as yet in the hands of the Engliſh) whoſe intent cõming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they haſtned to repaire to raiſe the ſame ſiege of Edenburgh, and to reſcue their countriemen within the towne. By meanes whereof, the Scots remoued and came to Clerkington, and the Engliſh came to Krethtowne not farre diſtant; betweene whome there was a great fight, and manie ſlaine on both ſides. But the victorie inclining (without anie great conqueſt) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the Engliſh went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themſelues at Galuſchell. So that king Edward hearing of ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe chancing to his aduerſaries, ſent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the ſupport of the Baliol.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Two armies ſent into Scotland.

William Talbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of theſe armies, was incountred by William Keith, and after the diſcomfiture of his people, being taken priſoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thouſand marks for his ranſome. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Preſton and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, ſlue the ſame Richard with the moſt part of all his companie. About the ſame time ſir William Montacute earle of Saliſburie, togither with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and beſieged the caſtell of Dunbar, lieng at the ſame for the ſpace of 22 weeks. [At which battell alſo was king Edward, the earle of Gloceſter, the lords Perſie and Neuill, being in the yeare 1337, as ſaith Scala chron.] Within the ſaid caſtell was the counteſſe hir ſelfe, ſurnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who ſhewed ſuch manlie defenſe, that no gaine was to be got anie waies forth at hir hands, ſo that in the end they were conſtreined to raiſe their ſiege, and to depart without ſpeed of their purpoſe. It is ſaid, that this counteſſe vſed manie pleaſant words in ieſting and tawnting at the enimies doings, thereby the more to incourage hir ſouldiers.

William Talbot, or rather Talbois is taken priſoner.

Richard Mountfort or Montacute is ſlaine.

The caſtell of Dunbar is beſieged by the earles of Saliſburie and Arundell. Fr. Thin.

1337.

Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

One day it chanced that the Engliſhmen had deuiſed an engine called a ſow, vnder the pentiſe or couert wherof they might approch ſafelie to the wals: ſhe beholding this engine, merilie ſaid, that vnleſſe the Engliſhmen kept their ſow the better, ſhe would make hir to caſt hir pigs: and ſo ſhe after deſtroied it. In the yeare next after this ſiege, there was ſuch a dearth through all the bounds of Scotland,

An engine called a ſow.

A great dearth and al-

ſo a death in Scotland.

land, with ſuch mortalitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie beene ſeene nor heard of. The cauſe of which mortalitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay vntilled and not occupied, by reaſon of the continuall warres before paſſed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lords that went into Scotland) were diſcomfited at Preſſen: where Robert Maners was taken, with manie other priſoners, beſide a multitude that were ſlaine, by reaſon of certeine diſpleaſant words amongeſt them, which cauſed that they brake order, diuided themſelues, and fought in an inconuenient place.]

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The caſtell of Couper left void.

All the ſouldiers that kept the caſtell of Couper, for lacke of vittels left the houſe void, and comming to the ſea ſide, hired a ſhip to haue paſſed into England, but through negligence of the maiſter mariner, they fell vpon a ſand-bed, and ſo were caſt away. About the ſame time the moſt part of all the ſtrengths and fortreſſes in Louthian were kept by Engliſhmen.

The caſtell of Louthian in the hands of the Engliſhmen.

The towne of Edenburgh was ſtuffed with a great number of ſouldiers, both Engliſhmen and Scots. Amongeſt whome there was a Scot of a right ſtout ſtomach named Robert Pendergeſt; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but little the Engliſh nation, was euill intreated and vſed amongſt them, in ſo much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marſhall named Thomas Knatoun, he ceaſſed not to ſeeke ſome meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpoſe to paſſe, ſo that ſhortlie after he ſlue the ſaid marſhall, and afterward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he perſuaded with all diligence to paſſe vnto Edenburgh, where he might find his enimies at ſome great aduantage, by reaſon of the ſlothfull negligence as then growne amongeſt them. William Dowglas following this aduertiſement, came ſecretlie on a night vnto the foreſaid towne, and ſlue foure hundred Engliſhmen ſnorting in ſléepe and dronkenneſſe, before they were able to make anie reſiſtance.

The death of Andrew Murrey the gouernor. 1338.

Not long after, Andrew Murrey the gouernor of Scotland deceaſſed, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Roſmarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1338. It came well to paſſe for Scotland, that about the ſame time the king of England entering into wars againſt France, was conſtreined to ceaſſe his purſute of the conqueſt which he minded to make in Scotland, the which muſt néeds haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpoſe and intent. But to proceed, after the deceaſſe of Andrew Murrey the gouernor, Robert Steward toke all the charge on him for the gouernment of the realme, till king Dauid returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himſelfe. Tiuidall alſo was recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiancie of William Dowglas and other Scotiſh capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good ſeruice ſhewed by the ſame William in conqueſt of that countrie, he intoied the ſame afterward as his right full inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancaſter and Derbie, hearing of the valure of theſe two worthie capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramſeie, earneſtlie deſired to ſée them, and to trie their ſtrengths in iuſting. Whereupon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berwike by all the ſaid parties, where they met with their complices prouided accordinglie. At what time a certeine Engliſhman aſked Peter Grame, if he would not refuſe to iuſt with him, to whome he anſwered, that he accepted the chalenge, but willed him firſt to dine well, becauſe he ſhould that night ſup in paradiſe. Which fell out accordinglie, for in running together the Engliſhman was ſlain.] The king of England moued with high diſpleaſure at theſe doings, ſent a right valiant knight named ſir Thomas Berkleie with a great power of men into Scotland. Againſt whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Steward the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were diſcomfited and ſo beaten downe, that few of them eſcaped, which were not either ſlaine or taken. Notwithſtanding the two capteins ſaued themſelues by flight.

Tiuidall recouered out of the Engliſh mens hands by William Dowglas.

Fr. Thin. Io. Maior. lib. 5. cap. 5.

Sir Thomas Berkleie.

The battell of Blackeborne.

Not long after, William Dowlas fought with his enimies at the Cragings, where hauing not paſt fortie men in his companie, he diſcomfited ſir John Striueling, who had with him neere hand fiue hundred Engliſhmen and Scots, that toke his part in the king of Englands quarell. In the yeare following, the ſame William Dowglas wan the caſtell of Hermitage, & ſlue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought fiue times in one day with ſir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Balioll, and being put to the worſe at foure of thoſe times, at the fift he vanquiſhed his enimies, and toke priſoner their capteine the ſaid ſir Laurence, who was ſent to the caſtell of Dunbreton, there to remaine in ſafe kéeping for a time. For theſe and ſuch worthie enterpriſes hardlie atchiued, this Will. Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the ſaid ſir Laurence Abernethie, he was ſent by the gouernor the ſaid Robert Steward into France, as ambaſſador to king Dauid, for the diſpatch of certeine weightie matters touching the ſtate of the realme.

Sir John Striueling diſcomfited.

The caſtell of Hermitage woone.

Sir Laurence Abernethie taken priſoner.

Sir William Dowglas ſent into France.

1339. In the meane time, Robert Steward the gouernor raiſed a mightie armie, and came with the ſame vnto the towne of Perth, planting a ſtrong ſiege round about it; for diuiding his hoſt into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure ſeuerall places. The firſt conſiſting for the moſt part of weſterne Scots, he gouerned himſelfe; the ſecond he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Roſſe, and the fourth, to Maurice of Mowbray lord of Clideſdale. Theſe lay thus at ſiege of this towne for the ſpace of ten weékes. And though ſundrie times they gaue alarmes and aſſaults to it, yet was it ſo ſtoutlie defended by Engliſhmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time loſt more than they wan. At length when they were in maner paſt all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the Taie, bringing with him out of France in fiue ſhips, both men of war, and alſo munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which ſerued the Scotiſhmen in that ſeaſon greatlie to purpoſe.

1339.

The towne of Perth beſieged.

There was alſo in that armie beſide other noble men William Keith of Galeſton.

William Dowglas returneth out of France.

Amongeſt other, there were two knights of the familie of Caſtelgaliard, and two eſquiers, Giles de la Hois, and John de Breiſe; alſo a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpile, who had the charge ouer the foreſaid fiue ſhips. [While Edward the third was at the ſiege of Turneie, the earls of March and Southerland made a rode into Scotland, and were diſcomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Maners, & John Copeland, with the garriſon of Roxborow, then in the hands of the Engliſh, but after woone by the Scots, on Eaſter day, at the verie houre of the reſurrection; the gouernement whereof ſéemed to be fatall, becauſe all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongſt whome was Alexander Ramſeie the capteine hereof that died with hunger, being put in priſon for verie enuie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the ſame time, one William Bullocke had taken eſtſones the

Iohn Fourdon.

Fr. Thn. 1340. Scala chron.

the caſtell of Couper to the king of Englands vſe, but by perſuaſion of this William Dowglas, he rendered it vp againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Thoſe Scots that had ſerued vnder him likewiſe, were content to forſake the king of Englands wages, and to ſerue William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the ſiege of Perth, the which towne ſhortlie after his comming was rendered into the gouernors hands, by Thomas Vthred the capteine, in the third moneth after it was firſt beſieged, & in the yeare after our redemption 1341.

*The towne of Perth rendered to the gouernor.*

*1341.*

*John Fourdon.*

Among other exploits attempted at this ſiege after the comming of the lord William Dowglas, the Frenchman Hugh Handpile, taking vpon him on a day to approch the towne with his ſhips, and to giue an aſſault thereto, he loſt the chiefeſt veſſell he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Dowglas cauſed the ſame ſhip to be to him againe reſtored, and with great thanks and liberall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he ſent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleaſure and contentation; although in their returne, as they paſſed out of Drumlie Firth, they eſcaped verie hardlie from the ſhore. [The winter after the ſiege of Turneie, king Edward went to Melroſſe, but from thence riding through part of the forreſt of Etrike, in a tempeſtuous time, he came backe againe to Melroſſe, where Henrie earle of Lancaſter iuſted with William Dowglaſſe (by couenant) in the kings ſight. King Edward taking a truce, departed from Melroſſe, halfe ouercome with melancholie againſt thoſe that firſt moued him to this iournie, not ſucceeding as they hoped and deſired that it ſhould haue done.]

*Fr. Thin.*

In the ſame yeere (as ſome do write) or (according vnto other) in the yeere following, there was ſuch a miſerable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driuen to eat the fleſh of horſſes, dogs, cats, and ſuch like vnuſed kinds of meats, to ſuſteine their languiſhing liues withall, yea, inſomuch that (as is ſaid) there was a Scotiſhman, an vplandiſh felow named Triſtricloke, ſpared not to ſteale children, and to kill women, on whoſe fleſh he fed, as if he had béene a woolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is ſaid) to the gouernor, he went with his armie to Striueling, and beſieging the caſtell, had it rendered vnto him the eight day after his comming thither, on theſe conditions, that Thomas Foulkie the capteine, with his wife and children might ſafelie paſſe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which caſtell (as ſaith Buchanan) Maurice the ſonne of Andrew Murrey was made capteine.] Edward Baliol, by ſuch good and proſperous ſucceſſe, as did thus dailie fall vnto his enimies, to auoid further danger, after oft remouing from place to place, at length he was conſtreined to flie into England, leſt he ſhould haue fallen into his aduerſaries hands.

*Haſe dearth.*

*Children eaten.*

*The caſtell of Striueling rendered.*

*Alias Rugdie.*

*Fr. Thin.*

*Edward Baliol withdraweth into England.*

Not long after, the caſtell of Edenburgh was woone by policie on this wiſe. William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] cauſed him to prouide a ſhip, and to arriue therewith in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to ſell vnto the garriſon that kept Edenburgh caſtell. This Towers according to inſtructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things neceſſarie for the purpoſe, & ſo comming into the Forth with his ſhip, came on land himſelfe, and brought with him into Edenburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to ſell vnto the ſeeward of houſhold to the capteine of the caſtell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he ſhould

*The caſtell of Edenburgh woone.*

*Fr. Thin.*

*Policie.*

bring them earlie in the morning vp to the caſtell, that they might be receiued in. Towers hiring a cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp to the caſtell gate, earlie vpon the breake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked forth a wedge or pin deuiſed of purpoſe, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the punchions fell downe, ſo ſtopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wiſe they might be ſhut or cloſed againe.

The Dowglaſſe hauing in his companie William Bullocke, Walter Fraſeir, and John Sandlands, right valiant knights, with diuerſe other hardie and bold perſonages, laie in couert not far from the caſtell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by ſound of horne, or otherwiſe, when to come forth, he haſted thereupon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, firſt ſlue the porters, and after into the caſtell, within a while had diſpatched all them within, and ſo became maiſters of that fortres, within the which for capteine they left one William Dowglas, the baſtard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whoſe conduct chiefflie, both this enterpriſe and diuers other were luckilie atchiued. Thus was the realme of Scotland clearelie recouered out of the enimies hands, the Engliſhmen, and all other that toke part with the Baliol, conſtreined to auoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The caſtell of Edenburgh was thus recouered by the Scots in the yeere laſt before remembred, to wit, 1341.

*1341. H.B.*

The ſame yéere, or in the next inſuing, the ſecond of June, king Dauid with his wife quéene Jane, and ſundrie nobles both French and Scotiſh, came ſafelie through the ſeas, and arriued in Innerberuie, from whence with no ſmall triumph they were conueied vnto Perth. About the ſame time, Alexander Ramſey of Dalehouſe, one of the moſt valiant capteins knowne in thoſe daies, gathering a great power of men, entered into England, and hauing knowledge that the Engliſhmen were aſſembled, in purpoſe to giue him battell, laid an ambuſh for them, and training them within danger thereof, by ſuch a fierce and new onſet as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chaſed them moſt egerlie, killing and ſlaieng a great number of them at his pleaſure. Amongeſt the priſoners that were taken, the earle of Saliſburie (as the Scotiſh hiſtorie ſaieth) was one, and the capteine of Rokeſburgh another.

*1342. Io. Ma.*

*King Dauid returneth into Scotland.*

*Alexander Ramſey rodeth into England.*

*This Ramſey was ſo renowmed, that euerie noble man was glad to haue his ſonne and kinſman to ſerue vnder him.*

Sir Alexander Ramſey, perceiuing that the moſt part of the garriſon of Rokeſburgh were either ſlaine, or taken in this laſt conflict, together with their capteine, came haſtilie thither, and giuing a right fierce aſſault thereto, by fine force toke it. Wherefore king Dauid in recompenſe of his valiancie thus declared in his ſeruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this caſtell, together with the ſhiriffwike of Tiuidale. Whereat William Dowglaſſe toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that ſeeking to be reuenged, he found meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramſey within the church of Halwike, and put him in priſon within the caſtell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miſerie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time, by the ſaid kind of death (as ſaith Buchanan) was William Bullocke ſlaine, by Dauid Berkelie. The death of which two did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with ſeditions.]

*The caſtell of Rokeſburgh woone by Alexander Ramſey.*

*Alexander Ramſey taken by William Dowglas, & impriſoned.*

*Fr. Thin.*

King Dauid was ſore moued herewith, purpoſing to ſee ſuch puniſhment done vpon William Dowglaſſe for that rebellious attempt, as might ſerue for an example to all other how they went about anie the like offenſe. Neuertheleſſe, the Dowglaſſe kept him out of the way amongſt the mountains

teins and other deſert places, till finallie Robert Steward and other nobles purchaſed his pardon, ſo that at length he came into fauor againe, and had all his lands and liuings reſtored vnto him, as well in Tiuidale as elſewhere.

The earle of Saliſburie exchanged for the earle of Murrey.

Froiſard.

Some after the earle of Saliſburie was taken by ſir Alexander Ramſey (as is ſaid) he was exchanged for the earle of Murrey, that had beene holden manie yéeres before as priſoner in England. But it ſhould appeare by other writers, that the earle of Saliſburie was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is ſuppoſed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the ſame time made againſt the Frenchmen, & now was exchanged for the earle of Murrey. But howſoeuer it was, king Dauid after the realme of Scotland was once brought into a quiet eſtate from the former trouble of war, he called a parlement at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberallie all ſuch as had either done any notable ſeruice themſelus, or had loſt any of their friends or parents in defenſe & recouerie of the relme out of his aduerſaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompenſe of his fathers ſlaughter at Duplin, the inheritor & ladie of the baronie of Balzid giuen him in mariage, which baronie is yet poſſeſſed by the heires of the ſaid Hugh.

1342.

A parlement at Perth.

The bounteous liberalitie of K. Dauid.

This Hugh was grandfather to Hector Boetius.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

Shortlie after vpon the breaking vp of this parlement, king Dauid raiſed a mightie armie, and entered with the ſame into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to Iohn Randolph erle of Murrey as lieutenant generall, he wold not that anie of his owne banners ſhould be ſpred and borne in all that voiage [although himſelfe were there in perſon, ſeruing ſecretlie, and would not be knowne in this iournie.] The moſt part of all Northumberland was burnt and ſpoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, conueieng awaie with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortlie after, he came with a new armie into England, cauſing his own ſtandard to be caried afore him at that time, as he that toke vpon him the whole gouernance of that enterpriſe himſelfe. The Engliſhmen withdrawing all their goods into ſtrengths, minded not to giue the Scots any ſet batell, but to take them euer at ſome aduantage, if they ſtraied abroad any where vnwarilie to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogither diſappointed of their hoped prey, for 5 Scotiſh knights, whoſe names were Steward, Eglinton, Craggie, Boid, and Fullarton, purſuing their enimies on a time ouer fiercelie, were taken priſoners, and after redéemed for great ſummes of monie. At length, king Dauid perceiuing that he waſted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iournie his people were ſo beaten with vehement ſtormes of raine and haile, that they had much adw to ſaue themſelues from periſhing through the vnmeaſurable force of that ſo rigorous weather.

King Dauid the ſecond time inuadeth the Engliſh borders.

Fiue Scotiſh knights taken priſoners

King Dauid the third time inuadeth England.

Foule weather.

Fr. Thin.

On the other ſide, the Engliſhmen that were gathered to reſiſt againſt him, were in ſemblable maner neere hand deſtroied with the like rage of tempeſt. Herevpon king Dauid, to the end that his enterpriſe ſhould not ſéeme altogither to want effect, ouerthrew ſundrie ſtrong houſes on the Engliſh borders, and ſo returned home without other damage either done or receiued. About the ſame time did Edward king of England beſiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore deuiſing all waies poſſible whereby to ſaue that towne, and to cauſe his aduerſarie to raiſe his ſiege, ſent ambaſſadors into Scotland, to require king Dauid, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what damage he might vnto the Engliſhmen, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be conſtreined to leaue his ſiege, and to returne home for defenſe of his owne countrie and ſubiects. In the meane time alſo (as I find in the Scotiſh chronicles) king Edward addreſſed his orators into Scotland, offering vnto king Dauid, vpon condition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not onelie the towne of Berwike, but alſo Edward Balioll his old aduerſarie, for whoſe cauſe the warre had ſo long continued betwixt them.

Calis beſieged.

Ambaſſadors frō y̰ French king into Scotland,

Ambaſſadors from the king of England into Scotland

The king of Englands offers.

These offers being proponed in councell, though ſome of the wiſer ſort gaue aduiſe that in no condition they ought to be refuſed; yet the king himſelfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whome he had béene brought vp) and other of the nobles hauing yong heads, vpon deſire to be reuenged of the Engliſhmen by practiſe of warres (wherevnto they were inclined) wold néeds condeſcend to the French kings chargeable requeſt, & refuſe the king of Englands beneficiall offers. Whereupon an armie was leuied, and ſolemne proclamation made, that all ſuch as were able and fit to beare armour, ſhould méet the king at a certeine day and place, which was to them in the ſame proclamation aſſigned. The earle of Roſſe therefore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his muſters before the king: but in the night following he ſlue the lord of the Iles, with ſeuen of his kinſmen as they were in their beds, and therevpon fled, and got him with all ſpeed againe into Roſſe [whereby the armie was greatlie diminiſhed, when the friends of both parts fearing ciuill warres amongſt the families departed home.]

The Scots readie to helpe the French, & hinder their neighbors the Engliſh.

In armie raiſed to inuade England.

The lord of the Iles ſlain by the earle of Roſſe.

Fr. Thin.

King Dauid, though he was ſore diſpleaſed herewith, and deſired moſt earneſtlie to haue puniſhed that heinous act; yet bicauſe he would not hinder his iournie, he let paſſe the puniſhment therof, till more conuenient opportunitie might ſerue thereto. [Notwithſtanding that William Dowglaſſe of Liddeſdale did earneſtlie perſuade him, at that time to leaue the iournie, and firſt to puniſh theſe turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his abſence.] At his comming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to ſtirre them the rather to do valiantlie; but firſt he created William Dowglaſſe an earle, which William was ſonne to Archembald Dowglaſſe, ſlaine before at Halidon hill. There was vndoubtedlie a mightie power of the Scots aſſembled at that preſent; inſomuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thouſand men of armes; and of ſuch armed men as they called hoblers, ſet forth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thouſand; beſide the archers and other footmen; ſo that they were at the leaſt fortie thouſand men in all, or (as ſome writers affirme) three ſcore thouſand.

William Dowglaſſe created earle of Dowglaſſe.

Ri. Southwell. Two thouſand men of armes, 20000 hoblers.

King Dauid inuadeth England.

King Dauid with that his puiſſant armie, the firſt of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a fortreſſe not farre off from the borders called Lidell, they laie round about that place for the ſpace of three daies, without giuing thereto anie aſſault: but the fourth day they aſſailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, ſleaing the more part of all thoſe which they found within the houſe. The capteine ſir Walter Selbie was taken aliue, but immediatlie by king Dauid his commandement, had his head ſtriken off, and was not permitted to haue ſo much time as to make his confeſſion, which he inſtantlie deſired to haue done, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie remoued, and went vnto the abbie of Lauercoſt, which they ſpoiled; and that done they departed, and paſſing by Naward caſtell, and the towne of Redpeth, kept on

The fort of Lidell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lauercoſt.

on till they came vnto the priorie of Herham, which they sacked; but the towne was saued from fire by commandement of king Dauid, who in this iournie appointed to preserue foure townes onelie from burning; to wit, Herham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay vp such store of vittels, as he should prouide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to sustaine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

From Herham, where he laie three daies, he marched to Chechester, wasting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beaurepaire; and comming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne vp the townes and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and slaughter which the Scots practised with fire and sword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told, they spared neither yoong nor old, church nor chappell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbeie of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scotish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserablie sacked, although it was said king Dauid was admonished in a dreame, that he should in anie wise abstaine from violating the goods and lands perteining to saint Cuthbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward, to resist these iniuries, raised a great power of men, and ioining the same with such bands of old souldiers as king Edward had latelie sent ouer out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes vnto king Dauid, requiring him to staie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a finall peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his maister: otherwise he should be sure to haue battell to the vtterance within three daies after. King Dauid contemning this message, required his folks to make them readie to receiue their enimies if they came to assaile them, and on the nert morrow, he diuided his armie into three battels. In the first was Robert Steward prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March: in the second were appointed John earle of Murrey, and William earle of Dowglasse: in the third was the king himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Dowglasse in the first, the king in the middle, and Steward in the third.]

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Dowglasse departed from the armie to descrie the English host, and to vnderstand their force and order (if it were possible:) but entring somwhat vnwarilie within danger of his enimies, he was chased, and that to such disaduantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather fiue hundred (as some bookes haue) of yoong gentlemen, and such other light horssemen as he tooke forth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chase. In the meane season, the English host diuided likewise into three battels, approched forward, and came within sight of the Scotish armie. Wherevpon Dauid Graham with a wing of fiue hundred horssemen, well appointed gaue a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constreined to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

These two discomfitures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie vpon their enimies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end, Robert Steward, and the earle of March, perceiuing their people partlie to shrinke backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this fleeing backe of the earle of March and Robert Steward, brought the discomfiture vpon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence vpon the maine battell where king Dauid fought, that within a short while after, the same was vtterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this businesse king Dauid himselfe did in euerie point plaie the part of a most valiant chiefteine, incouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to doo their indeuours. Neither would he flie after hee saw himselfe destitute of all conuenient aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more displeasant than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons striken out of his hands, one John Copland came vnto him, and willed him to yéeld; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his teeth before he did yéeld vnto him. Which Copland is misnamed by Iohn Maior, and not onelie called Couptaunt, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is euident by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a meere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the rereward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murrey, the earle of Stratherne, the constable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancellor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murrife.] There were taken with the king fiue earles, that is to say, Dowglasse, Fife, Sutherland, Wigtoun, and Menteith [the earle of March & the Senescall fled, but after the earle of Mench being taken, was with the earle of Menteith (as saith Scala chron.) drawne and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be inuincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the same time. This battell was striken neere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yéere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English historie.

In the yéere following, the Balioll, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddesdale, bringing a great botie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balioll abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themselues with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and commons, beside the discomfort for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Steward as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Dowglasse the sonne of Archembald Dowglasse, that was brother vnto good sir James Dowglasse, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Dowglasdale, Tiuidale, Twidale, Etrike forrest, & Twedale. John Copland capteine of Rokesburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men,



The cause of the ouerthrow

King Dauid his valiancie.

King Dauid taken by John Copland.

1346.
Scala. chron.
Nobles slaine in this battell.
Fr.Thin.
Prisoners taken.
Fr.Thin.

The Balioll soiourneth in Galloway.

Robert Steward gouernour of Scotland.

Countries recouered out of the Englishmens hands.

King Dauid lodged in the manor of Beaurepaire.

The abbeie of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North.

A herald.

The appointing of the Scotish battels.

Fr.Thin.

The earle of Dowglas chased.

Dauid Graham driuen backe.

and came forth againſt his enimies, but receiuing the ouerthrow, he was chaſed into Rokeſburgh againe, with loſſe of diuerſe of his men.

John Copland chaſed.

In the yéere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came ſuch a peſtilence thorough all parts of Scotland, ſo vehement and contagious, that it ſlue néere hand the third part of all the people. This was the ſecond time that the peſtilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland. The ſame yéere, or (as other bookes haue) the yéere next inſuing, one John ſaint Vighell ſlue ſir Dauid Berklie knight at Aberden, in the night ſeaſon, by procurement of ſir William Dowglaſſe of Liddeſdale, as then priſoner in England with the earle of Dowglaſſe, both of them being taken at Durham field. The occaſion was, for that this ſir Dauid Berklie had aforetime ſlaine one John Dowglaſſe, brother to the ſaid ſir William, and father to ſir James Dowglaſſe of Dalkéeth.

1349.

The ſecond peſtilence that was heard of in Scotland.

Sir Dauid Berklie ſlaine

In the yéere following, was the ſame ſir William Dowglaſſe, being latelie before ranſomed out of England, ſlaine, as he was hunting in Etrike foreſt, by his cоſine and godſonne William earle of Dowglaſſe, in reuenge of the ſlaughter of Alexander Ramſey, and other old grudges. Thus was the houſe of the Dowglaſſes diuided amongeſt themſelues, purſuing ech other manie yéeres togither with great vnkindneſſe, vnnaturall enimitie and ſlaughter. In the yéere next following, which was 1355, ſhortlie after Eaſter, there arriued in Scotland a noble knight named ſir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in number, yet valiant and verie ſkilfull warriors, which were ſent thither by John king of France, that ſucceéded his father king Philip of Valois, latelie before deceaſſed, and deliuered vnto the gouernor and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, fortie thouſand crownes of the ſunne, to be imploied about the leuieng of an armie againſt the Engliſhmen, that they might be conſtreined the ſoner to withdraw their powers out of France.

1353. I. Ma.

Sir William Dowglaſſe ſlaine.

1354.

1355.

Sir Eugenie de Garenteris a Frenchman, arriued in Scotland.

Fortie thouſand crownes.

This monie was receiued, though a ſmall part thereof came to the hands of the ſouldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the lords and nobles kept it ſafe inough to their owne vſe. Yet neuertheleſſe, the earle of March, and William Dowglaſſe, gather their people, and paſſe forth with the ſame to the borders, and entering into England, appoint William Ramſey of the Dalehouſe, to ride before with a number of light horſſemen, to the end, that if the Engliſhmen did aſſemble and come forth too ſtrong againſt him, he might retire backe to the maine battell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Nilbet more. This Ramſey doing as he was commanded, made a great forraie thorough the countrie, and hauing got togither a great bootie of cattell, withdrew with the ſame homewards: but being ſharpelie purſued by the Engliſhmen, in hope to recouer their goods, he fled amaine, and they following egerlie in the chaſe, were vpon the Scotiſh armie before they were aware. The Scotiſhmen, and thoſe few Frenchmen that were there, ſet vpon the Engliſhmen fiercelie, and finallie put them to flight, though not without ſome ſlaughter on their part: for there were ſlaine of Scots ſir John Holieburton, and ſir James Turnebull knights. Theſe were taken priſoners of Engliſhmen, ſir Thomas Greie, and his ſonne, with John Darcas, and manie other Engliſhmen.

The earle of March and William Dowglaſſe enter into England with an army.

William Ramſey of the Dale houſe.

The Engliſhmen intrapped.

Put to flight.

Priſoners taken.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

1355.

✻ The taking of which Greie is reported by others to haue béene after this manner. The lords Perſie and Neuill, gardians of the Engliſh marches, tooke truce with the lord William Dowglaſſe, at the time that he conquered the lands which the Engliſhmen had woone of the Scots. But Patrike earle of March (being in confederacie with Garanteris) would not by anie perſuaſion conſent to that leage: wherevpon (with a number of others) he made a road to the caſtle of Norham, ambuſhing themſelues vpon the Scotiſh ſide of the riuer of Tweed, ſending ouer a banneret with his enſigne, and 400 men to forage & ſpoile the countrie, who gathering the preies, draue them in deſpite alongſt the caſtle: wherevpon Thomas Greie, capteine of Norham (ſonne to Thomas Greie, that had béene three times by the Scots beſieged in the ſaid caſtle of Norham, in the reigne of king Edward the ſecond) ſéeing the commons of England thus robbed (and déeming it his part to defend his countrie, friends, and their ſubſtance) iſſued forth of Norham with few men more than fiftie of the garriſon of the caſtle, and a few of the common people vnexpert in matters of war; who (not knowing of the ſecret ambuſh of the band which Patrike had laied in wait behind Tweed) iſſued forth to follow and recouer the preie: but being ſo farre gone in chaſe of the enimie, as that he could not returne in ſafetie (becauſe he was beſet before and behind with the 400 on the one ſide, & the ambuſh laied by Tweed on the other ſide) the ſaid Greie and his companie (finding none other remedie but to hazard the ſucceſſe) forſoke their horſſes, and on foot (ſtanding to the extremitie) with a wonderfull courage ſet vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the Engliſh, but the Scots comming ſo ſore on the Engliſh (not able to reſiſt) they began to flie, at what time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken priſoner.)

The earles of March, and Dowglaſſe, after the obteining of this victorie, came ſudenlie in the night ſeaſon vnto the towne of Berwike, and raiſing vp ladders to the wals, wan the towne, but not without loſſe of diuerſe Scotiſh gentlemen, as Thomas Haus, Andrew Scot of Balwerie, John Gordon, William Sinclare, Thomas Preſton, and Alexander Powbraie knights. Of Engliſh were ſlaine Alexander Ogill capteine of the towne, Thomas Perſie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garenteris with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beare himſelfe in this enterpriſe, whome Robert Steward the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, ſent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his dutie in euerie behalfe verie thoroughlie. The caſtle of Berwike, notwithſtanding that the towne was thus woone, held forth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reaſon whereof when an armie of Engliſhmen came to the ſuccours thereof, they raced the wals, and burnt the houſes of the towne, and ſo departed.

Berwike woone.

Berwike wals raced. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

✻ The tidings whereof were brought to king Edward at the verie inſtant of his landing from Calis into England, for which cauſe he taried at his parlement appointed at London but three daies, and with all ſpeed came to Berwike, where he entered the caſtle; wherat the burgeſſes amazed, treated with him, and therevpon the towne of Berwike was redeliuered (againſt the minds of the Scots) to king Edward.) K. Edward himſelfe being come to the reſcue and recouerie of Berwike, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it ſo defaced, tooke order for the reparing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and there receiued of the Baliol a full reſignation of all his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. [For there the 26 of Januarie, the ſaid Baliol hauing reſigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, alledged theſe cauſes: firſt, in conſideration that the Scots were full of rebellion; alſo, becauſe he had no heire, nor anie verie néere of his linage: and for that he

Berwike is repared againe by king Edward.

The Baliol reſigneth his right. Fr. Thn. Scala chron.

Leſleus epiſcop. Roſſe. lib. cap. 357.

he was of K. Edwards blood of England, he knew not where to beſtow it better than vpon him. This Baliol is by no author (as Leſleus ſaith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himſelfe (by homage) to the gouernement of England with an oth, againſt the gouernement & maieſtie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force inuading the crowne, he continued not long in the ſame. In truth, I ſuppoſe he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can ſee, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332, as Leſleus himſelfe, Buchanan, and all other authors do agrée. Beſide, he gouerned by him & his agents vntill the yéere of 1342, at what time he yéelded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he recouered a good part of Endgland. Wherefore it ſéemeth ſtrange to me, that Roſſe will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, ſince Buchan. maketh him the nintie fourth king, and ſo placeth him vnder that title, and maketh Dauid Bruſe (who was crowned before Baliol, and gouerned after Baliols departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming alſo Robert (who ſucceéded after Bruſe) the hundred king in order of gouernement; in ſuch ſort, that both theſe writing at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agrée on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings.] After this, king Edward paſſing forth to Hadington, ſpoiled and waſted the countrie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for diſpleaſure that his naule on the ſea (after the ſouldiers and mariners had béene on land, and burned the church of our ladie in thoſe parts called Whitekirke) had with force of a rigorous tempeſt béene ſore ſhaken, and manie of the ſhips loſt and drowned togither with men and all, he fell into ſuch a rage, that he cauſed all the buildings in thoſe parts to be burnt and ſpoiled, as well abbeis as all other churches and religious houſes, as though he minded (ſay the Scotiſh writers) to make warre both againſt God and all his ſaints. Theſe things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feaſt of the Purification of our ladie, & by reaſon the Engliſhmen did ſo much hurt at that time in thoſe parts by fire, they called it euer after; The burnt Candlemas.

Whitekirke burnt.

1355.

The burnt Candlemas.

Shortlie after that king Edward was returned into England, William Dowglas of Niddeſdale recouered out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Dritſdale were in like maner recouered by one Kirpatrike. In the ſame yéere on the 20 day of October, was the battell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwiſe named the Blacke prince, ouerthrew the armie of France, and toke king John priſoner, with his yongeſt ſonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie beſides. There was at this battell with king John, the earle William Dowglas, & to the number of thrée thouſand Scots, hauing diuers knights and gentlemen to their capteins, of whome there died in the ſame battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, Andrew Holiburton, and Andrew Haus, knights. The earle of Dowglas eſcaped with life and vntaken, but Archembald Dowglas, ſon to ſir James Dowglas ſlaine in Spaine, was taken priſoner; albeit his taker ſuffered him to depart for a ſmall ranſome, by reaſon that William Ramſey of Colluthie, who was alſo taken with him, made ſemblance as though the ſame Archembald Dowglas had béen ſome poore ſlaue, cauſing him to pull off his boots, and to do other ſuch drudging ſeruice, as fell not for the eſtate of a man of any eſtimation or honeſtie, to the end it ſhould not be knowne what he was.

Galloway recouered.

The battell of Poitiers.

The French king John taken priſoner.

Archembald Dowglaſſe taken priſoner

Vndiſcréet policie.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing two kings vnder his captiuitie, ſat crowned betwixt them at meate in the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, making (as the vſe is) amongſt the Engliſhmen in that ſeaſon) a great banket. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bruted abroad to his high praiſe & glorious fame. King Dauid within certeine yeares after was conueied by the earle of Northampton vnto Berwike, where the moſt part of all the nobles of Scotland aſſembled togither to conſult with him touching ſome agréement to be had for his ranſome: but becauſe they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there remained in priſon as before. In the meane time, Roger Kirpatrike was ſlaine by James Lindſeie, in a caſtell where the ſaid James dwelled, and receiued the ſaid Roger as his gheſt. This Lindſeie fled vpon the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he ſuffered death for that offenſe.

Two kings priſoners in England at one time.

Roger Kirkpatrike ſlaine.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmaſſe next inſuing, after king Dauid had béene at Berwike, there was an agréement made for his ranſome, whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Durham field. It was agréed that there ſhould be paied for his ranſome one hundred thouſand marks ſterling, at ſundrie daies of paiment, as was accorded betwixt them. * After he had béene 11 yeares in England, in which place alſo Froiſſard ſetteth downe that he paied but 50000 marks Engliſh. And Scala Chron. ſaith, that at the feaſt of S. Michaell, Dauid king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of ſiluer: for which, his hoſtages came to Berwike, being the countie of Southerland, and his ſonne that was borne of the ſiſter of king Dauid; Thomas Seneſcall that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurriſe baron of Bothuill, and other twentie ſons of noble men in Scotland.]

King Dauid is deliuered.

1357.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Truce for 14 yéeres.

Truce alſo was taken for the ſpace of fourtéene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hoſtages in England, till the monie were paied, as is before mentioned [of which pledges (as ſaith Leſleus) moſt died in England, by means whereof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his ranſome.] K. Dauid was alſo bound by couenant of agréement to race certeine caſtels within Scotland, which ſéemed moſt noiſome to the Engliſh borders: which couenant he performed. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he caſt downe the caſtels of Dalſwinton, Dunfreis, Morton, and Duriſdere. He alſo called a parlement, wherein he enacted ſundrie things for the puniſhment of them that fled from him at Durham field: and firſt for that his coſſine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cauſe of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of iſſue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to deſcend vnto the ſaid Robert Steward) was vtterlie reuoked and diſanulled, and John Southerland the ſonne of Jane his yongeſt ſiſter, appointed heire apparant in place of the ſaid Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were ſworne to obſerue and keepe this ordinance.

Fr. Thin.

Caſtels raced.

A parlement. Robert Steward diſherited of the crowne.

The earle of Southerland, father to the ſaid John, in hope that his ſonne ſhould inioy the crowne, gaue away the moſt part of his lands, diuiding the ſame amongſt his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuertheleſſe deceiued of his hope. For ſhortlie after his ſon being one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the monie for the kings ranſome

John Southerland made heire apparant.

The death of John Southerland.

ſome was paid, died there of the peſtilence, in ſuch ſort as the moſt part of the other pledges likewiſe did. And ſhortlie after his deceaſſe, Robert Steward was reconciled to the kings fauor, and ordeined heire apparant to the crowne in ſemblable maner as he was before. The clergie of Scotland condeſcended to giue the tenth pennie of all their fruits & reuenues towards the paiment of the kings ranſome [which the pope cauſed the clergie to giue.]

Robert Steward againe ordeined heire apparant.

The contribution of the clergie.

1363.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan.

Not long after, king Dauid called an other councell, wherein (according to his promiſe made to the king of England before his deliuerance) he moued the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter whereof he wiſhed not to haue of them anie towardlie anſwer, and that was this: Whether they could be contented, that after his deceaſſe, the crowne of Scotland ſhould be tranſferred vnto the king of Englands ſonne, and to his lawfull heires? [Which thing Iohn Maior aſſigneth to the yeare 1363, who alſo ſaith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red) and done by the perſuaſion of Jane the queene, forgetting that he ſaid before, that ſhe died in the yeare 1357.]

I demand proponed to the lords of Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.

The lords hearing what was proponed vnto them, anſwered without anie long ſtudie, that ſo long as anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer conſent thereto. King Dauid right toſull to heare them at this point, thought himſelfe diſcharged, for that he was not bound to labor further in this ſute, becauſe his promiſe made to the king of England touching this point, onelie was, that if the Scotiſh lords would agree, then he ſhould intaile the crowne to his ſonne. In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1357, queene Jane the wife of K. Dauid went into England to ſee hir brother king Edward, & died there before ſhe returned (leauing no iſſue behind hir) [at Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as ſaith Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as ſaith Sca. chro.) in the greie friers in London beſide hir mother. This woman doth the ſaid Maior commend for a moſt rare perſon, in that ſhe neuer forſoke hir huſband in his baniſhment into France, & in the time of his impriſonment in England; for which cauſe ſhe deſerueth as great praiſe as Penelope, although in hir life ſhe inioyed ſmall worldlie pleaſure, hauing had hir bodie dedicated to the mariage bed. For

Their anſwer.

1357

Queene Janes death. Fr.Thin.

Iohn Maior li. 5.cap.22.

*Si nihil infauſti durus tuliſſet vlyſſes,*
*Penelope felix, ſed ſine laude foret.*

Ouid.

According to which, it might haue beene ſaid of this woman, that ſhe might haue beene counted happie, if hir huſband had neuer beene oppreſſed with theſe manie diſgraces of fortune; but then ſhe ſhould neuer haue beene extolled with that commendation, which now to the worlds end ſhe hath amongeſt the wiſeſt.]

K. Dauid, after hir deceaſſe, maried a yong luſtie gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daughter to ſir John Logie knight, but within three moneths after he repented him, for that he had matched himſelfe with one of ſo meane parentage, to the diſparagement of his bloud. Herevpon he baniſhed both hir, and all other that had counſelled him to marie hir, confining them for euer out of all the parts of his dominions. She hir ſelfe went vnto Auignon, where as then the pope with all his conſiſtorie remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court, followed the ſame with ſuch diligence, that in the end ſentence was giuen on hir ſide (that is to ſay) that king Dauid ſhould receiue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vſe hir as his iuſt and lawfull wife. Thus ſhould the realme of Scotland haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had ſhe not departed out of this life by the way in returning homewards. ✻ Charles the fift ſurnamed the wiſe, being king of France (ſupported by the aids of Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in which iornie, when a greeuous contention fell among the French and Engliſh, the laſt were ouercome by the firſt through the ſingular manhood of the Scots. Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an order of an hundred archers to be about his perſon, and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the night) within his court gates: which (vpon this originall) is obſerued with great ſolemnitie, euen in this our age.] K. Dauid in the meane time repared ſundrie places and ſtrengths of his realme, & built a tower in Edenburgh caſtell, bearing the name after him euen vnto this day, called Dauids tower. ✻ About this time (or rather more truelie as others haue before this written in the yeare of Chriſt 1356, or ſhortlie after the deliuerie of Dauid Bruſe from captiuitie as the third ſort do ſay) William Dowglaſſe being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the ſeas (at ſuch time as king John was preparing his hoſt againſt the Blacke prince) went with K. John vnto the foreſaid battell, being honored by his hands with the title of knighthood: but after, hauing manie of his men ſlaine, and being inforced to forſake the field, he returned home into Scotland. William Dowglaſſe ſhortlie after, vpon the deliuerie of Dauid Bruſe from the captiuitie of England, was created earle of Dowglaſſe. Much about which or at the ſelfe ſame time, the ſaid king of Scots aduanced William Ramſeie to the earldome of Fife, by the means of the wife of the ſaid Ramſeie, whom the king intirelie loued (as the report went.) The right of which countie king Dauid affirmed to be iuſtlie in him (ſo that he might liberallie giue it) as truelie veſted in his poſſeſſion by the forfeiture which Duncan ſometime countie of Fife had done in K. Robert Bruſes daies; in murthering of an eſquier called Michaell Beton, whome he miſerablie ſlue in a riuer for extreame diſpleaſure. Wherefore this William Ramſeie ſurmized that Duncan (to obteine pardon for his offenſe) did by indenture make Robert Bruſe K. of Scots his heire in reuerſion, if he died without iſſue maie. Yet had this Duncan a daughter (by his wife the counteſſe of Gloceſter, and daughter to the king of England) which was enterteined in England, and ſhould haue beene ſold to Robert the ſeneſchall of Scotland. But ſhe (rather reſpecting the ſatiſfieng of hir loue, than the honor of hir eſtate, rather chooſing to be a kings wife, than an earles ladie) toke to huſband one William Felton, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the ſaid time when William Ramſeie was made earle of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his wife, daughter and heire to the ſaid Duncan earle of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet ſee, the ſaid Ramſeie went away with the honor thereof.]

Fr.Thin. Leſleus lib.7. pag.256.

Dauids towſer built. Fr.Thin.

Scala chron. Of this man Dowglaſſe and his deeds in France, the Engliſh chronicles do alſo report.

William Dowglaſſe made earle.

Scala chron. William Ramſeie made earle of Fife.

After this appeaſing of certeine rebels that ſought to trouble the quiet ſtate of the realme, he purpoſed to haue gone to Jeruſalem: but hauing prouided all things neceſſarie for ſuch a iournie, he fell ſicke of a burning feauer, and died within the caſtell of Edenburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne, and fortie ſeuenth of his age, which was from the incarnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rod houſe, where it was buried in the yeare aforeſaid.

The death of king Dauid.

1370

✻ During the time that this Dauid Bruſe was priſoner in England, he did ſo earneſtlie ſet his louing affection vpon Katharine Mortimer, a damſell of London (by reaſon of familiar acquaintance with hir) that he could not forbeare hir companie, but (as it ſeemeth) brought hir alſo into Scotland with him; whereat the lords diſdeining, and highlie offended with the king therefore, procured one Richard de Hull,

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Ye baniſheth hir.

She complaineth to the pope.

Sentence giuen on hir part.

She departeth this world.

Hult, a vallet of Scotland (in feining ſome matter vnto hir from the king, as being ſent in meſſage by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did ſo couertlie, and handeled the matter ſo cunninglie, that he ſuddenlie murthered hir riding from Melros to Seltrée. Wherevpon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to ſeeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) cauſed hir to be honorablie buried at Newbotle, not ceaſſing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifeſt the ſingular loue he bare vnto hir in hir life.)

Strange wonders.

Sundrie maruellous things were ſéene in the daies of this king Dauid, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yéere of his reigne, crowes, rauens, and pies, in the winter ſeaſon brought forth their brood, and ceaſſed in the ſummer and ſpringtime, contrarie to their kind. All the yewes in the countrie the ſame yéere were barren, and brought no lambes.

yewes barren

There was ſuch plentie of mice and rats both in houſes, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be deſtroied.

Great raine.

In the 27 yéere of his reigne, the riuers and other waters roſe on ſuch heigth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of harueſt, that breaking forth of their common chanels, with their violent ſtreame manie houſes & townes were borne downe and deſtroied. About this time liued diuerſe clerks, in that age counted notable, as

John Duns.

Iohn Duns, of the order of ſaint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with others.

The aſſemblie of the lords for the election of a new king.

King Dauid being thus dead and buried, the nobles aſſembled at Lithquo, about the election of him that ſhould ſucceed in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and ſuch as were of the ſounder iudgement, agréed vpon Robert Steward; but

William earle of Dowglaſſe clameth the crowne.

William earle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, clamed to be preferred by right of Edward Baliol, and of the Cumin, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertained by iuſt title vnto them, as all the world knew, and therefore ſith he had both their rights, he maintained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appéered that the ſaid earle Dowglas purpoſed to vſurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but nevertheleſſe he was diſappointed of his purpoſe, by reaſon that George earle of March, and John Dunbar earle of Murrey, with the lord Erſkine [which three were capteins of Dunbreton, Sterling, and Edenburgh] and others (of whoſe friendlie furtherance he thought himſelfe aſſured) gaue their voices with the Steward, aſſiſting his ſide to their vttermoſt powers.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

He reſigneth his right to the Steward.

The Dowglas perceiuing héereby that he ſhould not be able to mainteine his quarell, reſigned therevpon his pretenſed title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worth the diſcuſſing.

*Robert.*

Robert Steward is crowned king of Scotland.

1370.

Then was Robert Steward conueid to Scone, and there crowned with great ſolemnitie, and was called Robert the ſecond. This came to paſſe in the 47 yéere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yéere of Chriſt 1370. Moreouer, that the firmer amitie & friendſhip might continue and be nouriſhed betwixt this king Robert and his ſubiect the earle of Dowglaſſe aforeſaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldeſt daughter to king Robert, ſhould be giuen in mariage to James ſonne to the earle of Dowglaſſe aforeſaid. ¶ Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whoſe ſucceſſion haue inioied the ſame to our time: queene Marie mother to Charles James that now that now reigneth, being the eight perſon from this Robert, that thus firſt atteined vnto it [of whoſe firſt originall and deſcent you ſhall ſée before in the life of Duncan.

The firſt coming of the Stewards to the crowne. Fr. Thin.

He had to wife at the time of his atteining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Roſſe, by whome he had two ſonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was maried to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Mure in place of his wife, and had by hir three ſonnes, Iohn, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerſe daughters, of the which one was maried to John Dunbar erle of Murrey, and another to John Leon lord of Glames. The earledome of Murrey continued in poſſeſſion of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle John & his ſonne, in whom the ſucceſſion failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the inioieng of that earledome: for leauing a daughter behind him that was married to the Dowglas, the ſame Dowglas came by that meanes to the ſaid earledome of Murrey. King Robert after his coronation made ſundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongſt other, James Lindſey of Glenneſke was made earle of Crawford. His wife queene Eufemie deceaſſed the third yeare after hir husband atteined the crowne, and then incontinentlie he maried Elizabeth Mure [or Moore, daughter to ſir Adam Mure knight] his old lemman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie ſubſequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which alſo died (as fortune ſerued) when Eufemie firſt wife of the ſaid Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke poſſeſſe that which before they inioied in adulterie.]

Elizabeth Mure king Roberts concubine.

How the Dowglaſſes came by the earledome of Murrey.

Eufemie the queene deceaſeth.

Fr. Thin. Elizabeth the Mure maried to king Robert. Fr. Thin.

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement aſſembled, he made his eldeſt ſonne John, begotten on Elizabeth Mure aforeſaid, earle of Carrike: his ſecond ſonne begotten on hir, earle of Menteith and Fife: and his third ſonne Alexander, begotten likewiſe on the ſame mother, he created earle of Buchquhane, and lord of Badzenoch. [Beſides which hée had alſo two daughters by hir.] His eldeſt ſonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his firſt wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his ſecond ſonne Dauid, begotten on the ſame Eufemie, was made earle of Stratherne. The ſaid Walter procured the ſlaughter of James the firſt, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after ſhall appeare.

The preferment of the kings ſonnes to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne ſhould deſcend vnto John his eldeſt ſonne, and to his iſſue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his ſecond ſonne, and to his heires male; and for default of ſuch heires, to Alexander his third ſonne, and to his heires male, and in default of them, to remaine to his ſonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if ſuch ſucceſſion failed, then it ſhould deſcend vnto his yongeſt ſonne Dauid the earle of Stratherne, and to his heires generall either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were ſworne to performe this new ordinance touching the ſucceſſion of the crowne, and that in moſt ſolemne maner.

An act for ſucceſſion of the crowne.

About this time, the borderers, which are men euer deſirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they moſt chieflie liue, that is to ſay, reiſe and ſpoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietneſſe, vpon a quarell piked, ſlue certeine of the houſhold ſeruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Rorburgh, which as then the Engliſhmen held. Earle George ſore offended herewith, ſent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the Engliſh marches, requiring that ſuch as had committed the ſlaughter might be deliuered to re-

The borderers deſirous of warre.

Rorburgh faire.

ceiue according to that they had deserued: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yére following, against the nert faire to be holden at Rorburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murrey gathered a power of men secretlie togither, and comming to the said towne, toke it, slue all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

1370. Buchanan.

The truce violated.

Rorburgh surprised by the earle of March.

Herevpon the Englishmen shortlie after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and doing much hurt vpon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting togither a great bootie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a sore fight betwirt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncerteine, that sir John Gordon was sore wounded, and the Scots were fiue times that day had in chase, and as oft got the like aduantage of their enimies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelie discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the maner whereof Iohn Maior condemneth and laieth the fault of breach in earle Dowglasse.]

The Englishmen invade Scotland.

The Englishmen discomfited.

Sir John Lirborne taken.

Fr. Thin.

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seuen thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sowed togither, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running vp & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horsses breaking their halters and bridles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scotishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue béene assailed by their enimies) perceiuing themselues set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

Henrie Persie erle of Northumberland.

A policie to affright horses

In the meane time, Thomas Musgraue capteine of Berwike, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to méet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Io. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer awaie with the vpper hand. [All which before (vntill the death of Eufemie the quéene) Buchanan appointeth to the first two yéeres of the king, before the death of the quéene.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auignion to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods perteining to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the fift king of France sent ambassadors into Scotland, to renew the old leage betweene the two nations, and to persuade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdrawne out of France: which was performed accordinglie.

Tho. Musgraue capteine of Berwike taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from the pope.

Fr. Thin.

1375. Buchanan.

On the 22 day of October, in the yére 1378, Dauid Steward was borne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day nert following, towne of Berwike was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir or seuen other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of English men entring by a posterne of the castell, recouered the towne easilie againe out of the Scotishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scotishmen smallie reioised at this gains, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought awaie with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and sore pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue done anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yére after the incarnation 1380.

1378.

Berwike taken by Scots

Recouered againe out of their hands.

1380.

The faire of Pennire.

The third time that the pestilence cam into Scotland.

1380. Fr. Thin.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, vnder the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the erle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and inuading the Scotish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fiue hundred men, & stood in a streict till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for hast drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the bootie of cattell & goods recouered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the first as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduenturs dailie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadors vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his good fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts séemed to faile them through losses susteined diuerse waies of late at the Scotish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do write) to renew the old league & band betwirt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the maner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadors from king Robert vnto their master the said K. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glascow, with manie other noble men, who in like maner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yéere of king Robert his reigne.

The Englishmen invade the Scotish borders.

Englishmen slaine and drowned.

Ambassadors trō the Frēch king.

1381. Lel. Anno Reg. 11.

The renuing of the leage betwixt Scotland and France.

In which yéere John Lion chancellor of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in mariage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glammis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the tresse in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancellor, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had maried the kings daughter, he atteined to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeeres after, and durst not returne home, till finallie through earnest sute made to

The chancellor of Scotland slaine.

Enuie & spite.

The earle of Crawford in exile.

to the king by the earles of Dowglaſſe and March, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings fauour.

His pardon is begged.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaux, ſonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was ſonne to the ſaid king Edward, ſucceeded, in the fourth yeere of whoſe reigne, being after the birth of our Sauiour 1381, Iohn of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, with other Engliſh lords, came into Scotland in ambaſſage [to whome were appointed Iames earle of Dowglaſſe, and Iohn Dunbar earle of Murrey] to treat for the appeaſing of the diſcord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was ſo handeled, that a truce was concluded to indure for three yeeres. As the ſaid duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and inſurrection made by the commons of England againſt the nobles, hauing one Iacke Straw and others to their capteins, whereupon doubting to paſſe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeaſed, he returned into Scotland, and was conueied by William earle of Dowglaſſe, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, to holie rod houſe beſide Edenburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were ſuppreſſed, and their capteins ſlaine or taken, and put to execution.

Anno reg. 12. 1382. Io. Ma.

1381.

Engliſh ambaſſadors ſent into Scotland. Fr. Thin.

A truce taken.

Rebellion in England.

Iacke Straw

As ſoone as the truce was expired, Archembald Dowglaſſe lord of Galloway, diſpleaſed in his mind that the Engliſhmen lieng in gariſon within the caſtell of Lochmaben, did dailie harrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Annandale, raiſed a great power by ſupport of the earls Iames of Dowglaſſe, and George of March, and therewith laid a ſtrong ſiege vnto the ſaid caſtell of Lochmaben, & hauing lien thereat the ſpace of nine daies, they fought with a number of Engliſhmen that came out of Carleill to reſcue this caſtell, whom hauing put to flight, they gaue therwith alſo a sharpe aſſalt to the caſtell, and put them within in ſuch feare, that ſir William Fetherſton then capteine thereof, and the reſidue conſented to yeeld the houſe vnto the Scots euen the ſame day without more adoo, vpon condition they might depart with their goods in ſafetie into England.

The truce expired.

The gariſon of Lochmaben

Anno reg. 14. 1381. Io. Ma.

1384.

The caſtell of Lochmaben rendered to the Scots.

Iohn Fourdon.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this caſtell, ſpeaketh not of anie ouerthrow giuen to thoſe that ſhould come from Carleill, in maner as other write. For thus he ſaith. When Archembald Dowglaſſe had got knowledge that the ſame caſtell was vtterlie vnprouided both of men and vittels neceſſarie for the defenſe thereof, he aſſembled an armie togither, with the helpe of the earles of Dowglaſſe and Dunbar, who ioining with him, inuironed the caſtell about with a ſtrong ſiege, ſo that no ſuccour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Hereupon the capteine ſir William Fetherſton knight, ſent letters vnto the lord wardens of the Engliſh marches, requiring aid, and letting them to vnderſtand in what danger he ſtood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he ſhould do his beſt for eight daies to hold out; and if no ſuccour came within that terme, then to do as he ſhould ſee cauſe. Hereupon ſir William Fetherſton requiring a truce of the Scotiſh lords for the ſpace of thoſe eight daies, within which terme if no ſuccour came to remoue their ſiege, he would yeeld the caſtell vnto them, the liues and goods of them within ſaued. This was granted, and the Scots ceaſſed further to annoy them within by aſſalts: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeered, they receiued the caſtell into their poſſeſſion, according to the couenant. And ſo the Scots hauing thus woone the caſtell of Lochmaben, raced it quite downe to the earth.

Sir William Fetherſton.

Buchanan.

It is raſed.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had atchiued this enterpriſe, appointed the baron of Graiſtocke with a certeine number of men to go with vittels and munition vnto Rorburgh, for doubt leaſt if the Scots came to lay ſiege to that fortreſſe, and finding it vnprouided, they might peraduenture bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Rorburgh, he was taken by the earle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouiſion. The king of England being informed alſo of this miſhap, appointed two armies, one by ſea, and another by land, to inuade the Scots; the duke of Lancaſter hauing the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giuing order to them that ſhould paſſe by ſea what they ſhould do, entered himſelfe by land, and waſting the countries of March and Louthian, came to Edenburgh, and toke the towne. But whereas his ſouldiors would haue ſpoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a ſumme of monie, and ſo returned without doing anie more damage.

The baron of Graiſtocke taken.

Anno reg 15. 1383. 1. Ma.

An armie by ſea and an other by land, prepared againſt the Scots.

The duke of Lancaſter commeth with an armie to Edenburgh.

His naule being as then arriued in the Forth, tarried behind, & firſt burning the abbeie of ſaint Colmes Inch, a number of the ſouldiers with their capteins landed in Fife, and ſpoiled diuerſe townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erſkinnes being brethren, Alexander Lindſey, and William Cunningham of Kilmauris, ſet vpon them, and ſlue the moſt part of them, ſo that few in number eſcaped againe to their ſhips, being purſued hard to the water ſide. The ſame yeere the earle of Dowglaſſe recouered all the ſtrengths of Tiuidale out of the Engliſhmens hands, which they had held euer ſince the battell of Durham vnto thoſe daies. This earle of Dowglaſſe, one of the moſt valiant perſonages in thoſe his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his caſtell of Dowglaſſe, ſhortlie after he had atchiued this enterpriſe, and was buried in the abbeie of Melroſſe.

The Engliſhmen diſcomfited in Fife.

The ſtrength of Tiuidale recouered.

The earle of Dowglas deceaſſeth.

After his deceaſſe, his ſonne Iames, or (as ſaith Buchanan) William ſucceeded in the earledome of Dowglaſſe, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which ſhortlie after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he paſſed with the ſame into England, and burnt the countrie ſo farre as Newcaſtell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came vnto Perth, where he found the lord Iohn de Vian, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the ſame time was arriued in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ſhips well and perfectlie furniſhed for the warres, and in them two thouſand and fiue hundred armed men, diuerſe of them being lords and barons, beſides gentlemen and others. Alſo there was amongeſt them 400 hagbutters (as Bellenden ſaith) and two hundred with croſbowes: the reſidue bare pikes, halberts, and ſuch like weapons. They were paied their wages for one whole yeere aforehand, and had brought vittels with them to ſerue them as long. They had brought alſo with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long ſwords, & fiftie thouſand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert ſhould appoint and thinke expedient.

Iames earle of Dowglaſſe.

The Scots inuade Northumberland.

1385.

Iohn de Vian admerall of France.

200. Buchan. 25 barons, 800 men of armes or knights.

I. Fourdon. I doubt whether there were any hagbuts vſed in thoſe daies, though guns were ſomewhat before that time.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Engliſhmen, were highlie feaſted by the king and lords of the realme, as then preſent with him; and when the earle of Dowglaſſe was once come, by common conſent of them all there aſſembled togither in councell, it was ordeined that an armie ſhould be raiſed with all ſpeed, that ioining with theſe

French-

Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglasse, and March, Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scotish nobilitie. This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, tooke the castels of Warke, Fourd, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwike and Newcastell, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were constreined to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field neere to the castell of Rockelburgh, purposing to haue assaied the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were woone, they left that enterprise. For the Frenchmen required that if they wan it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, whereunto the Scots would not agree.

The earle of Fife. An armie of Scots and Frenchmen enter into England. Castels won. The Frenchmen & Scots cannot agree.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen wishing to accomplish some other enterprise, went to the west borders, where ioining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sulway sands; and so entering into Cumberland, did wonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carleill, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rockelburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next insuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small trauell and paines, since their first comming forth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipbord to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scotish writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, passed through the Mers and Louthian, putting all the townes, countries, and houses vnto vtter ruine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appeere.

They inuade Cumberland. The Frenchmen returne into France. King Richard inuadeth Scotland.

1387. In the yeere next insuing, Walter Wardlaw bishop of Glascow and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Steward earle of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, comming so secretlie thorough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in such speedie wise vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conueie away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of three daies, got a rich botie togither, and returned with the same thorough the countries of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iournie, there was a charter found of certeine lands giuen by king Athelstane, in this forme: I king Athelstane giues to Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid and als faire, als euer yay mine waire, and yarto witnesse Mauld my wife. ¶ By tenure of which deed it may appeere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few words barelie expressed in their writings, than that there needed so long processe and circumstance as is now vsed with long studie of penning, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

1387. An armie of thirtie thousand Scots inuaded England by the west marches. Cokermouth taken vpon the sudden. The forme of an old deed of gift. The true meaning of men in old time.

In this last iournie against the Englishmen, William Dowglas bastard sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valiancie, shewed as well in certeine approches made vnto Carleill, as in diuerse other skirmishes elsewhere. The king also herevpon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him worthie of some high aduancement; and therevpon gaue him his daughter in mariage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beautie, as hir match in those daies was not to be found: [with whome for hir dowrie, he gaue the lands of Niddesdale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after maried to the earle of Orkenie. This William Dowglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not ouercharged with flesh; but big of bone, a mightie personage, vpright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whome soeuer he stroke either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went were he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against three thousand Englishmen, of whome two hundred he slue in the field, & brought fiue hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

William Dowglas honored for his high prowesse. Fr. Thin.

1388. In the yeere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched awaie great booties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men togither, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The townesmen doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioining with them, they diuided themselues into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Steward of Durisdeir, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in some preie: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afore the towne.

1388. Irishmen fetch preies in Galloway. William Dowglas inuadeth Ireland with fiue hundred men, as Iohn Fourdon saith. Carlingford besieged. The crafte dealing of the townesmen. The Irishmen assaile the Scots in two seuerall places.

Neuertheless, the said Robert and William receiued the enimies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assault to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This done, they tooke three score ships which they found in diuerse hauens and creeks there on that coast, and fraughting fifteene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortlie after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Mers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerse towers and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberden: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all speed, to reuenge those iniuries don by the Englishmen. Herevpon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fifteene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of

The Irishmen put to flight. Carlingford woone by assalt. The Ile of Man spoiled. Englishmen burne in the Mers. Two armies of Scotishmen assembled

of Fife, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archembald Dowglaſſe lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindſeie of Walcop. The other conteining like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them James Lindſeie earle of Crawford, John Dunbar earle of Murrey, and the lord Hale the conſtable of Scotland, with diuerſe other of the nobilitie [both which (ſaith Froiſſard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.]

Fr. Thin.

These two armies parting in ſunder at Jedworth, the earle of Fife with his people entered into Cumberland by the weſt marches, and the earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entered on the other ſide into Northumberland, paſſing thorough the countrie, ſpoiling and waſting the ſame, till as farre as Durham: and on the other part, the earle of Fife ſpared neither fier nor ſword, all the way as he paſſed. At length both theſe armies met togither about a ten miles from Newcaſtell. Here the earle of Dowglaſſe choſe forth ten thouſand of the moſt able men that could be found amongeſt all the numbers, with the which he went to Newcaſtell, to trie if by anie meanes he might take the towne. There was gathered into Newcaſtell before his comming thither, the moſt part of all the choſen men from Yorke to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by reaſon of extreme age was not able to ſturre abroad (anie thing to purpoſe) himſelfe, but he had with him two of his owne ſonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Rafe, verie forward and luſtie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was ſurnamed for his often pricking, Henrie Hotſpur, as one that ſeldome times reſted, if there were anie ſeruice to be done abroad.

Cumberland inuaded.
Northumberland inuaded.
Ten thouſand of the choiſeſt men with the earle of Dowglas.
The aſſemblie of the Engliſhmen at Newcaſtle.
Henrie Hotſpur.

The earle of Dowglaſſe comming to Newcaſtell, incamped with his people on that ſide the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earneſtlie, which way he might beſt come to giue aſſault to win it. Henrie Perſie deſirous to ſhew ſome proofe of his ſingular manhood, wherein he greatlie truſted, required to fight with the earle of Dowglaſſe man to man; which requeſt the earle granting, togither they ran, mounted on two great courſers with ſharpe grond ſpeares at the vtterance. The earle of Dowglaſſe in this incounter bare himſelfe ſo well, that in the end he droue the Perſie out of his ſaddle. The Engliſhmen that ſtood without the gates, made to the reſcue, recouered him on foot, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne. Incontinentlie hervpon, the earle of Dowglaſſe cauſed the aſſault to be giuen, and filling the ditches with haie and fagots, came with ladders to the wals: but the Engliſhmen ſo well defended themſelues, that the Scots were beaten backe, not without great loſſe and ſlaughter of their people.

The earle of Dowglaſſe incampeth faſt by Newcaſtle.
The earle of Dowglas and Henrie Perſie run togither.
The Perſie diſmounted beſide his horſſe.
In aſſault giuen to Newcaſtell.

¶ Froiſſard making mention of this enterpriſe thus made by the Scots, varieth ſomewhat from the Scotiſh writers in this place: for he ſpeaketh nothing that the Dowglaſſe and the Perſie ſhould thus run togither on horſſebacke (as before is ſpecified) but that in giuing aſſault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Engliſhmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Perſie, and there by force plucked the Perſies ſtaffe from him, and in returning hoiſted it vp on heigth, ſaieng, he would carrie the ſame for his ſake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raiſed his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, & comming to a place called Otterborne, about twelue or foureteene miles from Newcaſtell, pitched downe his tents there, that his ſouldiors might take ſome reſt, & refreſh themſelues after their great trauell, for they had not reſted of all the day nor night before, nor to anie purpoſe, ſince their firſt entering into England.

Froiſſard ſome what varieth from the Scotiſh writers.
Dowglas incamped at Otterborne.

In the meane time the Engliſh power was highlie increaſed at Newcaſtell, for a great number of the countrie came, and entered into the towne the ſame night that followed the day of the aſſault. Henrie Perſie then perceiuing his number ſufficient to fight with Dowglaſſe, ſet them in order of battell, & determined to iſſue forth vpon the Scots, and to giue them an incounter: but when he vnderſtood that they were gone homewards, he followed them with all ſpeed, for he would by no means that they ſhould paſſe into Scotland without battell, truſting to recouer the diſhonor which he had ſuſteined by loſing his ſtaffe at the barriers before the gate of Newcaſtell. Earle Dowglaſſe aduertiſed that the enimies were comming to giue him battell, exhorted his people with few words to remember their wonted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win euerlaſting fame and honor, with ſafegard to themſelues and their countrie. The Perſie likewiſe for his part, incouraged his men, willing them to fight manfullie in reuenge of their iniuries done to them and their friends by the Scots, and herewith commanding the trumpets to ſound, he gaue the onſet fiercelie.

The Engliſh power increaſed.
Henrie Perſie followed the Scots.
The Dowglaſſe exhorteth his men to fight manfullie.
The Perſie with comfortable words incourageth his men.
The onſet is giuen.

Here both the armies ioining togither, a right terrible incounter inſued: but becauſe the night was at hand, before they began to ioine, through want of light to ſee what was to do, they were ſeuered in ſunder for that time; but remembring that the moone would ſhortlie riſe, they determined ſo ſone as ſhe began to giue light, to renew the battell againe. As ſone therefore as the moone began to appeare, they ioined againe with more malice than before. The Engliſhmen fought ſo egerlie, that putting the Scots backe, and cauſing them to giue ground, they had woone the Scotiſh ſtandards, and ſo by all likelihood got the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his ſonne, & ſuch other of his companie as attended him, come to the reſcue, by whome the fight was begun afreſh. Herewith alſo came the earle of Dowglaſſe, and with a great mace in his hand laid ſuch ſore ſtrokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

They were ſeuered by comming on of the night.
The battell is renewed.
Patrike Hepborne releeueth the Scots at point to be ouercome.
The valiantie of the earle of Dowglaſſe.

* The ſaid Dowglaſſe the yonger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithſtanding) moſt grieuouſlie wounded, whom his friends (comming about to ſuccor) found then caſt vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart moſt miſerablie wounded alſo. At what time a prieſt (which had faithfullie aſſiſted this Dowglaſſe in all diſtreſſe) did (now the bodie being faint and decaied) defend the ſame from other hurt of the aduerſarie. Dowglaſſe lieng in this eſtate, his neere friends (John Lindſeie, John and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he ſtoutlie anſwered (as one whome the preſence of death nothing diſmaied) that he was verie well; for ſaid he, I do not now die in my bed (by ſluggiſh deſtinie) but in the field, as almoſt all my anceſtors haue done. Wherefore, this ſhall be the laſt thing that I will require of you; firſt to keepe my death moſt ſecret, ſecondlie that you ſuffer not my ſtandard to be throwne downe, and laſtlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promiſe hope to be performed, I ſhall with more patience indure all other things. Wherevpon they firſt ſeuered his bodie that it ſhould not be knowen; then they erected his ſtandard, crieng (as the maner is) A Dowglaſſe a Dowglaſſe. At which voice, there was ſo great a concurſſe of people, & ſuch a toſſull aſſault vpon the enimie; that forthwith they draue them from the place of the battell. For at the verie name

This prieſt was William archdeacon of Aberden, as ſaith Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Leſleus lib. 7. pa. 263. calleth him William Loundie archdeacon of ſaint Andrews, kinſman to Dowglaſſe.
This Dowglaſſe was hurt in the ſhoulder in the lower part of his breſt, and in the thigh with ſeuerall arrows, and had a deadlie blow on his head being vncouered. Io. Maior. lib. 6 cap. 3.

name of Dowglaſſe, not onelie the common people, but Iohn earle of Murrey (ſuppoſing that the ſame ſide was in diſtreſſe) prepared in all haſt to ſuccour them.]

The Engliſh men put to flight.

Finallie, the whole number of the Scotiſhmen bare themſelues ſo manfullie, that the Engliſhmen being broken and put to flight, were ſlaine & borne downe. The chaſe continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in ſuch caſes is euer ſéene, though the more part in déed were taken with their liues ſaued after they once fell in the chaſe.

Rafe and Henrie Perſie taken priſoners.

Amongeſt other, Rafe Perſie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marſhall of Scotland, ſomewhat before the Engliſhmen began to turne.

Fr. Thin.

[But Leſleus. lib. 7. pa. 263. ſaith that Henrie Hotſpur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ranſome did build the caſtle of Pounune, which his heirs to this day do inioy.

Other perſons taken.

There was alſo taken beſides the two Perſies, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, Iohn Lilborne, William Wauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, Iohn Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights.

The number of priſoners taken.

There were taken in all of Engliſhmen, to the number of a thouſand and fortie, and ſlaine what in the field and chaſe (as Froiſſard recounteth) aboue an eightéene hundred. [But Buchan. ſaith, there were 1840 ſlaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.)

Fr. Thin. There were ſlaine but fiue hundred Engliſhmen as Hector Boetius ſaith.

But yet the Scotiſh writers themſelues report a leſſe number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great loſſe and ſlaughter. For amongſt other, the earle of Dowglaſſe himſelfe was thriſe ſtricken through the bodie, and alſo wounded ſo mortallie on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of thoſe hurts immediatlie after, to the great diſcomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous griefe for the loſſe of ſo worthie a chiefeteine, than ioy for the gaine of a great victorie.

The death of Iames earle of Dowglaſſe.

See more of this matter in England.

His bodie was conueied vnto Melros, & buried beſide his father earle William in the abbeie church there.

Archembald Dowglaſſe ſucceeded Iames the earle of Dowglaſſe.

And becauſe this earle Iames had no heires of his bodie begotten, his coſſine Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway ſucceéded him in the earldome.

The firſt aduancement of the Hepborns.

The houſe of the Hepborns (of the which this Patrike Hepborne that fought ſo valiantlie in this battell at Otterborne did deſcend) aroſe in Scotland after this wiſe.

It chanced in the daies of king Dauid the third, there was an Engliſhman of that name taken priſoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a yong gelding vnbroken, the which plaieng the vnrulie iade, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were preſent there gaue backe, and durſt not ſtep in to make anie ſhift to helpe the earle: this Engliſhman lept to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bridle reine, held the horſſe faſt, till the earle was ſafelie got beſide him. In reward of which benefit, the ſaid earle gaue vnto this Hepborne certeine lands in Lowthian, whoſe poſteritie increaſed afterwards in ſuch power of lands and ſurname, that the ſame inioied not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was alſo diuided into ſundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue riſen of right worthie fame and eſtimation.

The earles of Bothwell.

1310. 12. kal. Aug. Buchanan.

This battell of Otterborne was fought on ſaint Oſwalds day, which is the fift of Auguſt, in the yeare 1388.

1388. Fr. Thin. Buchan.

*Amongſt thoſe that fled to the battell, was Mathew Redman gouernor of Berwike, whom Iames Lindſeie (ſuppoſing by the beautie of his armor to be of the nobler ſort) did vehementlie follow by the ſpace of thrée miles. At the laſt, Redman perceiuing that he was not by flight able to eſcape (and déeming it better to hazzard his life, than otherwiſe to be ſlaine without aduenture) allighted from his horſſe to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindſeie did accordinglie; in the end after a long conflict betweéne them, the Engliſhman (being as ſaith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yéeld himſelfe to his aduerſarie. By whome (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certeine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in thoſe daies was the humanitie amongeſt the borderers, and both nations towards their priſoners, which to this day doth continue betweene the inhabitants of thoſe places. But if anie do not returne at the day appointed, this puniſhment is ſet vpon him for a perpetuall diſgrace. That in the aſſemblies of true daies (to demand reſtitutions of things and iniuries done by the one nation vnto the other) they vſe that he which complaineth himſelfe to be deceiued by his priſoner (on his promiſe) doth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth vpon a long ſtaffe or ſpeare to be ſéene of all men; the which is accounted a ſingular infamie to the deſeruers thereof. For they which haue ſo broken their faith, be euer after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which diſhoneſtie, they will not afford them good report or interteinment. Lindſeie hauing with this condition diſmiſſed his priſoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made directlie towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden ſo néere vnto them, that he could not withdraw himſelfe out of their danger. Theſe men were the bands of the biſhop of Durham, who when he came too late to Newcaſtell (to ioine with Perſie at the battell of Otterborne, becauſe he ſuppoſed that the enimies would not ioine vntill the nert day) commanded his armie to reſt there, and to fall to their ſupper. Shortlie after which, he tooke his iournie towards the Scots.

Lindſeie had a halberd, and Redman a ſword with a buckler which he caried at his backe. Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap 14.

The diſgrace of priſoners breaking promiſe.

Io. Ma. ſaith if they breake promiſe, the picture of him is tied to a horſſe taile and drawen about the borders of the countrie.

The biſhop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindſeie and Thomas Clifford.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderſtanding (by thoſe that fled from Otterborne battell towards Newcaſtell) that Perſie was ouerthrowne, and had loſt the field, he returned with his friends to Newcaſtell, to conſult what he ſhould do againſt the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the nert day at the ſunne riſing, they ſhould all be redie in armor to ſéeke the Scots. According whereunto in the morning of the nert day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were aſſembled, who (with theſe that the biſhop had brought thither) were of all ſorts gathered togither, to the number of 10000 horſſemen and footmen. Theſe ſtirred the biſhops mind, that (with all ſpéed) hée ſhould lead them toward the Scots, and trie the ſucceſſe of battell, for the Scots (ſaid they) wearied with the former daies fight, and moſt of them wounded, will not be able to abide the ſecond batell. With which ſpéeches they perſuaded themſelues of an eaſie conqueſt. Whereupon the biſhop ſet forward with his armie, whoſe comming being vnderſtood by the ſcouts of the Scots, the erle of Murrey (whom now all men did follow after the death of Dowglas) called the preſent nobilitie togither to conſult what ſhould be done with the priſoners, whom they could not in iuſtice now kill (hauing receiued them vpon ranſome) but it would ſeeme a moſt cruell part: and to reſcue them (being their enimies, and almoſt an equall number to themſelues) it was a thing moſt dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the priſoners ſhould ſweare, that they would not ſtirre whileſt the Scots and Engliſh were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were ouercome, and they (being now their priſoners) recouered from them, that yet they ſhould ſtill remaine priſoners vnto them as before, and ſo returne to them at a certeine day. Theſe things thus done, they left the priſoners

The biſhop of Durham goeth againſt the Scots.

Iohn Maior writeth, that ſome ſay they tied theſe priſoners faſt with ropes, li. 6. c. 4.

in

in the campe, with a ſmall gard which ſhould execute a preſent reuenge vpon them, if they did at anie time ſeeme to attempt anie thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories latelie obteined) afreſh deſcended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right ſide with the dead bodies of the former conflict: at what time it was alſo commanded that euerie one (as he did approch the enimie) ſhould blow the horne he caried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as lowd as he could, which ſound being of it ſelfe terrible, was in the echo (by reflexion of the hilles) ſo multiplied, that it forced the enimie to ſuppoſe the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were. But before they entred into the battell (as ſaith Iohn Maior) George of Dunbar earle of March incouraged his ſoldiers with theſe words. We haue this night (moſt noble Scots) ſuſteined the chiefe heat and force of the battell, we haue ouerthrowne the youth and ſtrength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cauſe why we (after ſuch honor obteined againſt thoſe valiant princes) ſhould now feare this filthie prieſt. Trulie there remaineth nothing now for vs, but that euerie one of vs giue but two ſtrokes, becauſe the leader will flie at the third, and all the flocke will follow, ſince the ſhéepeheard ſtroken, the ſhéepe will be diſperſed. But if they ſhall ſo long contend with vs, that (as God moſt rightlie forbid) we chance to be ouercome, then ſhall we moſt ſhamefullie loſe the glorie which we before haue honorablie gained by this nights trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, and put on vs ſuch valiant hearts (as the preſeruation of honor requireth) we ſhall eaſilie teach this mitred prieſt, that it had béene farre more honor to him, ſafetie to his, and moſt commoditie to them all, that he had remained at home, with rods to correct vnbrideled and negligent ſcholers, than with ſword to enter battell againſt growne and bearded ſouldiers.

The maner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a horne about their necks like hunters, and in the battell incourage themſelues to fight with that, Io. Ma. li. 6. ca. 4. which I ſuppoſe was alſo the maner of the Engliſh (as may be by manie ſubſtantiall reaſons approued.)

This being ſpoken, and the Engliſh now come to the point to ioine with the aduerſarie, the Scots began the alarms with their hornes, whereupon the Engliſh hearing that terrible noiſe (vnaccuſtomed to them in ſuch multitude) remembring that they muſt fight in the middle of dead carcaſſes of their friends and kinred latelie ſlaine (a ſpectacle to diſcourage moſt valiant hearts) and ſomewhat abaſhed at the chéerefulneſſe of the Scots ſtanding againſt them (which they looked not for after the laſt battell) the Engliſh (I ſay) conſidering theſe things, retired towards the place from whence they came, and ſuffered the Scots to returne without anie other purſute againſt them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindſeie (taken as before, and as yet priſoner in Newcaſtell) chanced to be ſéene and knowne by Redman (his yéelded priſoner) he was moſt courteouſlie (after congratulation of amitie betwéene them) ſuffred to depart frō Newcaſtell to Scotland.)

A parlement at Perth.

In the yéere following, a parlement was holden at Perth, in the which demonſtration was made by king Robert, that forſomuch as he was broken by great age, and might not through féebleneſſe occaſioned thereof attend to his office in gouernement of the realme, it was neceſſarie that ſome gouernor ſhuld be choſen; wherfore he required that his ſecond ſonne Robert earle of Fife might inioy that office, conſidering his eldeſt ſonne Iohn earle of Carrike (by reaſon of a ſtripe which he had receiued on the leg by an horſſe of ſir James Dowglaſſe of Dalketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might ſturre no way forth abroad. The lords conſented to the kings requeſt, and ſo the earle of Fife was conſtituted gouernour of Scotland, by common conſent of all the lords of the realme [before which time (as ſaith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernors.] Alſo the earle marſhall of England was ſent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henrie Perſie priſoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scotiſh writers, that this earle ſhould make ſtout brags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with anie power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to paſſe that Robert Steward the Scotiſh gouernor was entered into Northumberland with an armie, hée withdrew into places of ſafegard, and ſuffered the moſt part of the countrie to be harried and burned. In deed our Engliſh writers affirme, that the ſaid earle, hauing with him but fiue hundred men of armes, was not able to accompliſh anie notable exploit auailable againſt the great multitude of his enimies.

Fr. Thin.

The earle marſhall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernor of Scotland inuadeth Northumberland.

In the ſame yéere was a truce taken betwixt England and France, the Scots (if they would ſo agrée) being compriſed therein. Herevpon there came ambaſſadors forth of England, to vnderſtand what the king of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whom it was anſwered, that he would with good will ſtand to the ſame truce according as it was concluded. Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, Alexander Steward earle of Buchquhane burnt the cathedrall church of Murrey, the lanterne and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the biſhop of the ſame place. Whereat his father the king toke ſuch indignation, that when his ſonne the ſaid Alexander was brought to his preſence, he commanded him to be committed vnto ſtreict priſon, wherein he remained till after his fathers deceaſſe. The realme being in this maner brought to good tranquillitie, king Robert falling into great infirmitie and féebleneſſe, by reaſon of extreame age, without any maner of other accidentall ſickneſs, deceaſſed at his caſtell of Dundonald, the 19 day of Aprill, in the yéere after our redemption 1390, being as then aboue 75 yéeres of age, and haning reigned the ſpace of 19 yéeres, his bodie was buried at Scone before the high altar.

A truce taken

English ambaſſadors ſent into Scotlād.

The king of Scots agréeth to the truce.

The cathedrall church of Murrey burnt.

The earle of Buchquhane impriſoned.

The deceaſſe of king Robert the ſecond.

1390.

This Robert the ſecond, though by reaſon of his great age, he went not forth into the wars himſelfe, yet was there neuer prince afore him that had more happie ſucceſſe by the conduct of his capteins which he ſent forth as lieutenants vnder him, for they neuer lightlie returned home but with victorie. He was a prince of ſuch conſtancie in promiſe, that hée ſeldome ſpake the word which he performed not. Such an obſeruer he was alſo of iuſtice, that whenſoeuer he remoued from anie place, he would cauſe proclamation to be made, that if anie of his men or officers had taken vp anie thing vnpaid for, the partie to whom the debt was due ſhould come in, and immediatlie he ſhould be ſatiſfied. He willinglie heard the complaints of the poore, and was no leſſe diligent to ſée their wrongs redreſſed.

His happie ſucceſſe in warres.

The conſtancie of K. Robert in word and promiſe.

His vpright iuſtice.

His diligence to redreſſe poore mens wrongs.

*Robert.*

John Steward earle of Carrike admitted to the crowne.

1390.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

After the deceaſſe of king Robert the ſecond, his ſon Iohn Steward earle of Carrike was admitted to the crowne, which he receiued at Scone on the Aſſumption of our ladie. And forſomuch as Iohn was thought to be an vnfortunate name for kings, they changed the ſame, and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name. *But whether the ſame was ſo altered, either for the calamities which happened to the two Johns, the king of England and the king of France, or for the good ſucceſſe of the two former Roberts (Bruſe and Steward) had in the victories and gouernement of the realme: for their vertue in peace and warres: for their vniuerſall happineſſe in what they attempted:



Robert earle of Fife is choſen gouernor of the realme.

I will leaue vncerteine, hauing no certeintie deliuered thersof vnto me. This Robert the third rather lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraordinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend.

Iohn Ma. lib. 6. cap. 6. The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daughter of Iohn Drummond) whome he receiued into his bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the honor of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow to the common wealth by hir or hir aliance. In the begining of his reigne, a truce was taken betweene England and Scotland, for the space of three yéeres, which shortlie after was prorogued to the terme of foure yéeres.)

William Dowglas of Niddesdale chosen admerall by the lords of Prutzen.

About the same time William Dowglasse of Niddisdale was chosen by the lords of Prutzen, to be admerall of a nauie, conteining two hundred and fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed to set forth against the miscreant people of the northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clifford an Englishman (who was there likewise to serue with the foresaid lords in that iournie) to fight with him in a singular combat: before the day came appointed for them to make triall of the battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dowglasse, and vpon the bridge of Danzke met with him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and stay of the whole iournie. Moreouer, shortlie after the coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came that Duncane [whom some call Daiech Steward] sonne to Alexander Steward the kings brother afore rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great number of men, and slue Walter Ogiluie shiriffe of the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist him from spoiling the people, whom he miserablie afflicted; howbeit these his insolent doings were not long vnpunished. For the earle of Crawford being sent against him with an armie, caused him to disperse his companie, and to flée his waies; but being apprehended with the most part of his said companie, they were punished according to their demerits.

He is slaine by the lord Clifford. Duncan Steward inuadeth Angus. Fr. Thin.

The north parts of Scotland sore disquieted by two clans.

At this time also the most part of the north countrie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans of those Irish Scots, called Katerans, which inhabit the hie-land countries, the one named Clankaies and the other Clanquhattans. These two being at deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countrie with continuall slaughter and reife. At length it was accorded betwirt the parties, by the aduise of the earls of Murrey and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, against thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe swords to the vtterance, without anie kind of armor or harnesse, in triall and decision of the quarell, for the which the variance betwirt them first arose. Both these clans right ioifull of this appointment, came to Perth with their number, where, in a place called the North inch, a litle beside the towne, in presence of the king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought according as it was agréed, and that with such rage and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaies part were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life, after he saw all his fellowes slaine, lept into the water of Taie, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There were 11 of Clanquhattans side that escaped with life, but not one of them vnwounded and that verie sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they should fight the battell, one of the clans wanted one of his number, by reason that he which should haue supplied it, was priuilie stolen awaie, not willing to be partaker of so deare a bargaine. But there was a countrie-felow among the beholders, who being sore displeased with the matter, and loth that so notable a fight should be passed ouer, offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill vp the number, though the matter apperteined nothing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man (as saith Buchanan) séemed to be a saddle-maker, who for halfe a Frenchcrowne, and his diet during his life (if he were victor) toke the matter in hand, in which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than he, on whose part the said eleuen did suruiue, himselfe making vp the number.] This battell was fought thus betwéene the two clans, in maner as is before remembred, in the yeere 1396.

Wild Scots called Katerans. A battell of thirtie against thirtie. A desperate fight.

Fr. Thin.

1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second yéere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wherin, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinances enacted for the aduancement of the common-wealth, the king made his eldest sonne named Dauid (that was then about eightéene yéeres of age) duke of Rothsaie, and his brother Robert (that was earle of Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the first dukes that had béene heard of in Scotland, for till those daies there was neuer anie within the realme that bare that title of honor. [Which virgin title (saith Buchanan of that honor) gaue neuer good successe to the maisters]. During the time that the peace continued betwirt the two realmes of England and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and combats put in vre, and exercised betwirt Scots and Englishmen, for proofe of their valiant actiuitie in feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honor. But amongst the residue, that was most notable, which chanced betwirt Dauid earle of Crawford Scotish, and the lord Welles English.

1398.

The first dukes that were created in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Iustes and combats betwixt Scots and Englishmen.

It was agréed betwirt these two noble men, to run certeine courses on horsebacke, with speares sharpe grownd for life and death. The place appointed for these iusts was London bridge, and the day the thrée and twentith of Aprill, being the feast of saint George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came redie to furnish their enterprise, and being mounted on their mightie coursers, they ran togither right egerlie. At the first course, though they atteinted, yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of falling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Dauid sat without mouing, cried that the Scotishman was locked in his saddle. He hearing this, leapt beside his horsse, and verie nimblie mounted vp againe into the saddle, armed as he was, to the great wonder of the beholders. This done, he toke another staffe, & so togither they ran againe right fiercelie the second time, and yet without anie great hurt on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles was borne out of the saddle, and sore hurt with the grieuous fall.

The earle of Crawford of Scotland, & the lord wels of England iusted for life and death.

The lord wels borne out of his saddle.

And for bicause the earle of Crawford thus vanquished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, hée founded a chanterie of seuen priests to sing in our ladies church of Dundée, in memorie of S. George, which they did vnto our time, not without singular commendation of the said earle. After this, he remained thrée moneths in England, in sporting and feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his noble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst them. Not long after, one sir Robert Morlaie an Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his manhood in singular battell, with whome soeuer would come against him: he vanquished one Archembald Edmounston, and Hugh Wallase: but at length he was ouercome by one Hugh Traill at Berwike, and died shortlie after vpon displeasure thereof conceiued.

Praise of the erle of Crawford. Sir Robert Morlaie.

In the same yéere, Richard king of England, maried

married Iſabell daughter to the French king, and ſone after went into Ireland, to ſubdue ſuch Iriſh rebels, as troubled the quiet ſtate of the countrie. But in the meane time, his lords at home rebelled againſt him, and determined to depoſe him from the crowne, ſo that vpon his returne into England, he was apprehended, put in ward, and ſhortlie after conſtreined to renounce all his right to the crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall priſon: yet at length (as the Scotiſh chronicle telleth) he got forth of priſon diſguiſed in womans apparell, and came into Galloway, where he fell in ſeruice with a Scotiſh man named Makdonald. But at the laſt, being bewraied and knowen what he was, and therevpon brought to king Robert, he was right honorablie by him interteined: neuertheleſſe, knowing himſelfe depoſed from his roiall eſtate, he gaue himſelfe wholie to contemplation, till finallie he departed this world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke friers there within the ſame towne, as the ſame Scotiſh chronicles vntrulie do report. But to the matter, Henrie the ſonne of John of Gaunt, ſometime duke of Lancaſter, after that king Richard was depoſed, was crowned king of England at Weſtminſter, the thirteenth day of October, in the yeere 1399.

K. Richard of England goeth into Ireland.

K. Richard is depoſed.

He is adiudged to perpetuall priſon.

He eſcapeth forth of priſon.

K. Richard dieth at Sterling and lieth buried there.

Henrie the fourth king of England is crowned.

1399. I. Ma.

1400.

In the yeere next inſuing, that is to ſay, 1400, king Robert, in conſideration of a ſumme of monie to him aforehand paid, contracted couenants of mariage to be had and made betwixt his ſonne the duke of Rothſaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation that the earle of March ſhould be preferred before him, by ſupport of the duke of Albanie, procured a councell to be called, in the which he found meanes to aſſure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie (as ſaith Buchanan) vnto the ſaid duke of Rothſaie, & with all ſpeed went about to conſummate the mariage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the king, and required to know his pleaſure, if he minded to performe the couenants concluded, concerning the mariage betwixt the prince and his daughter, or not; making as it were a great complaint of that which was alreadie done to the breach thereof; and receiuing anſwer nothing agreeable to his mind, he departed in a great fume, not ſticking to ſay, he would be reuenged on ſuch vntruth yer it were long. Shortlie after he fled into England, leauing his caſtell of Dunbar well ſtuffed of all things neceſſarie for defenſe, in the keeping of his ſiſters ſonne named Robert Maitland. But when Archembald Dowglaſſe came thither in the kings name, and required to haue the caſtell rendered into his hands, this Robert Maitland obeied the kings commandement, and deliuered the houſe to the ſaid Dowglaſſe.

The occaſion of the falling out betwixt king Robert and the earle of March

The earle of March flieth into England.

The caſtell of Dunbar ſeized to the kings vſe.

George earle of March informed hereof, procured all his friends to conueie themſelues into England, and determined with himſelfe to do all the diſpleaſure and miſchiefe he might inuent againſt his owne natiue countrie. King Robert ſore dreading, leaſt by this earles procurement ſome trouble might hap to follow amongeſt his ſubiects [did (firſt confiſcating his goods) ſend] an herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promiſing by the tenure of the ſame, not onelie to pardon him of all offenſes committed, but alſo to redreſſe all wrongs or iniuries which he had anie waies forth receiued, if he would returne into Scotland. And forſomuch as the earle of March refuſed this offer, the ſame herald according to inſtructions giuen him at his departure from king Robert, went immediatlie to Henrie king of England with other letters, earneſtlie deſiring him to cauſe the earle of March to depart out of his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scotland into his bounds, whereby the peace might be violated, which as yet remained betwixt the two kingdomes.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert ſpiteth vnto the earle of March.

Sent letters alſo vnto the king of England.

King Henrie vpon reaſonable allegations (as he pretended) refuſed to ſatiſfie king Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reaſon whereof the peace brake betwixt them and their ſubiects, without anie further tracting of time. For ſhortlie after, Henrie Perſie, ſurnamed (as is ſaid) Henrie Hotſpur, and the earle of March entered into Scotland, and got togither a great bootie of goods and cattell [in Louthian about Hadington, at what time they did in vaine beſiege the caſtell of Hais or Halis, who being at Lintone were come vpon by the Scots, for (to haue returne of the booties taken) Archembald earle of Dowglaſſe] hauing aſſembled a power of men, came with the ſame towards the enimies, immediatlie whereupon they fled to Berwike, and left all their bootie behind them, which being recouered by the ſaid earle of Dowglaſſe and his companie, he returned backe vnto Edenburgh, where he ſhortlie after being taken with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leauing behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for his high proweſſe and noble valiancie ſhewed in manie and ſundrie enterpriſes, by him luckilie atchiued for the wealth of his countrie. He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadfull looke, The grim Dowglaſſe.

Henrie Hotſpur and the earle of March enter into Scotland. Fr. Thin.

The deceaſſe of Archembald earle of Dowglaſſe.

After his deceaſſe, his ſecond ſonne that was called likewiſe Archembald, was made earle of Dowglaſſe; for his eldeſt ſonne William Dowglaſſe died in the yeere before his father. Shortlie after, Henrie king of England came into Scotland with an armie, without doing anie great damage to the people; for he required no more of them that kept anie caſtels or ſtrengths, but onelie to put forth a banner of his armes as he paſſed by. At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the nunrie there, & ſhewed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and all other of that houſe, not ſuffering anie manner of thing to be done preiudiciall to the ſame. The like gentleneſſe he vſed towards them of the Holie rood houſe, at his comming to Edenburgh, wherein he likewiſe lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the friendlie interteinement, which his father the duke of Lancaſter found in theſe abbeies, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in England, through Jacke Straw and his complices, he ſhewed ſuch fauour towards them at this preſent. To be briefe, it ſhould appeare, that king Henrie came into Scotland, as it were inforced, more thorough counſell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he bare towards the Scots, as he well ſhewed in returning backe againe, without doing them anie further iniurie.

Henrie king of England inuadeth Scotland.

[In the yeere after, or thereabout, died Walter Trailie biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and the] Scotiſh queene Annabell Drommond, after whoſe deceaſſe hir ſonne Dauid the duke of Rothſaie, that vnder hir gouernment had beene well and vertuouſlie brought vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to all kind of inſolent outrage, ſeeking to defile wiues, virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all places where he came. At length, his father perceiuing his ſonnes youthfull nature to rage after that manner in vnbrideled luſt, beyond the bounds of all meaſure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the duke of Albanie, requiring him to take his ſonne, the ſaid duke of Rothſaie into his cuſtodie, and to ſee him ſo chaſtiſed for his wanton behauiour, as he might learne to amend the ſame. ¶ Here is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long

Fr. Thin.

The death of queene Annabell.

The inſolent outrage of the duke of Rothſaie.

time before, desired to see the duke of Rothsaie dispatched out of the way, as the person whome he most doubted; & therefore hauing commission thus from the king to take him, he reioised not a little, trusting thereby to compasse his purpose without danger. And hereupon taking the duke of Rothsaie betwixt Dundee & saint Andrewes, he brought him to Falkeland, where he shut him vp in streict prison, and kept him without all manner of meat or drinke, so to famish him to death.

The duke of Rothsaie committed to prison.

It is said, that a woman vnderstanding the duke of Albanies intention, and taking ruth of the others pitifull case, found meanes to let meale fall downe thorough a rift of the loft of that tower wherein he was inclosed, by meanes whereof his life was certeine daies susteined; but after this was once knowen, incontinentlie was the woman made awaie. On the same manner, an other woman through a long reed fed him with milke of hir owne breists, and was likewise dispatched as soone as hir doings were perceiued. Then after this, the duke destitute of all worldlie sustenance, thorough verie famine was constreined to eat not onelie all such filth as he could find within the tower, but also in the end he gnawed off his owne fingers, and so finallie in this miserable state of martyrdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buried in Lundonis, where (as the fame went) manie faire miracles were done neere to his graue, till time that Iames the first began to punish the murtherers, for since that time such miracles ceassed.

The duke of Rothsaie famished to death.

Miracles.

About the same time, George earle of March did manie displeasures to the Scots, making sundrie rodes into their countrie, greatlie to his profit. The earle of Dowglasse that had the gouernement of Louthian in those daies, toke order, that certeine capteins of that countrie should euerie one of them for his turne, with a competent number for the time, make a rode into England, to reuenge such displeasures. The first that went, was Thomas Haliburton of Dirlington, who returned in safetie with a great preie taken of Englishmens goods. Next vnto him was Patrike Hepborne of the Halis the yonger, appointed to go forth as capteine generall with a certeine number, who entering into England, got a great bootie togither; but the Englishmen following therevpon to recour it, incountered with him at Nesbet in the Mers, and there not onelie slue him, but also distressed his people. Besides them that were slaine with their capteine, there were also manie that were taken, as John and William Cockborne, Robert Lawder of the Bas, John and Thomas Haliburton, with manie other. Almost all the floure of Louthian (as Iohn Maior writeth) perished in this battell, which was fought the 22 of June, in the yeere 1402.

The displeasures done by George earle of March.

The earle of Dowglas gouernour of Louthian.

Thomas Haliburton.

Patrike Hepborne slaine at Nesbet.

1402.

Archembald Dowglas inuadeth England.

Archembald earle of Dowglasse sore displeased, and wonderfullie wroth in his mind for this ouerthrow, got commission to inuade England with an armie of ten thousand men, and hauing the same once readie with all things necessarie for his voiage, he set forward, and entering into England, burnt and harried the countrie, not staieng till he came as farre as Newcastell. In this armie there was with the Dowglasse, Murdocke eldest sonne to duke Robert earle of Fife, Thomas erle of Murrey, George earle of Angus, with manie other lords and nobles of Scotland. At the last, when they were returning homewards with a preie of infinit goods and riches, Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, with a great power of men met them, and assailed them so with such incessant shot of arrowes, that where the earle of Dowglas with his armie had the aduantage of an hill, called Homildon, he was constreined to forsake the same; and comming downe vpon the Englishmen, was neuertheless put to the worsse, the most part of his people being either taken or slaine. It is said, that after the Scots were once put to flight, they gathered againe, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Adham Gordon, & sir John Swinton, but that did little auaile them, for they were still beaten downe and slaine. Among other of those that were slaine, were the same sir John Swinton, and Adham Gordon: also John Leuinston of Kalender, Alexander Ramsaie of Dalhousie, with sundrie other gentlemen & nobles of Scotland.

The nobles of Scotland in this armie.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March assaile the Scots at Homildon.

The Scots through force of the Englishmens shot, descend the hill.

The Scots are put to the worsse.

Adham Gordon.

Men of name slaine.

Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdocke Steward eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour, George erle of Angus, Robert Erskin of Galloway, the lord Saulton, James Dowglas maister of Dalkeith, and his two brethren John and William, with the most part of all the barons of Fife and Louthian, were taken prisoners. This battell was fought on the Rood day in haruest, in the yeere 1403, vpon a Tuesday. Henrie Persie verie proud of this victorie, came with the earle of March vnto the castell of Cockclauis in Teuidale, and laied siege to the same, but John Greinelow capteine thereof defended it so manfullie, that they got no great aduantage; yet at length he fell to this composition with them, that if he had no rescue within the space of three moneths [or (as Buchanan saith) fiftie daies] the castell should be then rendered into their hands. When the gouernour of Scotland was informed what agreement the capteine of Cockclauis had made, he assembled the lords in counsell to haue their aduise for the leauieng of an armie against the time appointed. There were manie of this opinion, that it was better to lose the castell, than to ieopard the liues of so manie men as were necessarie to furnish that enterprise for the sauing of it. But the gouernour shewed, that he weied the losse of it so much, that if none of the nobles would passe with him to the rescue thereof, yet he would go himselfe to do what in him might lie to saue it. But in the meane time, such trouble rose in England, that there needed no power to be leauied for the defense of Cockclauis. For by a conspiracie practised against king Henrie, certeine of the English nobilitie were alied togither to haue destroied him, but amongest the residue, the Persies were as chiefe.

Prisoners taken.

Buch. 1401. 1402. H.B.

The castell of Cockclauis besieged.

A composition

Fr. Thin.

A conspiracie against king Henrie by the Persies and other.

They fought togither at Shrewesburie a verie bloudie battell, where the king got the victorie, and slue the lord Persie, surnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henrie Hotspur. At this battell was also the earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of Scotishmen on the Persies side, for being taken prisoner at the battell of Homildon (as before is said) it was accorded betwixt him and the said Henrie Hotspur, that aiding him & other his complices against king Henrie, if it chanced the said king Henrie to be vanquished and put from the crowne, according to their intent and purpose, then should the said earle Dowglas be released of his ransome, and haue the towne of Berwike rendered vnto him in reward of his aid and assistance. He fought (as is reported) with singular manhood, and had the fore ward on the Persies side. He slue that day with his owne hands, three gentlemen arraied in the kings cote armour; and finallie when the battell was lost, he was taken in the chase, and saued aliue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scots escaped with life, but were all slaine out of hand. Neither was this victorie gotten by king Henrie, without great slaughter of those that were on his part, for he lost foure verie valiant knights, as Staluart, Blunt, Wallie, and Pottoke, with seuen hundred other souldiers and men of war (as

Shrewesburie field.

The earle of Dowglasse at Shrewesburie field in aid of the Persies

He led the fore ward there.

He is taken prisoner.

(as the Scotiſh writers haue) but the Engliſh authors name a farre greater number, as ſixteene hundred at the leaſt.

King Henrie (as the ſame Scotiſh writers do record) vſed the counſell & aduiſe of the earle of March, in the obteining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels ſide to him. The earle of Dowglas, in reſpect of his noble parentage and high valiancie, was verie tenderlie cheriſhed by king Henrie, who for that he had ſeene him do ſo valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him worthie of all honor. The earle of Dowglas yet was verie infortunat in moſt of his enterprizes, ſo farre forth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembald Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne perſon, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Hommildon he loſt one of his eies, and at this battell of Shrewesburie he loſt one of his ſtones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing what euill ſucceſſe his ſonne and other his kinſmen had found in their rebellious enterprize at Shrewesburie, with one of his nephues (that was his ſonnes ſonne) and other of his friends and kinſmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Wardlow biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and lodged with him at his eaſe and in good ſuertie within his caſtell of ſaint Andrews aforeſaid.

The earle of Dowglas infortunat in battell.

His ſurname Tinneman.

The earle of Northumberland fled into Scotland.

About the ſame time, king Robert was aduertiſed, that his ſonne the duke of Rothſaie was pined to death in Falkland (in manner as before is expreſſed) which newes were ſo greeuous vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in ſorow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it ſo long as was poſſible from the kings knowledge, and being now ſent for by the king to anſwer him for ſuch treaſonable ſlaughter of his ſonne, he came, and ſo excuſed the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had beene nothing guiltie in the cauſe, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promiſed (if it might pleaſe the king to come vnto Edenburgh) he would bring in the offendors which were culpable of the murther. The king as then remaining in Bute (where for the moſt part he euer ſoiourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reaſon of long ſickneſſe, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edenburgh, vpon the earneſt deſire he had to ſee his ſons death puniſhed. And at his comming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certeine naughtie perſons, & ſuch in deed, as for their heinous acts and vngratious conditions deſerued well to die (though not for this matter) which neuertheleſſe by vntrue ſuggeſtions and forged accuſements, being brought before corrupt iudges (and ſuch as the duke of Albanie had prouided for his purpoſe) were condemned as giltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer ſaw.

The death of the duke of Rothſaie commeth to the knowledge of his father.

The duke of Albanie excuſeth himſelfe.

The king commeth to Edenburgh.

Giltleſſe perſons condemned.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as was poſſible, and made ſo ſound and cleare as could be deuiſed; yet was not the king ſo ſatiſfied in his mind, but that he had a great ſuſpicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his ſonnes death: but for ſo much as the duke had all the realme vnder his obeiſance, partlie by policie, and partlie by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durſt not attempt anie thing againſt him, but rather doubted, leaſt he hauing an ambitious deſire to the crowne, would compaſſe alſo to haue the life of his ſecond ſonne (named James) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduiſe of Walter Wardlaw the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, he prouided a ſhip, and ſent the ſaid prince forth in the ſame to paſſe into France to K. Charls the firſt, deliuering him alſo a letter written and directed vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at vnwares by anie fortune to fall into the Engliſhmens hands.

The ſuſpicion of the king towards the duke of Albanie.

The king ſendeth away his ſonne the prince.

Henrie lord Sinclare, the ſecond earle of Orkeneie, was appointed to haue the conueie of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, tooke the ſhip that was appointed for them at the Baſſe, where it late at anchor, and loſing from thence, they ſailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as ſome ſay) they were taken on the ſea by Engliſhmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland ſhould paſſe that waies, laie in wait for him. Others write, that his deſire was to be ſet on land there, becauſe he might not awaie with the aire of the ſea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & ſtomach therewith. But how ſoeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Engliſhmen by the ſpace of eightéene yeares. At his comming to the preſence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here inſueth, as in the Scotiſh toong they be written.

James prince of Scotland taken by the Engliſhmen. H.B. 1404.

## The tenor of the ſaid letter as it *is written in the Scotiſh* toong.

RObert king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitee, and iuſtice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy laſt armie in Scotland; howbeit ſike things had beene vncerteine to vs afore. For though thou ſeemed as enemie with moſt awfull incurſions in our realme: zit we found mair humanities and plaiſures than damage (by thy cumming) to our ſubdittes. Specialie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcaſtell the time of his exill in Scotland. Wie may not ceis yairfore, wuhile wee are on life, but aye luyf and loif thee as maiſt noble and worthie prince, to ioys thy realme. For yocht realmes and nations contend amang themſelfe for conqueſts of glorie & launds, zit na occaſioun is amang vs to inuade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erar to contend amang our ſelfe, quhay ſall perſew othir with maiſt humanitee and kindneſſe. As to vs we will meis all occaſion of battell, quare any occurres at thy pleaſure. Forther, bycauſe we haue na leſſe ſollicitude in preſeruing our childzen fra certaine deidlie enimies, than had ſometime thy noble fader, we are conſtreined to ſeeke ſupport at vncowth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuaſioun of enimies is ſa great, that ſmall defenſe occurres againſt yame without they by preſerued by amitie of nobill men. For the warld is ſa full of peruerſit malice, that na crueltie nor offenſe may be deuiſit in erd, bot the ſamine may be wrought be motion of gold or ſiluer. Heirfore, becauſe we knaw thy hyneſſe full of monie, noble vertues, with ſike puiſſance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we deſire thy

humanitee and ſupport at this time.

We traiſt it is not vnknowen to thy maieſtie, how our eldeſt ſonne Dauid is ſlaine miſerablie in priſoun be our brothir the duke of Albanie, quhome wee cheſit to be gouernour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our ſubdittes and realme, beſeekand thy hienes thairfore to be ſa fauorable, that this bearer James our ſecond and allanerlie ſonne may haue targe to liefe vnder thy faith, and iuſtice, to be ſome memorie of our poſteritie, knawand the vnſtable conditioun of mans life ſa ſodanlie altered: now fluriſaund, and ſudenlie falling to vtter conſumptioun. Forthir beliefe well, quhan kings and princes hes na other beild bot in thair awin folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. For the minds of common people ar euir flowand and mair inconſtant than wind. Zit quen princes ar roborat be amitee of othir vncowth kings thair brethir and nighbouris, na aduerſitie may occurre to eiect thaim fra thair dignitie riall. Forthir gif thy hienes thinke nocht expedient (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir owr deſires; zit we requeſt ane thing quhilk was ratifiſt in our laſt trewes & conditioun of peace, that the ſupplicatioun made be ony of the two kings of Ingland and Scotland ſall ſtaund in manner of ſaufeconduct to the bearer. And thus we deſire to be obſeruat to this our allanerlie ſonne, and the gratious God conſerue thee maiſt noble prince.

After that king Henrie had cauſed theſe letters to be opened and read, he aduiſed himſelfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to ſtaie this James prince of Scotland as his lawfull priſoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreouer, there were diuers rebels of England ſuccored within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high diſpleaſure of the ſaid king Henrie. But ſuch was the fauour ſhewed in his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned more to his honor, profit, and commoditie, than anie other worldlie hap that might by anie means haue otherwiſe chanced vnto him. He had ſuch perfect inſtructors to teach him, aſwell the vnderſtanding of tongs as the ſciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught alſo to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be vſed of ſuch a perſonage, whereunto he was ſo apt and readie, that few in anie point of actiuitie might ouermatch him. He had good knowledge in muſike, and could plaie on ſundrie inſtruments right perfectlie. To be briefe, it appeered in all his behauiour and maners, in what companie ſo euer he came, that his bringing vp had beene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and moſt vertuous prince.

James the prince of Scotland ſtaied as priſoner in England.

His bringing vp.

An happie captiuitie.

His inſtructors in the tongs.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in muſike.

After it was ſignified vnto his father king Robert, as he ſat at ſuper, that his ſonne was thus arreſted in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, ſore lamenting that euer he matched himſelfe in mariage with a woman of ſo meane degree (to the diſparagement of his blood) as was queene Annabell, on whome he begat his ſonnes, which (as he tooke it) was the onelie cauſe why aſwell forraine princes as his owne ſubiects had him thus in contempt. He tooke this matter ſo ſore to hart, that within three daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of ſickneſſe, now increaſed by melancholie, which had vered him a long time before. He died at Rothſaie in the ſirteenth yeere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Paſleie, with his wife queene Annabell before rehearſed. He was a man of a mightie ſtature, verie liberall and gentle, ſo that if he had not beene maimed with a horſſe, and thereby grew lame, that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himſelfe, it was thought the common-wealth ſhould haue proſpered vnder his gouernement, as much as euer it did vnder anie of his predeceſſors.

The griefe of his father K. Robert.

The death of king Robert the third.

1406, Buch. 1408.

His buriall.

His ſtature and qualities.

The gouernor Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceaſſe of his brother king Robert, was by new election choſen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernor, which he exerciſed more vprightlie, & with better iuſtice now after his brothers death, than before. [For (as ſaith Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with deſire to gouerne (whereunto he cared not by anie means to aſpire) there were in him manie other good parts worthie to haue ſuch gouernement: for he was valiant in battell, wiſe in counſell, he did decide matters of controuerſie with great equitie, he wan the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not ſucke the commons drie by exactions.] In the meane time, the caſtell of Jedworth (which the Engliſhmen had held euer ſince the battell of Durham) was taken by Tiuidalemen, and raced downe to the earth. Archembald earle of Dowglaſſe, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made ſhift to agree for his ranſome, and ſo being ſet at libertie, returned with all ſpeed now at length into Scotland.

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernor of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

Jedworth caſtell taken.

The earle of Dowglaſſe is releaſed and returneth into Scotland.

Shortlie after, there was a councell called, wherein was a motion made for the reſtoring of George earle of March to his countrie, lands, and bloud. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and againſt him, it was in the end concluded, that he ſhould returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scotiſhman; but vnder this condition, that he ſhould forgo his lands of Annerdale, and Lochmaben, which ſhould for euer remaine to the Dowglaſſe, and to his heires. All his other lands and poſſeſſions, it was accorded, that he ſhould inioy as in his former right & eſtate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all paſſed offenſes committed againſt the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfort of his friends.

A motion made for the reſtoring of the earle of March to his countrie.

The earle of March reſtored home.

* Perſie that before was fled into Scotland to the erle of March his old friend, was courteouſlie receiued, interteined, & nouriſhed according to his eſtate, by the ſaid earle of March: during which time, he ſollicited his friends in England to find means for returne into his countrie. And amongſt other of his friends, with whom he dealt by ſecret meſſengers; he directed letters concerning the ſame, to an old (and as he deemed a moſt faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Rokſbie, declaring vnto him that he ſhould not want friends, both Scotiſh & Engliſh (through whoſe helpe he did not deſpaire to recouer his patrimonie) if he might haue his aid alſo therein, for this Rafe was ſhiriffe of Yorkſhire. This man, after he had intiſed Perſie (vnder the aſſurance of falſe hope and truſt in him) to come into England, he opened the conſpiracie to the king, and ſecretlie laid wait to intercept the ſaid earle, by which meanes, (getting him into his poſſeſſion) he cut off his head, and ſent it to the king to London. At which time alſo, there was an Engliſhman in Scotland, which called himſelfe Richard the ſecond: but falſlie (as I ſuppoſe

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. 1409.

ſuppoſe, ſaith Buchanan; for when the elder Perſie did often and importunatlie require to talke with him, he could neuer be perſuaded by anie mens words to come, or enter ſpéech to, or with the ſaid earle of Northumberland, fearing (belike) leaſt his deceipt would be vnderſtood by him, which knew his owne and true king verie well. This counterfeit king yet boaſting him to be of the princelie bloud, was honored accordinglie; after certeine yeares, and at length (feining himſelfe to be far from all deſire of gouernement, to the end he might worke his effect the more ſafelie) he died and was buried in the church of the frier Dominicks in Sterling, with a title of the king of England grauen vpon him.)

Rebellion moued by Donald of the Iles.

About the ſame time, there roſe great trouble in Scotland, by the rebellion of Donald of the Iles, who claming by right of his wife, a title to the earldome of Roſſe, was defeated of the ſame, by the practiſe of the gouernor, hauing by ſubtill conueiance, aſſured the ſaid earldome vnto his ſecond ſon the earle of Buchquhane named John. The foreſaid Donald, by way of ſupplication, beſought the gouernor to doo him reaſon; but he receiued nought, except it were froward ſpéech, wherewith he toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that raiſing all the power of the Iles he came into Roſſe, and ſubdued the ſame at his pleaſure. ✻ The which to make the matter more plaine, and to deduce his title out of Leſleus (which he forgetteth not to report for the honor of his owne houſe) I will ſet the ſame downe in this maner.

Donald ſubdued Roſſe. Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 7. cap. 268.

Walter Leſle a noble man, after ſingular proweſſe ſhewed by him (in externall battell) vnder the Romans, returned with honor into Scotland, where he maried the daughter of William earle of Roſſe, (ſlaine at the battell of Halidon) and with hir obteined the earldome of that prouince, of which wife he raiſed one ſonne called Alexander, after earle of Roſſe; and one daughter giuen in mariage to Donald of the Iles. This Alexander ioined himſelfe in mariage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernor, and had by hir one onelie daughter and heire chriſtened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender maid and vnpractiſed in the courſe of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernor, induced to giue the earldome of Roſſe vnto him, by whoſe helpe, as it was reported, ſhe ſhortlie after died. Whereupon, Donald that had to wife the ſiſter of Alexander Leſle (aunt to this Eufemie which ſold hir inheritance) demanding the erldome of Roſſe by right of inheritance (as is ſaid) by his wife, entered Roſſe, and brought it to his ſubiection.) But not being ſatiſfied with this, he paſſed through Murrey, Boghtuall, and other bounds thereabouts, till he came vnto Garioch, purpoſing to burne Aberden.

The earldome of Roſſe tranſferred from the line of Walter Roſſe to the Stewards.

The earle of Mar.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to reſiſt this Donald, met with him at a village called Harlow, & incontinentlie not ſtaieng for more aid that was comming towards him, ſet on the enimies more raſhlie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than diſcreetlie, not paſſing for keeping anie accuſtomed arraie of battell, as had béene requiſit. By reaſon whereof, great ſlaughter was made on either part, the victorie in the end being ſo doubtfull, that both parts were faine to withdraw out of the field, and flée to the next mounteins, as glad to be ſeuered the one from the other. There was ſlaine on Donalds part nine hundred men, with Makclane, and Makinthos. On the earle of Marres ſide, there died Alexander Ogiluie ſhiriffe of Angus, with ſeuen knights of name, and diuers other gentlemen, with commons, to the number of ſix hundred. This battell was ſtriken on ſaint James euen, in the yeare 1411. Donald of the Iles, after this bickering wholie granted the victorie to his enimies, in fleeing all the night long after the battell towards Roſſe, and from thence with like ſpéed he paſſed ouer into the Iles.

The battell of Harlow.

Doubtfull victorie.

The number ſlaine.

1411. Donald of the Iles fleeth.

In the yéere next following, the gouernor prepared to make a iournie into the Iles, to chaſtiſe the foreſaid Donald; but he through feare of further damage, ſubmitted himſelfe, and was ſworne neuer to procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come. Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, ſecond ſonne to the earle of March, with one hundred of hardie perſons, came earlie one morning somewhat before the breake of the day to Faſt caſtell, and wan the ſame, taking the captaine priſoner, whoſe name was Thomas Holdon. At the ſame time was the bridge of Rorburgh broken downe, and the towne burnt by William Dowglaſſe of Drumlanerik, Gawan Dunbar another of the erle of Marches ſonnes, and diuerſe others. In the ſame yéere (or rather in the yéere before) the vniuerſitie of ſaint Andrews was firſt founded, which afterwards was furniſhed with diuerſe notable learned men brought in and placed there by James the firſt, to the end that by their inſtructions his people might increaſe in learning, to the further aduancement of vertue, laudable maners, and all ſorts of ciuill cuſtomes. Amongeſt ſundrie other expert men in all ſciences which he brought into Scotland, there were 18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

1412. Donald of the Iles ſubmitteth himſelfe.

Faſt caſtell wonne.

1410. Buc. The bridge of Rorburgh broken downe

1411 The firſt beginning of the vniuerſitie of S. Andrews.

Doctors of diuinitie, and of the canon law. Fr. Thin.

✻ From this time by the ſpace of ten yeares (ſaith Buchanan) there was almoſt nothing done worthie of memorie, betweene the Scots and the Engliſh, either bicauſe the truce occaſioned it (which yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being dead, and his ſonne Henrie the fift reigning in his place, and being all the time of his gouernement buſied in the warres of France, the Engliſh ceaſſed to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the gouernor of the Scots durſt not moue anie thing againſt the Engliſh, fearing leaſt the K. of England would then returne home the right and true heire of Scotland, who (he was moſt aſſured ſhould find fauour againſt him) in the hearts of his owne people, that would tenderlie pitie the miſfortune of his impriſonment, and ſeeke to eſtabliſh him in the kingdome. Wherefore if there were anie thing done in that meane time, they were but ſome few and ſmall excurſions within the realme, which more aptlie might be called robberies & ſpoiles, than anie right wars. For as Pennure in England was burned by Archembald Dowglas, ſo (to anſwer the ſame) Dunfreis in Scotland was in the like order deſtroied by the Engliſh. Beſides which there was a certeine exchange of priſoners of the one nation with the other: for Murdac the ſonne of the gouernor (taken at Halidon) was returned into Scotland, and Perſie (who was brought out of England by his grandfather into Scotland, and left vnder the protection of the gouernor) was deliuered to the Engliſh, and after by the new king of England was reſtored to the title & lands of his anceſtors earles of Northumberland.

This man (though by the lawes of armes he was no captiue) yet the vniuſt deteining of James the ſonne of the king of Scots ſtopped the mouths of the Engliſh, that they could not complaine of anie iniurie done in deteining him. The doing whereof ſo little offended this Perſie, that while he liued, he did (with all kind of courteſie) giue witnes of the humanitie ſhewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different from this time, came two ambaſſadors into Scotland, the one from the councell of Conſtance (whereof

the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did ſtiflie reteine and defend the papaſie, whereof he had once gotten poſſeſſion, which Peter by the trauell and perſuaſion of Henrie Hardine (an Engliſh man, and a Franciſcane frier) had drawne the gouernor of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet ſucceeded to none effect: bicauſe the vniuerſall companie of the cleargie ſtiffelie labored againſt it, and did ſubſcribe to the depoſition of Peter, and to the councell of Conſtance for the election of Martine the fift to the papaſie.

The earle of Stratherne ſlaine.

Much what about the ſame time, John Drummond ſlue Patrike Graham earle of Stratherne, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue paſſed from thence ouer into England, the veſſell wherein he ſailed, was driuen on the coaſt of Scotland, where hee was taken, and afterwards loſt his head for the ſaid offenſe. Shortlie after alſo, there roſe great warres betwixt England and France, as in the hiſtories of thoſe realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was alſo a great rebellion raiſed in Wales, againſt Henrie the fift king of England, which was the ſon of Henrie the fourth latelie deceaſſed. ¶ We find in the Scotiſh chronicles, that this Henrie the fift, at his returning forth of France, after his firſt iournie thither (hauing in the ſame wone the towne of Harflet, & diſcomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was conſtreined to go againſt the Welſhmen, and incountering with the prince of Wales, was diſcomfited, and loſt ten thouſand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceaſſing till he had brought the Welſhmen ſubiect at his pleaſure: but the Engliſh writers make no mention of anie ſuch matter.

warres betwixt England and France.

Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the fift diſcomfited by the Welſhmen he ſubdueth them.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in England, William Haliburton wan the caſtell of Warke, and ſlue all ſuch as he found within it, howbeit ſmall while indured the ioy of this fortunate ſucceſſe to the Scots: for ſundrie Engliſhmen that knew all the ſecrets of the houſe, found meanes to enter through a gutter, that ſerued in maner of a ſinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and ſo made entrie for the reſidue of their fellowes; by reaſon whereof they eaſilie recouered the caſtell, and in reuenge of them that were ſlaine there when the Scots wan it, they likewiſe ſlue all thoſe which were then within it, without anie reſpect of one or other. After this, in the yeere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had beene gouernor of Scotland for the ſpace of fifteene yeeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing borne himſelfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This doth Buchanan attribute to the yeere 1420, being the fifteenth yeere after the death of Robert the third.]

The caſtell of Warke wonne.

It is againe recouered.

1419.

The deceaſſe of Robert duke of Albanie. Fr. Thin.

A little before his deceaſſe, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Vandoſme, and chancellor of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & alſo to get ſome power of Scots to paſſe into France, to ſupport the ſaid Charles againſt the Engliſhmen, which as then ſore inuaded his realme. Whereupon ſhortlie after by decree of councell, it was ordeined, that John Steward earle of Buchquhane, ſecond ſonne to duke Robert, and Archembald Dowglas earle of Wigton, ſhould paſſe into France with ſeuen thouſand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cauſe the Scots to keepe their men at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puiſſant armie, & that in all haſt. Which rumor being ſpred ouer all the bounds of his realme, cauſed the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next ſummer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie paſſed into Normandie, to purſue his wars againſt France with all diligence.

Ambaſſadors from the French king.

In armie Scots ſent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgognie, vnder certeine conditions and couenants of agreement, king Henrie toke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the ſame agreement, it was concluded, that after the deceaſſe of Charles the French king, the crowne of France ſhould immediatlie deſcend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reaſon whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and ſonne to the ſaid king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the ſame: but this notwithſtanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuſe to ſurrender his title, but alſo ſought to mainteine the war againſt king Henrie as his aduerſarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while alſo, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindſeie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with ſeuen thouſand well armed men, arriued in France, to the great reioiſing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and moſt heartie welcomming of them. Finallie, the towne and caſtell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to reſort vnto, at their owne will and pleaſure.

The king of England marieth the daughter of the French king.

The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre againſt the Engliſhmen.

Scotiſh ſoldiers arriued in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scotiſhmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10. 1420. Buc. 1421. N.G.

* Shortlie after they were imploied in the battell of Bauge. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whoſe place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had ſpoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anion (which hitherto had remained moſt ſtedfaſt in the obedience of the French) was comming (as it was ſuppoſed) to the towne of Bauge, about two daies before Eaſter: for which cauſe the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feaſt would, as the maner was, ceaſe from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for thoſe times; or elſe as ſome write, by reaſon of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their eſtate than wiſdome would they ſhuld haue done. The which when Clarence vnderſtood (either by Andrew Fregoſe an Italian, or by the Scotiſh forragers intercepted by his horſſemen) he reioiſed that he had ſo good occaſion offered worthilie to performe ſomething. Wherefore riſing forthwith from dinner, he commanded his horſſemen to arme themſelues, with whome he went directlie towards his enimies, at what time he was (beſides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with goodlie diadems of gold (ſet with manie pretious ſtones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whoſe ſudden approch, thoſe few French which were neere vnto them in a village called little Bauge (amongſt whom was John de la Troir) being feared, made their defenſe in flight; and for ſafegard entered the ſteeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after beſieged.

The battell of Bauge.

Nic. Gil.

Whileſt theſe were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (wherein the Scots were aſſembled) ſuddenlie cauſed them with great feare to flee to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whileſt the others prepared themſelues) ſent thirtie archers to poſſeſſe the bridge, vnder which the next riuer had his courſe, and through which they might paſſe ouer, where (incountering with the Engliſh enimie) Hugh Kennedie came vnto them out of the next church (in which he ſojorned) with a hundred of his companie halfe armed, as it often falleth out in ſuch ſudden exploits. Theſe

with

with their arrowes ſo ſtreictlie kept this ſtreict, that the horſſemen could not haue anie paſſage there, for which cauſe the duke of Clarence did firſt forſake horſſe (as the reſt of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a ſtrong aſſault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the moſt part vnarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whileſt Clarence taketh his horſſe againe, and ſome of the reſt ſcatteringlie do paſſe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane commeth vpon them, & forthwith (deſirous to make triall of his people egerlie ſéeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one againſt the other: for the Scots did reioiſe, that they had now obteined cauſe, time, and place, where they might (after their firſt arriuall in France) ſhew ſome token of their valure, and refute thoſe tawnts which the Frenchmen laid vpon them, obiecting that the grédineſſe of wine & vittels had brought them ouer into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are woont to vpbraid the Engliſh, the Spaniard the French, and the Affrican the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a ſtrange countrie to win honor, ſo was the Engliſh no leſſe deſirous of conqueſt, greatlie diſdeining both at home and abroad, to be ſo infeſted with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight more valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himſelfe. Againſt whome (ſo noted for the richneſſe of his armor) came John Swinton, which grœuouſlie wounded him in the face, and whome the earle of Buchquhane (ſtriking on the head with his mace) quite ouerthrew to the ground. Which doone, the Engliſh fled, and were grœuouſlie ſlaine, becauſe the ſame continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Eaſter eue, a little after the equinoctiall ſpring. In this battell were ſlaine of the Engliſh about 20000, amongſt whome were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before ſaid, the earle of Kiddeſdale, otherwiſe called the earle of Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few miſſing, and they of the meaner ſort. All which, as we haue héere ſet it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Pluſcart reporteth, that the duke was ſlaine by Alexander Macelſell, a knight of Lenox, which tooke from him the coronet (whereof we ſpake before) and ſold the ſame to John Steward of Dernill, for a thouſand angels, which he after laied to pawne to Robert Huſtone, to whom he ought fiue thouſand angels; & this ſaith that booke was the moſt common report at thoſe daies. The chiefe praiſe of which victorie remained with the Scots, euen by the teſtimonie of the enuious aduerſaries, as the writer of this ſtorie ſaith vpon his credit.) At this battell alſo were a great companie of priſoners taken, amongeſt whome (as principall) were theſe, the earle of Huntington, & the earle of Sommerſet, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Jane, that was after maried to king James the firſt, king of Scotland. For the high valiancie of the Scotiſhmen ſhewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high conſtable of France, and gaue him ſundrie townes, caſtels, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine his eſtate.

Hector Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Priſoners taken.

The earle of Buchquhane is created conſtable of France.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

* King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did ſubſtitute for his deputie his other brother the duke of Bedford, promiſing that he would ſhortlie after come thither himſelfe with an armie of foure thouſand horſſe, and a thouſand footmen (which he performed accordinglie.) For with all ſpéed he after came into France with a mightie hoſt, and had with him James the Scotiſh king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor ſet at libertie out of the Engliſhmens hands, into the which (as before ye haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The king of England taketh the prince of Scotland ouer with him into France.

The cauſe why king Henrie did take this James ouer with him at that preſent into France, was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scotiſhmen that were in ſeruice with the Dolphin to forſake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter vnto the ſaid James, and promiſed, that if he could bring it to paſſe, he would not onelie remit his ranſome, but alſo ſend him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: James anſwered hereunto, that he maruelled much, why he did not conſider how he had no authoritie ouer the Scots ſo long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, but (ſaith he) if it were ſo that I might be ſet at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accuſtomed manner, togither with the othes and homages of my ſubiects, I could then in this matter do as ſhould be thought to ſtand with reaſon; but in the meane time I ſhall deſire your grace to hold me excuſed, and not to will me to do that which I may in no wiſe performe.

The anſwer of James the king, or rather prince of Scotland.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wiſedome which appeered to be planted in the head of that young prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were beſéeged, woone, and ſacked, and ſundrie light bickerings and ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt the parties, as occaſion ſerued. But the Engliſhmen ſhewed themſelues to beare ſuch hatred toward the Scots, that ſo manie as fell into their hands neuer néeded to ſtreine their friends for their ranſomes, which crueltie they put not in practiſe againſt their enimies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Meldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laieng to their charge that they had fought againſt their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a grœuous diſeaſe, which in ſhort time made an end of his life, notwithſtanding all the helpe that either by phyſicke or other waies might be miniſtred vnto him. The ſame yeare, that is to ſay, 1422, the French king Charles, the firt of that name, deceaſſed; after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Charles the ſeuenth, before named the Dolphin, as the cuſtome there is. By the death of theſe kings, the wars were not altogither ſo earneſtlie followed as before, wherupon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton returned into Scotland, and ſhortlie after was an armie leuied, and ſiege laied both to Rockſburgh, and to Berwike, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iournie in deriſion was called The durtie rode, or (as the Scots terme it) The dirtin raid.

King Henrie tooke it for a ſufficient anſwer.

The cruell dealing of the Engliſhmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England.

1422.

The death of Charles the French king.

Rockſburgh and Berwike beſieged.

The dirtin raid.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albanie, his ſonne Murdo Steward earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the ſpace of foure yéeres, though (to confeſſe the truth) he was farre vnmeet thereto, differing much from the wiſedome and manhood of his father, for in him remained ſundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduerſitie, he ſhewed himſelfe as a man deſpairing of all comfort or helpe: in proſperitie ſo lift vp in careleſſe inſolencie, that he had no ſtaie of himſelfe, by reaſon whereof

Murdo Steward earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland.

The repugnant vices reigning in Murdo Steward.

whereof sometimes he suffered heinous offenders, through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape unpunished; and at other times against, he shewed himselfe more severe & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

His negligence in the ruling his sonnes.

Thus was he still in extremities, keeping no temperance nor laudable measure in anie of his doings. Neverthelesse he so negligent in ruling his sons Walter, James, & Alexander (whether through tenderie & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a feard & terrour fatherlie love toward them) that they hanting him in small regard, played manie outrageous parts, to the sore offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before gentlie desired, fretted to him, and plucking him beside his till, wrong his necke from his bodie even presentlie before his face. Wherupon the father somewhat kindled with this presumptuous deed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle government, I shall bring him home yet it be long, that shall chastise both you and me after an other manner. And after this, he rested not to travell till he had redeemed of Iames the first out of captivitie, till at length he brought him home in deed, to the great wealth, ioy, and good hap of all the Scottish nation. For calling together a parliament (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they consulted of recouering home their Iames imprisoned in England, and at length willinglie agreed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the lothsomnes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restauration of king Iames. Whereupon they dispatched into England (to execute their deuise) Dennis Lychton bishop of Aberden, Archembald Douglasse (the third earle of that name, and 6 of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Douglasse duke of Tourraine, William Hepe constable of Scotland, Richard Cornell archdeacon of Landane, and Alexander Iuuraine a Dane, knight.

His vnfidiest guest at one of his sonnes.

The wrongs of duke Murdo to his son.

Duke Murdo trauelleth for the redeeming of Iames the first.

Fo. 181 in. Buchan. lib. 12.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 372.

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seuenth, being sore vexed with warres by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requiring him to returne againe with all speed in to France, and to bring 6 manie Scottishmen with him, as he conuenientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to perswade Archembald earle of Douglas, father to the forenamed earle of Wigton, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of fiue thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, tooke the seas, and arriued with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and comming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. With this companie also was sent ambassador Gilbert Greenlaw bishop of Aberden, a man of great authoritie amongest the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisedome, and such a person as with great dexteritie executed the office of the chancellorship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seuenth, then king of France, and to assure him, that not onelie they which were now arriued in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine in firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Wherupon the earle of Douglasse was by the king in his further aduancement honored with the title of the dukedome of Tourraine. But that glorie of the Scots was soone diminished (as both Lesleus)

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 372.

The earle of Douglasse made duke of Tourraine.

by the infortunat successe which they had against the Englishmen at the battell of Vernoile. In which (besides all the horsemen or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Douglas duke of Tourraine, with Iames his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindsaie, Thomas Stewart, Robert Scotland, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appeare.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 372. 1424. N. C.

And here a little to step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan gnarreth at the Englishmen (as he doth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter taunts) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against us generallie (as appeareth in manie places) as against Gratian, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leaue in maner first to speake of him (being dead) than he doth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he do most bitterlie with words of heat inflame his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yeares (as it appeareth) before he tooke the later penne in hand (after the ouerlooking of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confesseth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would take in his latter age, when reason should most rule him, so dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*) he would call men impudent, immodest, unlearned, liers, vnbridled, malicious, backbiters, & still tongued; and that he can rather proue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it seemes he will not well conceiue his mind: could not he either misheard error, or misknowne men, but with such bitter inuectiues, when they but modestlie shew their opinion, dissenting in matter of fact from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to do? Where learned he that rhetoricke, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs eloquence, and scorne to reduce that creature (framed in the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two grosse persons to inuaie against a whole race?

3 inuection against Buchanan.

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposeth) in disproouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantlie (leaue all truth) hath transformed in his Scots both places, persons, and deeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Rosse (secretlie millibing Boetius) haue in steede poised more a great manie imperfections in the historie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius doth? And why should he maligne Lhoid to reprehending him, whome himselfe condemneth, for whome he saith that *In descriptione Scotiæ quadam parum vere prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*, and whome for manie faults (by Boetius escaped) he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if from the abundance of the heart the tong and hand do speake and write, I can not lie but that by his vnkempt & rash speeches, I may condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chiefest part of his booke seemeth to be a tomaching inuectiue. And yet such as it is, they must of necessitie follow that intreat of the histories of his nation, or else he will exclame against them (as he doth in this

place

place of the battell of Vernoile) that they malicious-lie obſcure the glorie of the Scots, following the authoritie of the aduerſarie, and not the truth of the hiſtorie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occaſion to tawnt and diſgrace vs by his cholerike pen, he will ſéeke a knot in a ruſh, and make a mounteine of a molehill, in ſo vehement inuaieng againſt the Engliſh, that ſay that the Scots were not able to mainteine ſuch titles of honor as were giuen them by the French: a ſimple matter to make ſuch diſcourſe vpon, and to ſtep ſo much awrie out of the courſe of the ſtorie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no ſuch (nay greater) faults againſt vs? Yes trulie, and that I ſuppoſe will be well prooued at an other time, in an other treatiſe vpon his booke now iuſtlie forbidden in England, and (as I heare) more iuſtlie in Scotland. And heere remember I praie thée gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he ſaith that he ment to haue obſerued this courſe from the beginning, that he would not ſeeke to digreſſe by bypaths out of the courſe of the hiſtorie. And hath he ſo ſone forgotten that in the firſt forehead of his booke, almoſt thrée leaues togither, & alſo in manie other parts of the ſame (as well as in this place of the battell of Vernoile) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter words to tawnt Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the Engliſh hiſtories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his worke) with much ſpence of powder and ſhot, to batter the credit of the Engliſh writers. Theſe trulie were not parts of ſuch a perſon, as the place (which he had about the prince whileſt he liued) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arbiter*, and will be no ſeuere cenſurer of other mens writings at this time (whereunto I was occaſioned by Buchanans digreſſion in this place) ſince the ſame will be more ſubſtantiallie touched by others in other workes (whereunto I refer my ſelfe) and ſo returne to the order of the hiſtorie.)

Enuie and diſcord.

The Scotiſh chronicles declare, that the loſſe of this field chanced ſpeciallie through enuie and diſcord, which reigned amongeſt the chiefteins. For the duke of Alanſon enuieng that the Scots ſhould dailie riſe in honor within France, kept himſelfe backe, till time the Scots were ouerthrowen and brought to vtter deſtruction. Againe, euen vpon the ioining, there roſe great ſtrife and contention betwixt the conſtable & the duke of Touraine, who ſhould haue the ſupreme rule of the Scotiſh legher, the one diſdaining to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with loſſe of manie of their liues, and much bloudſhed, ſupported the ſide of Charles king of France, againſt the Engliſhmen. And though there came dailie newes of diuerſe great ouerthrowes giuen by the Engliſhmen to ſuch Scotiſhmen and other, as ſerued the ſaid king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore ſtaie at home, but at ſundrie times, and vnder ſundrie capteins repaired into France: as amongeſt other, one Robert Patillocke of Dundée with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the ſeuenth aforeſaid, ſhewing ſuch proofe of his ſingular manhood and valiancie in thoſe wars, as in recouerie of the realme of France out of the Engliſhmens hands, his ſeruice ſtood king Charles in notable ſtéed. Chiefflie his diligence and proweſſe well appéered, in reducing the parties of Gaſcoigne vnto the French ſubiection, which had remained a great number of péeres vnder the dominion of the Engliſh kings. And hereupon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gaſcoigne.*

Robert Patillocke captaine of a power of Scotiſhmen ſent into France.

Robert Patillocke called Le petit roy de Gaſcoigne. Fr. Thin.

✻But to returne to the buſineſſe of Scotland and of the Scots, as they paſſed in the meane time. We ſay, that the French reioiſing of this conqueſt of Gaſcoigne, would not ſéeme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cauſe they erected a ſtatue or image of this Patillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conqueſt, and as a ſingular teſtimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all poſteritie. Beſide which, he confirmed and increaſed the number of the gard of Scotiſh archers (which they were wont to vſe in peace and warre) firſt inſtituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Patillocke chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and ſince ſo well diſcharge, that the ſame continueth yet in our memorie. Beſides which (a little before this) Charles the firſt appointed an other companie of Scotiſh horſſemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trope of the Scotiſhmen at armes. Of whome the chiefe gouernour was Robert Steward (borne of the familie of the earle of Lennor) who was honored by the king with the title of the lord de Aubignie, with other lands and great poſſeſſions beſtowed vpon him. All which (being of long time poſſeſſed of the Scots of the ſame ſurname, by continuall order of blond & deſcent, that is, by Bernard the famous capteine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by John Steward, brother of the earle of Lennor) is at this day alſo in poſſeſſion of the worthie yong gentleman (the ſonne of the ſaid John) who giueth forth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his anceſtors. The ambaſſadors ſent (as * before is ſhewed) into England for K. James, behaued themſelues ſo ſagelie therein, that in the end, they brought it to good concluſion: as thus. Firſt it was agréed, that king James ſhould be ſet at libertie, and alſo pay for his ranſome the ſum of 100000 marks ſterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leaue ſufficient pledges behind him, till it were paied. Albeit ſome writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the paiment of the one halfe, he was diſcharged of the other, in conſideration that he tooke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to the earle of Summerſet. The ſaid earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his quéene their néece, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was preſented vnto king James and to the quéene his wife, beſides a cupbord of maſſie plate, ſundrie faire cloths of rich and coſtlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & valure.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 271.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 271.

*Pag. 260. col. 1. numb. 30, 40.

The ranſome of K. James.

Jane daughter to the earle of Summerſet maried to king James the firſt.

Gifts giuen to K. James by his wiues friends.

King James then departed on this wiſe from his wiues brethren, and other ſuch his déere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the ſpace of ſixtéene or eightéene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edenburgh on Care ſundaie, otherwiſe called Paſſion ſunday in Lent, where he was receiued with all honor, ioy, and triumph that might be deuiſed. ✻At what time as the nobles came to giue him their dutifull welcome into his natiue ſoile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who ſince the death of their laſt king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernors) had béene moleſted with diuers kinds of iniuries; whereupon, Walter the ſon of Mordac, Malcolme Fleming, and Thomas Boid being grieuouſlie accuſed, were (to pacifie the exclamation of the common people) committed to diuers priſons till the nert parlement, which was appointed the firſt kalends of June following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after ſhall appeare, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the kings

King James commeth to Edenburgh.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 10.

kings coronation.]

*Iames.*

He is crowned at Scone togither with his wife.

1423, Buch. 1424, Lesl.

AND after that, as soone as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and shortlie after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife queene, by duke Murdo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrewes, the one and twentith day of Maie, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euer after in seruice with him, were aduanced to certeine lands, possessions, and liuings in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and good furtherance, got in mariage the daughter and heire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis vnto the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuested with great lands and dignities, both in Gowrie and Angus.

Andrew Graie.

The surname of the Graies in Scotland.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edenburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Murdo, namelie the chancellor, the treasuror, the clearks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receiuers, with all other that had borne offices, or had anie thing to do concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceiued by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues perteining vnto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, vnto their friends and fautors, contrarie to all right or good consideration (the customs of burrowes and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

King James keepeth an audit.

In the meane time, he aduisedlie perused all euidences, rols, and charters perteining to the crowne, and shortlie thereupon called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which, by aduise of the three estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paied of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie cow, ore, and horsse, to be paied for the space of two yeares togither. This paiment was leuied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the paiment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & tooke neuer anie tax after of his subiects, vntill he maried his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bils put vp in this parlement, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions vsed and done by the sons of duke Murdo, and other great peares of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

A parlement at Edenburgh.

A tax leuied.

The commons grudge at paiments.

Bils of complaint exhibited against the sonnes of duke Murdo.

Whereupon Walter Steward, one of the sons of the said duke Murdo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Walle, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cumernald, and Thomas Boid of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiuen of all offenses for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parlement also, K. James tooke a solemne oth, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oth by his example did all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parlement was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Murdo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Dowglasse, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and manie other great barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castels and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Murdo was sent to Carlaurocke, and his duchesse was put in Temptalloun.

Walter Steward put in prison.

The oth of K. Iames.

A parlement holden at Perth.

Duke Murdo with his sonne Alexander, and diuerse other peares of the realme arrested.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rod daie, called the Inuention of the crosse, Iames Steward the third sonne of duke Murdo moued with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbreton, and burnt it, after he had slaine John Steward of Dondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne: but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this Iames so fiercelie, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceassed. [And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said Iames committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, hir two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthure the bastard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by Iames the third aduanced to great honors.] In the next yeare insuing, K. Iames called a parlement at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Steward with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

1425.

The towne of Dunbreton burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 10.

A parlement holden at Sterling.

1426.

Walter and Alexander the sonnes of duke Murdo beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Murdo himselfe, and Duncan Steward earle of Lennor were conuicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it iustlie happened) by distemperance of griefe discouer the secrets of hir mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grieuous and vnlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them, the king hath done but right and iustice vnto them.) Thus by the attaindor of duke Murdo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Menteith, and Lennor came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and abiding the kings pleasure, were sore afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had beene executed on duke Murdo and his sonnes: notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings fauor, on promise of their loiall demeanor & dutifull obedience euer after to be shewed, during their naturall liues.

Duncan Steward earle of Lennor beheaded. Fr. Thin.

* The parlement being ended, John Mountgomerie, & Humfreie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Louchleuine, which was kept against him by the runagat James Steward, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Steward of Dernleie (who was maister of the Scotish garrison of horssemen in France, the rest of the former capteins being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassador in the name of Charls, to renew

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 10.

new the old league betweene the two nations, and to conclude matrimonie betweene Lewes the ſonne of the ſaid Charles the ſeuenth, and Margaret the daughter of K. James, both being yet verie yong. Which thing ſo diſpatched, in the nert yeare being the (1426) he determined (hauing pacified all Scotland betweene the mounteins of Granzeben) to ſubdue the further parts beyond it alſo. Wherefore to begin the ſame, he commanded the caſtell of Inuerneſſe (ſet in a conuenient place in the furtheſt borders of Murrey) to be repared. Whither when he came two yeares after, to ſit in iudgement vpon miſdemeanors of the inhabitants, and to ſuppreſſe their robberies, he called before him the chiefe of all the families of that countrie, eſpeciallie ſuch as being accompanied with great traines, were wont to fetch preies from their nert borders, did ſet tribute on the quieter ſort, and did compell the common people to miniſter ſuſtenance to thoſe idle loiterers; of which capteins, ſome had a thouſand, ſome two thouſand, & ſome far manie more redie at their call to obeie their commandement: with which they ceaſſed not to keepe the good in danger vnto them for feare of hurt, and made the euill (amongeſt whome they were aſſured of refuge & defenſe) the bolder to commit all kind of wickedneſſe. Which perſons when the king had gotten in, and drawen to come before him, partlie by flatteries, and partlie by threats: he committed about fortie of their leaders to ſeuerall priſons: whoſe euill being throughlie knowen, he hanged two notable fellows amongſt them, called Alexander Macror and John Macarcture; at what time alſo he beheded James Campbell (for the murther of John of the Iles) a man deerelie beloued of his people. The reſt which remained (being of the common ſort) they likewiſe diſperſed into diuers priſons, whereof ſome were after executed, and ſome were permitted freelie to depart to their owne. The capteins of the factions thus ſlaine (or for the moſt part reſtreined in priſon) the inferior ſort durſt not attempt anie thing, being deſtitute of leaders. Wherevpon the king calling them before him, did giue them a louing admonition to embrace iuſtice, becauſe there was no ſurer or certeine hope of ſafetie in anie thing, than in the innocencie of life, the which if they would determine to doo, they ſhould alwaies find him readie to honor and reward them; if not, they might learne by the examples of others what they ſhould hope to receiue themſelues.)

1426.

1428.

1427. In the yeere next following, which was after the incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Iles was arreſted by the king at Inuernes, for that he was accuſed to be a ſuccorer & mainteiner of theeues & robbers in the countrie: but forſomuch as he promiſed in time comming to reforme his former miſdemeanors, he was pardoned and ſet at libertie; wherof inſued great trouble immediatlie after. For ſhortlie vpō his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked ſcapethrifts, and with the ſame comming into Inuernes, burnt the towne, and beſieged the caſtell, inforcing with all diligence to win the ſame, till he was aduertiſed that the king was comming towards him with a great power, wherevpon he fled incontinentlie to the Iles. Finallie hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay dailie in wait to take him, that they might preſent him to the kings hands, he came diſguiſed in poore araie to the Holie rood houſe, and there finding the king on Eaſter daie deuoutlie in the church at his praiers, he fell downe on his knees before him, and beſought him of grace, for his ſake that roſe as that day from death vnto life.

Alexander lord of the Iles arreſted.

He is ſet at libertie.

He rebelleth.

The towne of Inuernes burnt.

Alexander of the Iles cometh to the king and aſketh pardon.

At requeſt of the queene, the king pardoned him of life; but he appointed William Dowglaſſe earle of Angus to haue the cuſtodie of him, and that within the caſtell of Temptallon, that no trouble ſhould riſe by his meanes thereafter. His mother Eufemie daughter to Walter ſometime earle of Roſſe, was alſo committed to ward in ſaint Colmes inch; becauſe it was knowne that ſhe ſollicited hir ſonne to rebell (in maner as is afore ſaid) againſt the king.

Donald Ballocht inuadeth Lochquhaber.

Not long after, Donald Ballocht, brother to the ſaid lord Alexander of the Iles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and Cathnes came with ſuch number of their people as they could raiſe, to defend the countrie againſt the inuaſion of thoſe Ilandmen, and fought with the ſaid Donald at Inuerlochtie, where the erle of Cathnes was ſlaine, and the earle of Mar diſcomfited. Herewith did Donald returne with victorie, and a great preie of goods and riches into the Iles. The king ſore moued with the newes hereof, came with a great armie vnto Dunſtafage, purpoſing with all ſpeed to paſſe into the Iles. The clans and other chiefe men of the ſaid Iles aduertiſed hereof, came to Dunſtafage, and ſubmitted themſelues vnto the king, excuſing their offenſe, for that (as they alledged) the ſaid Donald had conſtreined them againſt their willes, to paſſe with him in the laſt iournie. All thoſe clans vpon this their excuſe, were admitted to the kings fauour, and ſworne to purſue the ſaid Donald vnto death.

The earle of Cathnes ſlain

Donald Ballocht returneth with victorie & ſpoile into the Iles.

The clans of the Iles ſubmit thẽſelues to the king.

Shortlie herevpon, this Donald fled into Ireland, where he was ſlaine, and his head ſent by one Odo a great lord of Ireland (in whoſe countrie he lurked) as a preſent to the king that laie as then at Sterling. There were alſo three hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings commandement hanged for their offenſes within three weekes ſpace, after his firſt flieng into Ireland. This trouble being thus quieted, king James paſſed through all the bounds of his realme, to puniſh all offendors and miſruled perſons, which in anie wiſe wronged and oppreſſed the poore people. He allowed no pardon granted afore by the gouernor, alledging the ſame to be expired by his death. For he thought indeed it ſtood neither with the pleaſure of God, nor wealth of the realme, that ſo manie ſlaughters, reiffes, and oppreſſions, as had beene done afore in the countrie, ſhould remaine vnpuniſhed through fault of iuſtice. It is ſaid that within the firſt two yeeres of his reigne, there were three thouſand perſons executed by death, for ſundrie old crimes and offenſes.

Donald flieth into Ireland.

His head is ſent as a preſent to the king.

Three hundred of Donalds complices hanged.

Pardons granted by the gouernor are void.

Three thouſand offendors put to death within two yeeres ſpace.

And though ſuch extreme iuſtice might haue beene thought ſufficient to giue example to other to reforme their naughtie vſages, yet one Angus Duffe of Stratherne nothing afraid thereof, came with a companie of theeues and robbers, and tooke a great preie of goods out of the countrie of Murrey and Cathnes: for recouerie wherof, one Angus Murrey followed with a great power, and ouertaking the ſaid Angus Duffe neere to Strachnauerne, fiercelie aſſailed him. Who with like manhood made ſtout reſiſtance, by reaſon whereof there inſued ſuch a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the end but onelie twelue perſons aliue, & thoſe ſo wounded, that they were ſcarſe able to returne home to their houſes, and liued but a few daies after. About the ſame time, there was alſo another notable theefe named Makdonald Roſſe, which grew with ſpoiles and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppreſſor ſhod a woman with horſſe ſhoes, becauſe ſhe ſaid ſhe would go to the king, and reueale his wicked dowings. As ſoone as ſhe was whole, and recouered of hir wounds, ſhe went vnto the king, and declared the cruelties done vnto hir by that vngratious perſon Makdonald. *The king (who before had heard the

Angus Duffe

A cruell fight.

Makdonald Roſs a notable robber.

He had a widow.

Fr. Thin.

ſame

Buchanan. same of others, and had gotten Makdonald in prison, determining to see due punishment for that wicked fact) comforted the silly woman, promising hir shortlie to behold a iust reuenge thereof. Whereupon Makdonald being brought out of prison with twelue of his companions, the king commanded that they (by the talion law of Moses that yeeldeth an eie for an eie, and a toth for a toth, and by the example of Phalaris, who burnt him first in the bull that was the author thereof for others) should likewise be shod with iron horsshoes, in that sort as they before had serued the woman, and then to bee caried three daies together about the citie for a spectacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraordinarie wickednesse; making proclamation that euerie one might see this new kind of punishment. After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would not ceasse to commit the like, or else reuenge the same) he chopped off Makdonalds head, & caused his twelue fellowes and partakers to be hanged in the high waies.)

Lesleus.

1430. In the third yeere after, which was from the incarnation 1430, on the eleuenth daie of October, Jane the queene of Scots was deliuered of two sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James. The first deceassed in his infancie. The other succeeded after his fathers deceasse in the kingdome, & was named James the second. At the baptisme of these two infants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the which, and first of all other, was William the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, that succeeded his father in the earledome of Dowglas. His father the said Archembald Dowglas, somewhat before this time, or (as other authors say) in the yeere next insuing, was arrested by the kings commandement, and put in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by supplication of the queene, and other peeres of the realme, the king pardoned him [with John Kennedie] of all offenses, and set both them And Alexander earle of Rosse at libertie. King James in this sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scotland in such quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the same of all offendors, and such as liued by reiffe and robbing) passengers by the high waies might trauell without dread of anie euill disposed persons to molest them.

1430. The queene deliuered of two sonnes at one birth.

Fiftie knights dubbed.

Archembald earle of Dowglas arrested and put in prison.

Fr. Thin.

King James desirous to purge his realme of vnrulie persons.

* Hauing thus with diligence suppressed the robberies (practised through all parts of his realme) he forgot not to looke into small offenses which were secretlie done, and of lesse danger; determining to take awaie all euill customes which had continued in the realme. For custome, being an other nature doth bring to passe, that a common error (by manie ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore (& bicause the inferior iudges would the better administer iustice, if they had persons of high authoritie that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth speciall persons of the better sort (commended for their wisedome, grauitie, and holinesse of life) and made them iustices, whome he sent ouer all the realme, giuing them full authoritie to heare and determine all quarels and sutes (if anie were brought vnto them) whereof the ordinarie iudges either (for feare) durst not, or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or (for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect iudgement.)

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10.

An ordinance for measures.

Castels repared and munited.

He caused also the baillifes and prouosts of good townes, to see that iust measures were vsed by all manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occupied, but such as were signed with the note & marke of the said baillifes or prouosts. Moreouer, he repared and fortified the castels and fortresses of his realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and munition as was thought expedient. He granted also sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vniuersitie of saint Andrews, to the high aduancement thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at their disputations, taking great pleasure therein. Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to great benefices and other ecclesiasticall liuings, still as the same chanced to be vacant. [Hauing for that cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none should inioy the rome of a canon in ante cathedrall church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at least of the canon law.] By which meanes all maner of vertue and good learning increased dailie through the realme during his time, and namelie musike was had in great price, which he appointed to be vsed in churches with organs, the which before his time were not much knowne amongst the Scotishmen.

Priuileges granted to the vniuersitie of S. Andrews.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 274.

Organs brought into Scotland.

Much what about the same time, there was a parlement holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the three estates there assembled, made a long and right pithie oration to this effect; that Where by the high policie and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there present, iustice, and all due administration of lawes and good ordinances were so reuiued, that nothing seemed to be ouerpassed, that might aduance to the profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet was there one wicked vsage crept in of late, increasing so fast, that if spedis remedie were not had in time, all those commodities brought into the realme by his comming, should be of small auaile, and that was, such superfluous riot in banketting chéere, and numbers of costlie dishes, as were then taken vp and vsed after the English fashion, both to the great hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofitable wasting of their goods and substance. If the laudable temperance vsed amongest the Scotishmen in old time were well considered, nothing might appeare more contrarie and repugnant thereto, than that new kind of gluttonie then vsed, by receiuing more excesse of meats and drinks than sufficeth to the nourishment of nature, through prouocation of such deintie and delicate dishes, confectioned sawces, and deuised potions, as were now brought in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king had brought with him forth of England, they were worthie in déed to be cherished and had in high fauour; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie imputed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to their nation. But the Scotishmen themselues were chiefflie to be blamed, that had so quicklie yéelded to so great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the same, as excesse, sensuall lust, slouth, reiffe, and wasting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say, intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of all vice. If it might therefore please the kings highnesse, to shew his accustomed wisedome and prouidence in repressing this abuse of costlie fare, so much damagable to his people, he should do the thing that was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable and necessarie for the publike weale of all his subiects.

A parlement at Perth.

Bishop Wardlaw inueieth against superfluous fare.

Wices following delicate fare.

By these and manie other the like persuasions, bishop Wardlaw vsed to dissuade the king and his people from all superfluous courses of delicate dishes and surfetting bankets. Insomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and more spare diet should be vsed through the realme, licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiuall daies, to be serued with pies, the vse of them not being knowne in Scotland till that season. Neuerthelesse, such intemperance is risen in processe of time following,

Order taken for suppressing of costlie fare.

Vse of baked meates in Scotland when it began

The grædie appetite of gluttons neuer ſatiſfied.

following, that the grædie appetite of gluttons in this age may be ſatiſfied with no competent fæding, till their bellies be ſo ſtuffed with immoderate gormandiſe, that they maie ſcarſe fetch breath, through which their noiſome ſurfetting, they fall dailie into ſundrie ſtrange and lothſome kinds of diſeaſes, being oftentimes killed by the ſame in their flouriſhing youth, as by dailie experience plainlie appeareth.

A terrible eclipſe.

In the ſame yéere the ſeuentæenth day of June, was a terrible eclipſe of the ſunne, at three of the clocke at after noone, the day being darkened ouer head for the ſpace of one halfe houre togither, as though it had béene night, and therevpon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammas, the king raiſed an armie, & came with the ſame to Roxburgh, beſieging the caſtell for the ſpace of fiftæene daies togither. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thouſand men, accounting cariage men & all other ſuch as followed the campe: yet notwithſtanding all this huge multitude, hauing waſted his powder and other munition, before hée could dw anie great hurt to his enimies, he was conſtreined to raiſe his field, and leaue the caſtell in the Engliſhmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuall occupations was decaied in Scotland, through continuall exerciſe of wars, ſince the daies of Alexander the third, to the further aduancement of the common-wealth, and that his ſubiects might haue occaſion to auoid ſlouth and idleneſſe (the rot of all miſchiefe) he brought a great number of cunning craftſmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to inſtruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Roxburgh beſieged.

In huge armie.

Men of occupation brought into Scotlãd to inſtruct the Scotiſhmen therein.

Idleneſſe the rot of all miſchiefe.

Not long after, one Paule Craw a Bohemian borne, was burnt at ſaint Andrews, for preaching and ſetting forth the doctrine of John Hus, & John Wikcliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped chieflie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earneſt diligence therein ſhewed) abbat of Melroſſe. [After which, the ſaid king James began to take vpon him the perſon of a priuate man, ſundrie times aſſociating himſelfe to the companie of others (but eſpeciallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the ſtate of ſuch perſons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did ſay and iudge of him, and ſo vnderſtand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common-wealth.] About the ſame time was the abbeie of Charturar monks founded beſides Perth, by king James, with great coſt and magnificence.

Paule Craw burnt.

John Fogo.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 275.

The abbeie of Charturar monks built beſides Perth by K. James.

Alſo the lord Scrope and other aſſociats with him, came in ambaſſage from Henrie the firſt, king of England. The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen diſſolued, promiſing that if the councell of Scotland would conſent thereto, and ioine in leage with the Engliſhmen; that both the towne and caſtell of Berwike, with all the lands lieng betwixt Twéed and the Recroſſe (as the Scots write) ſhould be deliuered into the Scotiſhmens hands. King James hauing ſmall credit in ſuch faire promiſes, perceiued the ſame to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vſe the matter as occaſion ſhould ſerue their turne. This matter therefore being propoſed before the councell, it was concluded, that in no wiſe the ſaid league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots ſhould be diſſolued, and ſo therevpon the Engliſh ambaſſadors were diſpatched without more talke concerning that matter.

The lord Scrope ambaſſador into Scotland.

The offer of the Engliſh men to haue the Scots to ioine with them in leage.

1433. In the ſame yéere, that is to ſay, 1433, the king caused George Dunbar erle of March, ſonne to that earle which rebelled againſt his father king Robert the third, to be arreſted and put in ſafe kéeping within the caſtell of Edenburgh. He ſent alſo the earle of Angus with his chancellor William Creichton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the caſtell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters ſigned with his hand, and directed to the kéepers of the ſaid caſtell, that they ſhuld deliuer vp the houſe immediatlie vpon ſight of thoſe letters vnto the bringers of the ſame. The kéepers durſt not diſobeie his commandement, but ſuffered them to enter according to their commiſſion. Within twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foreſaid George earle of March was diſherited of all his lands and liuings for his fathers offenſe committed againſt king Robert the third. Thus the houſe of the Dunbars loſt the earledome of March, wherein the ſame had flouriſhed ſo manie yéeres togither, to the great defenſe and ſafegard of the realme of Scotland on that ſide, againſt both ciuill and forreine enimies.

George erle of March areſted and put in ward.

A parlement at Perth.

The earle of March diſherited.

The king yet moued with ſome pitie toward ſo noble a linage, within ſhort time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the ſaid George; and after the kings deceaſſe, the lords of the councell thinking the ſame too little, aſſigned forth to him and his ſon Patrike, the ſumme of foure hundred marks yéerelie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earledome of March, to inioy the ſame till James the ſecond came to full age. In the yéere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of Mar departed out of this life. This Alexander was a baſtard ſonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the ſonnes of king Robert the ſecond. He was a man of right ſingular proweſſe, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgognie at the ſiege of Liege, or Luike, where he bare himſelfe ſo manfullie, that few wan the like honor at that iournie. Not long after, to his high aduancement, he got in mariage the ladie Jacoba counteſſe of Holland: notwithſtanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that ſhe had another huſband, or elſe for that the inhabitants would not ſuffer a ſtranger to reigne ouer them.

The earldome of Buchquhan giuen to George Dunbar.

1435. The death of Alexander Steward erle of Mar.

Leodium.

After his returne into Scotland, he ſent meſſengers into Holland, requiring to haue the iſſues and profits of ſuch lands as were due vnto him in right of the ſaid counteſſe his wife; but receiuing nought ſaue a froward anſwer, hée prouided him of ſhips, and made ſore warres on the Hollanders by ſea: firſt being put to the worſe; but at length he tooke a number of their ſhips laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ſhips burnt. Through which loſſe the Hollanders being ſore abaſhed, fell to a compoſition with him, and tooke truce with the Scots for an hundred yéeres. This earle of Mar ſo long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland vnder king James the firſt, for he was a right prudent perſon, as well in warlike enterprиſes, as in ciuill adminiſtration. Hée brought forth of Hungarie ſundrie great horſſes and mares for generation, that by ſuch meanes the countrie might be prouided of great horſſes of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but ſmall nags, more meet to ſerue for iourneing hacknies, than for anie ſeruice in the warres.

Warres betwixt the earle of Mar & the Hollanders.

Truce twixt the Scots & Hollanders for tearme of 100 yéeres.

Good mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotland for breed.

Not long before this time, there came an ambaſſage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make paiment of ſuch yéerelie tribute as was due to the ſaid king of Denmarke, being alſo king of Norwaie for the weſterne Iles, according

Ambaſſadors out of Denmarke.

Their requeſt

cording to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, vnto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norwaie. The ambassadors that came with this message were honorablie receiued, and in like sort interteined by king James, who at their departure gaue to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed sir William Creichton to go with them into Denmarke, ambassador frō him, to the king there, who vsed himselfe so sagelie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmarke and Scotland, stedfast peace and assured amitie without anie more adw therof insued. Much about the same time, there came ambassadors from the French king, Charles the seuenth, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was giuen in mariage vnto Lewes the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Sir William Creichton sent into Denmarke.

Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmarke.

Ambassadors forth of France.

The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

The Dolphin marieth Margaret daughter to king James.

Manie great lords of Scotland were appointed to haue the conueiance of hir into France, and great prouision of ships made for that voiage, because the king was aduertised that the Englishmen had a fleet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scotish ships should passe, there appeered on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wished preie, euen according to their expectation: but being receiued with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie vnderstood how they were in a wrong bor, and so shrewdlie amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they sustained great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scotish nauie passed by quietlie without damage, incountering not one ship by the waie that sought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen forth of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongest which number there were fiue of hir owne sisters.

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scotish fleet.

The Englishmen incounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arriuall of the ladie Margaret of Scotland in France.

In the meane time, whilest such things were a doing, Henrie Persie of Northumberland inuaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being known whether he had commission so to do from the king of England, or that he made that enterprise of himselfe. William Dowglasse earle of Angus, to resist this inuasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongest whome were Adam Hepborne of Hales, Alexander Ramseie of Dalehouse, and Alexander Elphingston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Persie at Piperden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine togither with Alexander Elphingston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the English part there died Henrie of Cliddesdale, John Ogill, and Richard Persie, with fifteene hundred other of gentlemen and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortie were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Henrie Persie inuadeth Scotland.

The battell of Piperden fought betwixt Henrie Persie and the earle of Angus.

The Scots get the victorie.

The number of Englishmen slaine.

Prisoners taken.

Shortlie herevpon, king James raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rockesburgh, but when he had almost brought his purpose so neere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the queene came to the campe in great haste vnto him, signifieng that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that if he toke not the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to prouide the better for his owne suertie, but that preuailed little: for Walter Steward earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending euer a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephue Robert Steward, and his cosine Robert Graham, to slea the king by one meane or other, which finallie they accomplished in this wise. This Robert Graham, for diuerse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was driuen to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deadlie. And though by the queenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, hauing contriued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rockesburgh; yet forsomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to atchiue their detestable intention, sith they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Rockesburgh besieged.

The king informed of a conspiracie made against him, raiseth his siege.

The earle of Atholl heard of the conspiracie.

Robert Graham.

Herevpon the said Steward and Graham came one euening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered vp into the gallerie before the kings chamber dore, minding to haue staied there till one of the kings seruants that was priuie to their diuelish purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to haue entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Judaslike traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Straiton came forth of the chamber dore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the dore, either of them hauing a long sword girded to him, he stept backe, and cried, Treason: but yer he could get within the dore to haue made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Robert Steward and Robert Graham murtherers of the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Whilest this was a doing, not without great noise & rumbling, a yong virgin named Katharine Dowglasse (that was after maried to Alexander Louell of Bolunnie) got to the dore, and shut it: but because the barre was awaie that should haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should haue passed: she was but yong, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was sone crasht in sunder, and the dore broken vp by force. Herewith entering the chamber, they slue such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deadlie wounds [at 28 seuerall blowes.] The queene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrike Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the flore, by reason of such wounds as he receiued in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his vttermost deuoire to haue preserued him from the murtherers hands. Thus was James the first murthered the 21 day of Februarie, the 44 yeere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet throughlie finished.

Katharine Dowglasse.

The murtherers enter the kings chamber, and slea the king.

The queene is hurt.

Patrike Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defense.

James the first murthered. 1437. Buch. 1447. I. Ma. 1336. Lesle.

* Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, hauing the other parts also answering thereunto, as they neither seemed monstruous big to be wondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but caried the maiestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformitie of members in this our king) doth terme to be squared or of euen proportion

His stature and forme of bodie. Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. cap. 271.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or iuſt ſquare dw anſwer ech other, ſo that nature ſéemeth not to haue framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for ſhape of bodie, or for kinglie maieſtie. He did manie times imbrace iuſtice more ſtreictlie and ſeuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and ſo in truth to be) the father and nouriſher of the common wealth. For he ſéemed ſo exactlie to meaſure all things by the rule of iuſtice, that he is ſaid (within the ſpace of thrée yéeres) to haue executed thrée thouſand perſons for their committed offenſes. Although this may rather ſéeme to be a ſlander (than otherwiſe) grounded vpon no foundation, ſince all things ſéemed to haue béene performed by him in reſpect of ſincere zeale of iuſtice, whereof this may be a ſufficient argument, that he was of ſo mild and ſwéet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie imbrace peace at home amongſt his ſubiects, or more willinglie conclude the ſame abroad with ſtrangers. What ſhall I ſay of his wiſedome, which in manie and the greateſt affaires did ſo manifeſtlie appéere, that the kings of other nations did ioine in league and friendſhip with him? Of which wiſedome, and of other his vertues (although he obteined part by the benefit of nature) he got the greateſt ſumme by the learning & inſtruction which he purchaſed in England, when he was priſoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king moſt diligentlie inſtructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence ſo well trained in all ſciences and gentlemanlie actiuitie, with the diligence of good ſchoolemaiſters, that it is not eaſie to iudge what ſcience he beſt vnderſtood: for beſide that he had ſkill in all kinds of muſike (but moſt excellent in plaieng on the harpe) he was ſo good an orator, that nothing might be more artificiall than that which he ſpake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he ſéemed not ſo much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is ſufficientlie proued by verſes of diuerſe kinds (at this day remaining) compoſed by him (in Scotiſh méeter) with that ſingular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the ſharpeneſſe, grauitie, and wiſedome of the ancient poets.

Buchan. alſo ſaith he wrote Latine verſes with ſuch good grace, as the rudeneſſe of that age permitted.

It is ſtrange that I ſaie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almoſt beyond the opinion of men: but yet moſt true and confirmed by the teſtimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praiſe. He did ſo exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit conſiſted, or wherein anie ſhew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence aplie his indeuor for the knowledge thereof, yea and that ſometime to all mechanicall or handis-craft labors which were méet for a free man, which he is ſaid moſt ſtudiouſlie to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer baſe for kinglie maieſtie to be exerciſed in theſe meane & inferior knowledges, he cauſed artificers of all ſorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which ſhould inſtruct our people therein; for by that means he perſuaded himſelfe he ſhould in the end calme the rough maners of his nation, and that with theſe mild arts they would alſo receiue a mild and ſwéete condition of life & maners. Wherefore I may well ſay; O moſt happie common-wealth which was gouerned by ſo worthie a prince: & may iuſtlie exclame; O you moſt fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murther take away ſuch an honor, beautie, and piller of the common-wealth. Now, beſides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) ſet downe this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beautie to his countrie, in prouiding for his people to liue at quiet within dores; but he alſo ſought for the defenſe of his realme againſt his enimies without dores: by artillerie, and other neceſſaries required for the warres. For the inuention of guns happing about his time, or not much before; he cauſed certeine péeces of artillerie to be made beyond the ſeas in Flanders, of which, there was one moſt eſpeciall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were theſe verſes ingrauen, teſtifieng the antiquitie in like maner of the ſame: Iohn Maior lib. 6. cap. 13.

*Illuſtri Iacobo Scotorum principi digno,*
*Regi magnifico, dum fulmine caſtra reduco,*
*Factus ſum ſubitò, nuncupor ergo Leo.)*

The nobles and péeres of the realme right ſorowfull for the death of this James, aſſembled togither, and made ſuch earneſt & diligent ſearch for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenburgh, where they were executed on this maner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onelie principall in practiſe of this treaſon concerning the kings death, but alſo in times paſt was chiefe of counſell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of Dauid the kings eldeſt brother, and after the kings returne forth of England did moſt earneſtlie ſolicit him to put duke Murdo to death, with all other of his linage, truſting that when they were diſpatched, he ſhould find means to rid the king alſo, and his children out of the way, & ſo at length atteine to the crowne without anie obſtacle. This earle (I ſay) was firſt ſtripped of all his clothes, ſaue onelie his ſhirt; and then was an inſtrument of wood, made like to the drawer of a well, ſet faſt in a cart with a frame: at the end of which inſtrument, was the earle faſtened and bound, and ſo caried about the towne, ſometime hoiſed on high, that the people might ſée him aloft in the aire, and ſometime let fall againe with a ſwaie downe vpon the pauement.

The ſearch made for the traitors.

The execution of the erle of Atholl.

After this, being brought to an open place, where moſt reſort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was ſaid) a witch had told him, that before his death he ſhould be crowned openlie in ſight of the people. Through whoſe illuſion being deceiued, he liued vnder vaine hope to atteine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compaſſe the means thereto. Thus was he ſerued on the firſt day. On the ſecond day, he was drawen with his complices laid on hurdels, round about the towne at an horſſe taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and throwne into the fire flickering before his eies, & then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewiſe into the fire: and laſt of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters.

The prophecie of a witch.

Robert Steward executed

The ordering of Robert Grahams execution.

His nephue Robert Steward was not altogither ſo cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he ſlue the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the hand that did the déed being faſtened to a paire of gallows, which were raiſed vp in the ſaid cart; and then were thrée perſons appointed to thruſt him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning firſt in thoſe places where it was thought no haſtie death would thereof inſue, as in the legs, armes, thighes, & ſhoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie ſtréet of the towne, and tormented in moſt miſerable wiſe, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Chriſtopher Clawn alſo, and other that were of counſell in the conſpiracie, were put to moſt ſhamefull kinds of deaths, as they had iuſtlie deſerued, few or none lamenting their caſe. [Touching whoſe death, and Fr. Thin

Chriſtopher Clawn.

Leſleus lib.7. pag.279.

the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syluius (being then ambaſſador in Scotland for pope Eugenius the fourth to the ſaid king James, conſidering the cruelneſſe of ſuch a wicked fact, with the ſpeedie reuenge therefore executed by the nobilitie) ſhould ſay, that he much doubted, whether he ought with greater praiſe to commend them which reuenged the kings death, than by ſharper ſentence puniſh thoſe that had committed ſuch parricide.] In the daies of king James the firſt, ſundrie ſtrange and monſtrous things chanced in Scotland. At Perth there was a ſow that brought forth a litter of pigs with heads like vnto dogs. A cow alſo brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In the harueſt before the kings death, a blaſing ſtar was ſeene with long ſtreaming beams. And in the winter following, the froſt was ſo vehement, that ale and wine were ſold by pound weight, and then melted againſt the fire. A ſword was ſeene gliding vp and downe in the aire, to the no leſſe dread than wonder of the people.

Strange ſights.
Pigs with heads like to Dogs,
A calfe with a head like a colt.
A blaſing ſtar.
A great froſt.
Ale and wine ſold by the pound weight
A ſword ſeene in the aire.

*Iames the ſecond.*
1436

IAmes the firſt made away through the traitorous practiſe of the earle of Atholl (as before is ſpecified) his eldeſt ſonne James the ſecond of that name being as then but ſix yeares of age ſucceeded to the crowne, as lawfull heire to the ſame, and by his mother and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to Scone, where, by the vniuerſall conſent of the three eſtates he was crowned king of Scotland, being the 102 king of that realme from Ferguſe the firſt. He was ſurnamed James with the fierie face, by reaſon of a broad red ſpot which he had in one of his cheekes. This James at his comming to mans ſtate proued a ſtout prince, and maried the daughter of the duke of Gelderland, as after ſhall appeare. In the beginning he had ſome trouble and buſineſſe, by reaſon of the great authoritie and rule which the high barons of the realme ſought to beare & maintaine, as the Dowglaſſe, and other, but in the end he ſubdued them all.

Buchan. 103.

The daughter of the duke of Gelderland maried to Iames the ſecond.

Shortlie after his coronation, becauſe he was not of himſelfe able to gouerne, by reaſon of his tender age; the nobles and eſtates of the realme choſe ſir Alexander Leuingſton of Calender knight, gouernor of the king and realme, and ſir William Creichton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the ſame as he before had done, the K. being committed to his keeping, togither with the caſtell of Edenburgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in his countries of Dowglas & Annardale, and would neither obeie gouernor nor chancellor, wherby great trouble was raiſed within the realme. Within a ſhort time alſo, the gouernor and chancellor were diuided. The gouernor with the queene remained at Striueling, but the chancellor had the king ſtill with him in the caſtell of Edenburgh; and what the one commanded to be done, the other forbad: whereby neither of them was obeied, nor anie execution of iuſtice put in practiſe, ſo that through all the countrie, reiſſe, ſpoiles, and oppreſſion were exerciſed without feare of puniſhment. The queene perceiuing ſuch miſchiefe to reigne throughout all parts of the realme, deuiſed a meane to aduance the gouernors ſide, and hereupon with a ſmall companie repaired to Edenburgh, where ſhe to bring hir purpoſe to paſſe, did ſo much by great diſſimulation, that ſhe perſuaded the chancellor to ſuffer hir to enter the caſtell, and to remaine with the king; but within three daies after, ſhe feigned one morning to go on pilgrimage vnto the White kirke, and cauſed the king hir ſonne to be handſomlie couched in a trunke, as if he had beene ſome fardell of his apparell, and ſo packed vp, ſent him by one of hir truſtie ſeruants laid vpon a ſumpter horſſe vnto Lieth, from whence

Sir Alexander Leuingſton gouernor.
Sir William Creichton L. chancellor.

Diſobedience in the Dowglaſſe.

1437.

A policie wrought by the queene.

he was conueied by bote vnto Striueling, where, of the gouernor he was ioifullie receiued, commending the queene highlie for hir politike working, in deceiuing ſo wiſe a man as the chancellor was. Then raiſed he a great power of his friends and well-willers, and beſieged the chancellor in the caſtell of Edenburgh.

The king conueied vnto Striueling.

The biſhop perceiuing in what danger he ſtood through the womans deceipt, ſent to the earle of Dowglas, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt the queene and gouernor. But the earle refuſing either to helpe the one or the other, alledging that they were both ouer ambitious in ſeeking to haue the whole gouernment of the realme in their hands. The chancellor then perceiuing himſelfe deſtitute of all helpe, made agreement with the gouernor, vnder certeine conditions, that he ſhould reteine ſtill the caſtell of Edenburgh vnder his poſſeſſion, and likewiſe continue ſtill in his office of chancellor. Shortlie after the earle of Dowglaſſe deceaſſed at Leſtelricke, in the yeare 1439, againſt whome aſwell the gouernor as chancellor had conceiued great hatred. He left behind him a ſonne (begot of the earle of Crawfords daughter) named William, a child of fourteene yeares of age, who ſucceeded his father in the earldome of Dowglaſſe, appearing at the firſt to be well inclined of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he waxed wild and inſolent.

In agreement made.

The earle of Dowglaſſe departeth this life at Leſtelricke.
1439.

About this ſeaſon, James Steward ſonne to the lord of Lorne, maried the queene Dowager, and fauored the earle Dowglaſſe in his vnrulie demeanor: whereupon, both the ſaid James and his brother William, with the queene, were committed to priſon in the caſtell of Striueling by the gouernors appointment; but ſhortlie after they were releaſed by the ſute of the lord chancellor, ſir William Creichton, and Alexander Seton of Gurdon, who became ſuerties for their good abearing, vnder great forfeiture of ſufficient band. About the ſame time, or rather somewhat before, Alane Steward lord of Dernlie was ſlaine at Palmais thorne, by ſir Thomas Boid. And in the yeare following, the ſame ſir Thomas was ſlaine by Alexander Steward of Bolmet and his ſonnes; where through there roſe great troubles in the weſt part of Scotland. William earle of Dowglaſſe ſent Malcolme Fleming of Cumernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles the ſeuenth, king of France, to obteine of him the duchie of Towraine, which was giuen to Archembald Dowglaſſe at the battell of Vernoill in Perth; and the laſt earle, father to this earle William, had inioied the ſame all his life time, whereupon that ſute was the ſoner obteined: which made the yoong earle more inſolent than before.

Alane Steward is ſlain.

He kept ſuch a port, and vſed to haue ſuch a traine attending vpon him, ſpeciallie when he came to the court, that it ſhould ſeeme he had the king in ſmall regard; for he thought himſelfe ſafe inough in mainteining the like ſtate and port, or rather greater than euer his father at anie time had mainteined before him: inſomuch as he would ride with two thouſand horſſe, of the which number there were diuerſe errant theeues and robbers, that were borne out in their vnlawfull and wicked practiſes by the ſame earls. Certeine captens of the Iles, as Lachlane, Makelaine, and Murdac Gipſon, with a wicked number of the inhabitants of the ſame Iles, harried, ſpoiled, and burnt the countrie of Lenor, and ſlue John Colquhouen lord of Lute vnder aſſurance. They alſo ſlue women and children, without reſpect to age or ſex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scotland, the like was neuer heard of before, and ſuch a death by peſtilence, that few eſcaped that were taken therewith, and ſo the realme was plagued with reiſſe,

The great port of the erle of Dowglaſſe.

Lenox is harried.
John Colquhouen, or Coguhain ſlaine.

A dearth.

Peſtilence.

reiſſe, oppreſſion, dearth, and death of people. This yeare alſo the gouernor toke the whole adminiſtration vpon him, wherewith the chancellor was diſpleaſed, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, repaired to Edenburgh, where he deuiſed the way how to recouer the king from the gouernor, and ſo on a morning toke foure and twentie men with him, and rode to the parke of Striueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor abſent at Perth.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 11.

*At what time the chancellor with great courteſie drawing towards the king, did ſalute him, being in ſome feare to ſée ſuch companie come vnto him, hauing ſo few in his traine. Which when the chancellor perceiued, he praied the king to be of good comfort, and in few words (fit for that time) exhorted him that he ſhould looke to himſelfe and the kingdome, and deliuer himſelfe from the impriſonment of Alexander the gouernor, liuing freélie from henceforth after a kinglie maner; that he ſhould not accuſtome himſelfe to obeie the pleaſure and couetouſnes of others, that he ſhould vſe to command his ſubiects in all iuſt and lawfull cauſes; and that he ſhould deliuer his people from theſe euils which increaſed vpon them, by the ambition and couetouſneſſe of the rulers, which he could not now well remedie or reſiſt, except the king would take on him the gouernement, the which to doo, he had without all danger or trouble prouided a meane. For he had in a readineſſe ſufficient number therefore, which ſhould attend vpon the king where ſo euer he would go, or to vſe anie other matter as néed ſhould require. Which the king taking with a pleaſant countenance (either becauſe the matter liked him well, or to diſſemble the feare he had of the chancellor) did fullie approue, and went with his ſmall vnarmed companie and the chancellor toward Edenburgh.)

The king went with the chancellor to Edenburgh.

The chancellor (as Hector Boetius ſaith) had cauſed the number of foure thouſand horſſemen of his ſeruants, tenants, and friends, ſecretlie to be readie that morning about the town of Striueling, to reſiſt his aduerſaries if they ſhould haue vſed anie force againſt him: and now vnderſtanding of the kings going thus with the chancellor, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him ſafelie and without further trouble vnto Edenburgh, where he was ioifullie receiued. The gouernor when he was aduertiſed hereof, was grieuouſlie diſpleaſed; but becauſe he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Edenburgh, and there got John Innes biſhop of Murrey, and Henrie Lichton biſhop of Aberdene, to labor ſome agreement betwixt him and the chancellor: which they did in this wiſe: the king to remaine in the kéeping of the chancellor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And ſo by this accord they were made friends.

The gouernor and chancellor are made friends.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 294. Buchan. lib. 11.

*During which turmoiles, William Dowglaſſe (that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie borne himſelfe, diſobeieng the rule of the gouernor, & diſdaining to ioine in ſocietie of the chancellor) did vew the dedlie hatred of them both againſt him; for which cauſe they ſéeke by all means vtterlie to take him awaie. For the doing whereof (to the end it might be performed without anie tumult) they appoint a parlement to be holden at Edenburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in ſuch aſſemblies it alwaies happeneth) but almoſt the whole countries came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which ſort, there was ſuch a miſerable ſhew, that men could not behold the ſame without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himſelfe, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their husbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance. Wherevpon (as it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle harts, to rue the afflicted) there aroſe great enuie againſt the capteins and leaders of the wicked doers of ſuch ſpoile, whoſe euils were now growne to ſuch exceſſe, as by no means they might be ſuffered; whoſe factions were ſo largelie ſpread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or liuehod: but ſuch as did yéeld themſelues to their actions, and whoſe riches were ſo increaſed, as the weake could not well find anie helpe (in the authoritie of the magiſtrate) againſt their violence.

Wherevpon it liked the wiſer ſort (ſince their force ſéemed not almoſt able to be broken, or their parts to be ſeuered) to flie to policie and leaue ſtrength, not daring openlie to call the earle Dowglaſſe by that name of capteine of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and fautor of thoſe people. Wherefore the gouernor and the chancellor (for a time diſſembling the hatred which they harboured againſt Dowglaſſe) perſuaded the whole parlement, that it were more conuenient with faire ſpéeches to pacifie Dowglaſſe, than with ſhew of ſuſpicious and euill words to ſtirre him to further heat: eſpeciallie conſidering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone, if he ſtood againſt them, might hinder all the decrees of the parlement: but if hée ioined with the nobilitie, there might be eaſie remedie found to ſalue all theſe preſent euils. Through which wiſe and ſubtill perſuaſion of Alexander the gouernour, it was decréed amongſt them, that there ſhould be honourable letters directed to him in the common & ſpeciall name of all the nobilitie, which ſhould admoniſh him, that being mindfull of the honorable place which he poſſeſſed (and of his worthie anceſtors, by whome the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie ſingular benefits) hée ſhould repaire to the parlement, which well could not, and willinglie would not, either kéepe or determine any thing in the ſame without his preſence. In which aſſemblie, if hée would complaine of anie wrongs or griefes offered vnto him, hée ſhould be ſatiſfied ſo fullie as they might lawfullie.

And if he or anie of his friends or familie had committed anie diſordered part, the nobilitie there met would fullie remit the ſame, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the worthie memorie of the déeds done by his anceſtors; as for that they rather attributed ſuch actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the perſuaſion of others, than vnto him, of whome there was conceiued a ſingular hope of great towardneſſe, for the aduancement of his name and benefit of his countrie. Therfore if he would come and ioine with them, he ſhould receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleaſeth him, to the end that as in times paſt, their countrie had béene manie waies deliuered out of moſt heauie dangers by the hand of the Dowglaſſes, ſo at this preſent, the ſame might alſo by his preſence and furtherance, be againe aduanced and ſtrengthened from and againſt thoſe inteſtine euils wherewithall it now fainted. The yong man (by nature and age gréedie of glorie) being moued with theſe flatteries, and the other perſuaſions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certeine hope of good to happen to himſelfe) they now déemed it beſt (forgetting all former dangers) to thinke vpon their priuate commodities, and with that reſolution toke their iournie to come to the parlement.

The chancellor when he vnderſtood they were on there way, rode forth of Edenburgh manie miles to méet the Dowglaſſe, and courteouſlie inuited the earle to his caſtell of Creichton, which laie in his

waie as he should ride, at which place he was most honourablie interteined by the chancellor. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancellor (after hée had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicause he would vtterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had anie mislike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembring the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parlisment had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obteined by the blood of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their déeds) not onelie from the filthie spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would refraine himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all such as were giuen to robberie and spoile; that he would from henceforth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his yong yéeres might be taken for proofe of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like spéeches, declaring the faith of a welwilling mind, he allured the earle to come to Edenburgh with Dauid his brother partaker of all his counsels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancellor, more than in times past or then beséemed the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernor (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a déepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edenburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him. Wherevpon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglasse, that some of them did boldlie and liberallie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to staie, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancellor: and at the least (if he would aduenture himselfe) to send home his brother Dauid, to the end that hée might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnaduised youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation therfore) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongest the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who bicause (they would not be restreined within the bounds of peacefull lawes) are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satisfie their euill humor: whose speaches hée regarded not, since hæ rather respected and trusted the approued wisedome of the chancellor and the governor, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horsse, and hastened his iourneie more than he did before, with his brother and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certeine destinie) casting himselfe hedlong into the snares of his enimies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouernor (according to his promise) was readie there to méet him, to the end the matter might séeme to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglasse being honorablie and friendlie by the gouernor receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the middest of this sweet meat (sower sawce being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of his followers) was about to rise from the table: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court nert to the castell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbrideled youth) beheaded, with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now entring into his adolescencie or yéers (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancellor (grieuing to sée) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vntimelie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enimie, whose life (said hée) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.)

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet: for his vncle James Dowglasse baron of Abircorne that succéeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but three yeres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was maried to one William Dowglasse, sonne to this earle James before his decease, that the heritage should not be diuided: bicause the earledome of Dowglasse was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale; and Dzmont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the decease of his father earle James, began to war vnrulie, and to follow the vntoward maners of the other William Dowglasse latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obeie the gouernor and chancellor, wher vpon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

✲ Againe (by the mariage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his vnrulie behauiour) aduance himselfe in pride, whereof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice: but he incountering sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, mainteined his people in those oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was priuie of their misdemeanor. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one John Gormacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of robberie) did set vpon William Ruwene (shiriffe of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had led a théefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than théeues) the shiriffe recouered the battell, and killed the capteine Gormacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins. Fr. Thin

Buchanan. lib. 11.

In the yéere 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunbreton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was twise taken within a few daies: for Robert Semplier that was capteine of the inferior castell, 1443.

ſtell, and Patrike Galbꝛith capteine of the higher caſtell, did ſo diuide their gouernement of the ſaid caſtell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peculiar and ſeuered entrance into his owne part without offenſe of the other. But yet theſe two (as moſt part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, oꝛ moſt commonlie happeneth in the minoꝛitie of the pꝛince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: foꝛ Patrike was ſecretlie thought to fauour Dowglaſſe, foꝛ which cauſe Semplier, oꝛ (as ſome haue Simplie) the other capteine perceiuing the part of the caſtell wherein Patrike ruled to be moꝛe negligentlie kept, than durſt oꝛ the ſtate of the time required, found oppoꝛtunitie to expell Patrike from thence, and to cauſe all his furniture to be caried out of the ſame, conuerting the ſaid caſtell to his owne vſe. In the end (the nexꝛt day after) Patrike vnderſtanding thereof, and comming with foure vnarmed perſons (to fetch awaie his furniture and houſhold-ſtuffe) entered into the caſtell; and firſt finding the poꝛter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armoꝛ, expelled the others out of the higher caſtell: after which, calling aid out of the towne nexꝛt adioining, he ſhut them alſo out of the inferioꝛ caſtell, and got poſſeſſion of the whole caſtell to himſelfe.)

1444. The king will rule himſelfe.

The king, after he came to the age of fouretéene yéeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but toke the rule vpon himſelfe. The earle of Dowglaſſe informed thereof, came to him at Striueling, and put himſelfe and all he had to remaine at his pleaſure: wherevpon the king receiued him, pardoned all his paſſed miſdemeanoꝛs, and admitted him to be one of his ſpeciall friends and pꝛiuie councelloꝛs in all his affaires. By his perſuaſion ſhoꝛtlie after, ſir Alexander Leuingſton, & William Creichton being diſcharged of their offices, were alſo put off from the councell, and all their friends baniſhed the court, and they themſelues were ſummoned to appéere beforꝛe the king: which becauſe they refuſed to doo, they were pꝛoclamed rebels, and put to the hoꝛne. The earle Dowglaſſe then foꝛ the old grudge he bare them, raiſed an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge wherof, ſir William Creichton ſpoiled the earle of Dowglaſſe his lands, ſo that great trouble was raiſed thꝛough the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabꝛoke, Abircoꝛne, & the towne of Blackneſh were burnt and deſtroied.

1445. Leſle.

The earle of Dowglaſſe ruled wholie about the king, & made Archembald his bꝛother earle of Murrey, by ioining him in mariage with a ladie of the houſe of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Moꝛouer, Hugh Dowglaſſe was made earle of Oꝛmont. Thus the earle of Dowglaſſe aduanced his name, and ioined in friendſhip with the earle of Crawfoꝛd, with Donald earle of the Iles, and with the earle of Roſſe, to the end that ech of them ſhould be aſſiſtant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawfoꝛd at the requeſt of the earle of Dowglas, toke a great pꝛeie of goods out of the biſhop of S. Andꝛews lands in Fife, which biſhop was called James Kenedie, ſiſters ſon to king James the firſt: where thꝛough the earle of Crawfoꝛd on the one part, and the earle of Huntleie with the Ogiluies on the other, met at Arbꝛoth in ſet battell, where the earle of Crawfoꝛd was ſlaine, and diuerſe barons on his ſide, although the victoꝛie and field remained with his ſonne, the maiſter of Crawfoꝛd, who ſuccœded his father, and was called earle Beirdie. On the earle of Huntleies ſide were ſlaine, John Foꝛbes of Petſlege, Alexander Berkleie of Gartulie, Robert Marwell of Teline, William Gurdun of Burrowfield, ſir John Oliphant of Aberdagie, and fiue hundꝛed moꝛe on their ſide, and one hundꝛed of the victoꝛers were alſo ſlaine, as Hector Boetius ſaith.

The ſame wꝛiter repoꝛteth that the occaſion of this battell did chance, thꝛough the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawfoꝛds eldeſt ſonne Alexander Lindſeie, and Alexander Ogilbie oꝛ Ogiluie (as ſome wꝛite him) about the office of the bailiffewike of Arbꝛoth, the which the maiſter of Crawfoꝛd inioieng, was diſplaced and put out by the ſaid Ogiluie. Wherevpon the maiſter of Crawfoꝛd, to recouer his right (as he toke it) got a power togither with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the ſame ſeized vpon the abbeie, and Ogiluie with helpe of the earle of Huntlie, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduerſaries hands, and ſo vpon knowledge hereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawfoꝛd, he himſelfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbꝛoth, at the verie inſtant when the battels were readie to ioine, cauſed firſt his ſonne to ſtaie; and after calling fꝛoth ſir Alexander Ogiluie to talke with him, in purpoſe to haue made peace betwixt him and his ſonne, was thꝛuſt into the mouth with a ſpeare, by a common ſouldier that knew nothing what his demand ment, ſo that he fell downe therewith, and pꝛeſentlie died in the place: wherevpon togither the parties went incontinentlie without moꝛe pꝛotracting of time, and ſo fought with ſuch ſucceſſe, as beforꝛe ye haue heard. The earle of Huntleie eſcaped by flight: but Alexander Ogiluie being taken and ſoꝛe wounded, was led to the caſtell of Fineluin, where ſhoꝛtlie after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yéere of our Loꝛd 1445.

Fr. Thin.

* The king thus ruled by the trope of the Dowglaſſes, the earle Dowglaſſe ſent to ſir William Creichton knight, to deliuer vp the caſtell of Edenburgh. But Creichton (ſaieng that the caſtell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to doo therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods fꝛoth-with confiſcat to the kings vſe, with his caſtell of Creichton, which the kings people entered into and poſſeſſed. But leaſt they ſhould ſéeme to offer anie manifeſt wꝛong to the ſaid Creichton, they gaue out the ſame edict (as a veile of their malice and enuie) which Creichton had beforꝛe cauſed to be eſtabliſhed and pꝛoclamed. Foꝛ he firſt of all others made a law, that whoſoeuer did denie oꝛ reſiſt the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie caſtell, ſhould be in danger of treaſon; the bꝛeach and execution of which law did firſt come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be woꝛthilie ſaid (which is vſed to be ſpoken in common pꝛouerbe) Ye is fallen into the ſnare which he pꝛepared foꝛ others. Wherevpon the Dowglaſſe (ſince the caſtell would not otherwiſe be deliuered) ſharplie beſieged the ſame by the ſpace of nine moneths, which in the end Creichton ſurrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be perfoꝛmed. At which time alſo the ſaid Creichton was reinueſted with the honoꝛ of the chancelloꝛſhip, although he neuer after intangled himſelfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerſpꝛead all things, were ouerblowen) a better foꝛme of gouernement would be bꝛought in, as a certeine light to giue ſhine to the common-wealth.

1445. I. Ma. 1446, Leſl. Buchanan. lib. 11. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 279.

1446. Leſle.

James Steward a woꝛthie knight (not he that was ſurnamed The blacke) was ſlaine at Kirkepatrike, two miles from Dumbꝛeton, by Alexander Liſle, and Robert Boid, whoſe crueltie not being ſatiſfied with his bloud, they laboured to bꝛing his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) within their danger. Foꝛ the performance whereof, they ſent a pꝛieſt vnto hir, that (in haſte and as it were troubled) ſhould tell hir in what diſtreſſe ſhe now reſted

Buchan. lib. 11.

ſted, and that there was no meanes to relieue hir-ſelfe by anie waie (ſince euerie place was beſet with horſſe and footmen) vnleſſe ſhe eſcaped by bote to Robert Boid at Dunbreton, who further vpon oth promiſed hir, that he would ſafelie bring hir backe to hir owne houſe.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Boid was preſent at the death of hir husband) and caried out of Cardroſſe, into the Dunbreton caſtell, might eaſilie perceiue hir ſelfe hardlie beſet on euerie ſide by the deceipt of hir enimies, who (being ſo deceiued and ouercome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child before hir time, and (togither with hir ſonne) died there within few houres after.

Buchan. lib. 11. Almoſt at the ſame time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Halis) held the caſtell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the queene with him, to whome ſhe fled for ſuccour in the times of theſe tumults. Archembald Dunbar (ſuppoſing this to be a juſt cauſe of anger) in the night did ſet vpon Halis the caſtell of Hepburne, which he tooke at the firſt aſſault, by ſleaing of the watch, who being ſtroken with a great feare for the ſame, did (in few dates after) reſtore the ſame to earle Dowglaſſe, with couenant that all they which were within, ſhould depart in ſafetie without anie danger.)

James Steward is baniſhed the realme. Sir James Steward ſurnamed the Blacke knight, husband to the queene the kings mother, was baniſhed the realme for ſpeaking words againſt the miſgouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglaſſe. As he paſſed the ſeas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & ſhortlie after departed this life. The queene his wife being aduertiſed of his death, died alſo within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouſe of Perth the fiftéenth of Julie, in the yeere 1446. Hir name was Jane Summerſet, daughter to the earle of Summerſet. James the firſt maried hir (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two ſonnes, and ſir daughters, which were all honorablie maried: the firſt named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the ſecond Eleanor, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Terucer in Zeland: the fourth, to the duke of Auſtrich: the fift, to the earle of Huntleie: and the firt, to the earle of Morton. And by James Steward hir ſecond husband, ſhe had three ſonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchquhane, and Andrew biſhop of Murrey.

He died. The queene died. 1446.

Fr. Thin. *After the death of the queene, Hepburne deliuered the caſtell of Dunbar (to the king) being emptie, and without companie. ¶ In Auguſt, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Toadune John Leonton, as an ingratefull perſon to him, ſince by his fathers helpe he had béene aduanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kinred. Sone after, ſir William Creichton, with the biſhop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Oterburne a canon of Glaſcow, were ſent in ambaſſage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be ioined in mariage with king James. Their ſute was obteined, and the ladie ſent into Scotland noblie accompanied with diuerſe lords both ſpirituall and temporall. At hir arriuall ſhe was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the mariage ſolemnized by the aſſiſtance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banketting, ioifull mirth, and all pleaſant intertainment of thoſe ſtrangers that might be.

1448. Leſle. King James maried a daughter of the duke of Gelderland.

1447. 1448. Leſle. In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in the which ſir Alexander Leuingſton of Kalendar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the purſute of the earle of Dowglaſſe were forfalted and condemned to perpetuall priſon in Dunbreton, and James Leuingſton his eldeſt ſonne, Robert Leuingſton treaſuror, and Dauid Leuingſton knights, loſt their heads. James before his execution made a verie wiſe declaration to the ſtanders by, declaring the vnſtabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all perſons to beware thereof; ſith enuie euer followed high eſtate, and wicked malice neuer ſuffered good men to gouerne long. In the ſame parlement, ſir William Creichton was alſo forfalted for diuerſe cauſes, but principallie for that his ſeruants would not deliuer the houſe of Creichton to the kings herald, who charged them ſo to do. This forfalture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the ſaid William (when he was chancellor) cauſed to be made, and ſo being the firſt inuentor, was alſo the firſt againſt whome it was practiſed.

James Leuingſton made an oration. W. Creichton condemned.

Incurſions made. 1448. The yéere next inſuing were ſundrie incurſions made betwixt Scots and Engliſhmen on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewiſe Anwike in England: but ſhortlie after a truce was concluded for ſeuen yéeres, great offers of friendſhip made by the Engliſhmen for to haue the wars ceaſſe on that ſide, becauſe the warre betwixt them and France was verie hotlie purſued, and ciuill diſſention diſquieted the ſtate of England, which was raiſed betwixt the two houſes of Lancaſter & Yorke. * This yeere there were manie meetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes eſtabliſhed for bridleing the wicked facts of ſuch as applied themſelues to ſpoiling of other men; whereupon a long peace followed in Scotland: beſide which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treaſons, and chieflie of ſuch as touched the kinglie maieſtie. This lawe of treaſon was afterward executed firſt vpon Dowglaſſe, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, whereof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntleie, and George Leſlie baron was made earle of Rothſaie, both men ſingularlie famed for their wiſedome and valure.)

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 300. 1446.

Engliſhmen fetch bowties out of Scotland. 1450. The Engliſhmen borderers of the weſt marches fetched a great bowtie of cattell out of Scotland, notwithſtanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots inuading England, waſted the countrie, burnt townes and villages, ſlue the people, & with a great preie of priſoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Herewith followed dailie rodes and forraies made on both ſides betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, and that with ſuch rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied waſt: for on that ſide the Scots chieflie made their inuaſions, becauſe that from thence the firſt occaſion of all this miſchiefe might ſéeme to haue had the beginning. When ſuch things were certified to the king of Englands councell, an armie was appointed forthwith to inuade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus ſurnamed Redberd, a captéine of great experience, as he that had béene trained vp from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, becauſe of his long red berd, called him in ſcorne and deriſion, Magnus with the red mane.

The Scots inuade England. A knight named Magnus

The earle of Dzmont generall of the Scotiſh armie The Engliſh armie inuadeth Scotland. The Scots hearing of the approch of this armie towards their borders, leuied a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglaſſe earle of Dzmont by the kings commiſſion, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderſtanding that the enimies would enter into Annardale, drew thither with the ſaid armie to reſiſt their attempts. The Engliſhmen paſſing ouer the riuer of Sulweie and Annand, came to another riuer called Sare, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and ſpoile the countrie on ech ſide: but aduertiſed that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone forth, were with all ſpéed called backe to the

campe

campe by sound of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skilfull warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell or middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselfe ruled.

Sir John Penneinton.

The earle of Ormont on the other side ordered his battels in this wise. He appointed a verie valiant knight called Wallase of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to incounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Marwell, and lord Johnston, with a chosen companie of lustie Scotishmen, and commanding himselfe in the battell or middle ward, had scarse set his people in araie, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to dw valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enimies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their harts; and as they had force inough to vanquish their enimies that came thus to brag and threaten them with vtter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enimies.

Wallase of Craggie.

The earle of Ormont exhorteth his armie.

The battell is begun.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrowes came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallase perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with lowd voice reproued their cowardise, and with most pithie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue fullie vowed to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots heerwith seemed to be so incouraged, that they rushed forward with great egernesse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they draue the Englishmen to breake araie and to flee: Magnus heerewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appeere, preassed forward vpon Wallase with great violence, and seeking to approch vnto him that he might haue wroken his griefe vpon him, was inclosed among the Scotish troopes, and slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

Magnus is slaine.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scotishmens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chase verie fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chase: for the tide being come in, staied manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of English men, to the number neere hand of three thousand, and amongest other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleuen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat aboue six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Harington knights, and the lord Persie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to horsbacke, whereby he escaped by flight: & beside these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the sword and water had spared.

The English men put to flight.

The number slaine.

Prisoners taken.

The earle of Northumberland escapeth by flight.

The earle of Ormont hauing got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king ioifullie receiued, honorablie feasted, and highlie rewarded. After this, the Scots that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue beene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reson of ciuill wars that shortlie after followed, they were constreined to forbeare to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the auoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forren enimies, they sued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of three yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Dowglasse, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Graie, Salton, Seiton, and Oliphant; also, Calder, Urquhart, Cambell, Frasier, and Lauder, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Jubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Hugh earle of Ormont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands inuaded & spoiled.

1448. Buch.
1450. Lesl.

A truce for three yeares betweene England and Scotland.

The earle of Dowglasse goeth into Italie.

*Whereupon the king sent William Sentclare earle of Orcades at that time chancellor first into Galloway, and then into Dowglasse, where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vse) the reuenues of the Dowglasse. But when Sentclare was not of sufficient strength to performe what he would, because some & the most part reiected (though others imbraced) him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherewith the king greatlie moued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Dowglasses into law, and declared them publike enimies and detractors of his gouernement. And therevpon (prouiding an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway: where, at their first comming (since their capteins were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enimies dispersed into rougher parts of the countrie to hide themselues) turned backe to the king without anie thing done. Whereat the king highlie offended (in that such wandering theeues should so lightlie dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor tooke the castell of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Dowglasse (with extreame labor of his soldiors) to his subiection, at what time he leuelled the castell thereof equall with the ground.)

Fr. Thin.

Buchan.

The earle aduertised hereof, with all speed returned home through England, and sent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countries (namelie Annandale) purged of theeues and robbers, pardoned him of all offenses, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also eftsones proclamed the kings lieutenant; but shortlie after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recouerie of losses sustained by the Englishmen by certeine inrodes (as he alleged) the king tooke the matter in verie euill part, for that he should seeme so to be had in contempt of the earle: and withall he mistrusted also, least there were some secret practises in hand to the preiudice of him and his realme: so that he stormed not a little towards the earle. Who being thereof aduertised, came

The earle of Dowglasse goeth into England without licence of the king of Scots

The earle of Dowglaſſe ſueth for pardon.

came in humble wiſe to the king, & beſought him of pardon, if he had in anie wiſe offended him, aſſuring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer commit anie act that might tend to his maieſties diſpleaſure.

Herewith the quéene alſo and other noble men made ſute to the king for the earles pardon, ſo that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet diſcharged of bearing anie publike office, which pinched him ſo ſore (namelie for that his aduerſaries William Chreichton lord chancellor, and the earle of Orkneie ſéemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he ſought to diſpatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his ſeruants and friends to aſſault him on a morning as he was comming forth of Edenburgh, but yet he eſcaped to his caſtell of Chreichton, although wounded in déed right ſore, and within few daies after, gathering a power of his kinſmen, friends, & alies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had deſtroied (as was thought) the earle of Dowglaſſe at that preſent, if he had not ſhifted away the more ſpéedilie, who being thus to his great gréefe, and no ſmall diſhonor chaſed out of Edenburgh, deuiſed which way he might beſt be reuenged; and for the more eaſie accompliſhment of his purpoſe, he procured the earles of Crawford and Roſſe to ioine with him in that quarell againſt Chreichton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they couenanted to aſſiſt one another againſt the malice of the ſaid Chreichton, and all other their aduerſaries.

He enuieth thoſe that bare rule about the king.

He ſéeketh to deſtroie the L. chancellor.

The Dowglaſſe conſtrained to flée out of Edenburgh.

He maketh a part.

The earle of Dowglas hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himſelfe verie high, in preſuming further thereof than ſtood with reaſon: and this was one great cauſe of the kings diſpleaſure now paſſinglie increaſed againſt the ſaid earle. An other cauſe was this: a ſort of théeues and robbers brake into the lands of the lord John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the ſame lands a great bootie of cattell. And whereas the ſaid lord Herres complained vnto the earle of Dowglaſſe of that wrong, becauſe the offendors were inhabiting within his roome, and yet could haue no redreſſe; he attempted to fetch out of Annardale ſome preie, wherewith to ſatiſfie in part the wrong which had béene offered him by thoſe limmers and robbers. But ſuch was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to priſon, and ſhortlie after by commandement of the earle of Dowglaſſe he was hanged as a fellon, notwithſtanding that the king by an herald commanded the contrarie.

The earle of Dowglaſſe preſumeth of aſſiſtance at the hands of his friends.

The Lord Herres his lands ſpoiled

The Lord Herres hanged.

The king being ſore offended herewith (as he had no leſſe cauſe) paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure with ſilence, till he ſaw time and opportunitie to reuenge the ſame: but in the meane ſeaſon manie an honeſt man bought the bargaine right déerelie, being ſpoiled of that he had, and otherwiſe euill intreated, and yet durſt not the meaner ſort once complaine for feare of further miſchiefe: where the higher powers alſo ſore lamented the great diſorders dailie increaſing, and yet were not able in anie wiſe to reforme the ſame, inſomuch as it was greatlie doubted, leaſt the earles of Dowglaſſe, Crawford, Roſſe, Murrey, and other of that faction ment to put the king beſide his ſeat. Which dout being put into the kings head, brought him into no ſmall perpleritie, whereupon by courteous meſſages he ſent for the earle of Dowglaſſe, willing him to repaire to his preſence, ſoiourning then in Striueling caſtell, which he refuſed to do, till he had aſſurance vnder the kings great ſeale for his ſafe comming and going (as ſome haue ſaid.) And then about Shrouetide in the yeare 1451, he came to the court at Striueling, where the king

The confederacie miſtruſted.

The king ſendeth for the earle of Dowglaſſe.

1451.

take him aſide, & in ſecret talke moued and requeſted him to forſake the league and bond of friendſhip betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other ſuch his confederats.

There was a ſecret murmuring amongſt a number, that this earle of Dowglaſſe purpoſed to make a praiſe on a day to get the garland beſide the kings head. In déed by reaſon of his kinſmen and alies, he was of more puiſſance in the realme, than (as it was thought) ſtood with the ſuertie of the kings eſtate, vnleſſe he were the more faithfull. He had at the ſame time two brethren that were alſo earles, as Archembald earle of Murrey, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Ormont, beſide the earle of Angus, and the earle of Mortoune, that were of his ſurname and blood, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great poſſeſſions and liuings, all of the ſame ſurname, and linked in friendſhip and alliance with other the chiefeſt linages of all the realme. Hereto (by reaſon there had béene ſo manie valiant men and worthie capteins of the Dowglaſſes one after another, as it had béene by ſucceſſion) the people and commons of Scotland bare ſuch good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to ride and go with them, they cared not whither, nor againſt whome. It is ſaid, that the earles of Dowglaſſes might haue raiſed thirtie or fortie thouſand warlike perſons readie at their commandement, whenſoeuer it had pleaſed them to call. In déed the Dowglaſſes had euer the gouernement of all matters perteining vnto the defenſe of the realme, ſo that the men of war had them ſtill in all the eſtimation and honor that might be.

Earles of the ſurname of the Dowglaſſes.

The linage and great alliance of the Dowglaſſes.

The loue that the people bare toward the name of the Dowglaſſes.

But now to the purpoſe, touching the conference had betwixt king James the ſecond, and the earle of Dowglaſſe: it chanced in the end (vpon what occaſion I know not) that the earle anſwered the king ſomewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king tooke ſuch indignation, that the earle here vpon was ſlaine by him, and ſuch other as were there about him, on Shroue éeuen. Then after the earle was thus made awaie, his brethren made open warre againſt the king, and ſlue all ſuch of his friends and ſeruants, as they might incounter with: inſomuch that thoſe which trauelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confeſſe whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglaſſes. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Striueling, with a great companie of the earle of Dowglaſſes friends, in reuenge of his death incontinentlie burnt that towne, and did manie other great diſpleaſures to the king and his ſubiects, ſetting forth proclamations againſt the king and his councell, for the violating of the aſſurance granted (as before is ſaid) to the earle of Dowglas.

The earle of Dowglas anſwereth the king ouerthwartlie, and is ſlaine.

1442. Buch.

His brethren make warre againſt the king.

Striueling is burnt.

* And that with ſuch deſpite, as in the 6 kalends of Aprill, binding a wodden trunchion to an horſe taile, they faſten therto the ſafe conduct of the king and the nobles, which they forbeare not to traile vp and downe the ſtréets (not ſparing to reuile the king) with bitter and heaue words of contumelie and exclamation. With which not ſatiſfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noiſe of fiue hundred hornes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all ſuch as were about him, faithbreakers, periured, and ſuch perſons as were to be denounced enimies of all godneſſe and good men. And yet ſuppoſing this not a ſufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order do ſpoile the countries & poſſeſſions of all ſuch as tooke part with the king, and ſtedfaſtlie remained in the execution of their obedient dutie. For they beſieged the caſtell of Dalketh, binding themſelues (as coniured and periured enimies of all vertue) not to depart from thence,

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 11.

thence before they had taken and ſpoiled the ſame. being grieuouſlie offended with John the lord of that place, becauſe that he with the earle of Angus had ſeuered themſelues from the opinion & faction of the Dowglaſſes, whoſe furie (growing ſtill to extremitie) found ſuch support (by the inclining multitudes) that the king was put to his ſhifts) that he was determined to haue left the realme, and to haue fled by ſea into France, had not James Kenedie the biſhop of ſaint Andrews cauſed him to ſtaie, on the hope he had of aſſiſtance onelie by the earle of Huntleie, which earle hearing that the Dowglaſſes had gathered an armie in the ſouth againſt the king, raiſed an other armie in the north to aid the king.

The king would haue fled.

On the other ſide the earle of Crawford, hauing aſſembled a great power, incountered him at Brethume, in purpoſe to ſtop the earle of Huntleies paſſage, where betwixt them was fought a ſore battell, and the earle of Crawford chaſed into Finwin, ſo that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were ſlaine, and amongeſt other the earle of Crawfords brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that John Cullace of Bannamwin, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell ares, or (as I maie terme them) the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpoſe in the hotteſt of the fight, & ſo left the midle ward naked on the one ſide of the chiefeſt aid that the ſaid earle had, and ſo the victorie by that meanes onelie inclined to the kings ſtandard, which the earle of Huntleie had there with him. But howſoeuer it was, the ſaid erle of Huntleie had the honor of the field, who neuertheleſſe loſt diuerſe of his men alſo, though nothing ſo manie as his aduerſaries did. This battell was fought the eightéenth of Maie, being the Aſcenſion day, 1452.

Cullace of Bannamwin betraieth the erle of Crawford.

The earle of Huntleies victorie.

1452.

The earle of Huntleie the ſame day before the battels ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of thoſe ſurnames that were with him, as to the Forbeſſes, Leſlies, Jouings, Ogiluies, Grants, and diuerſe other. Which bountifulneſſe of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompenſe wherof the king gaue to the ſaid earle the lands of Badzenot & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey burnt the peill of Straboggie, perteining to the erle of Huntleie, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge wherof, the erle of Huntleie at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earledome of Murrey. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edenburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hammilton, the earles of Murrey, and Dzmont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the nert night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglaſſes ſeruants that were ſent priuilie to Edenburgh, to vnderſtand what was done there, faſtened writings vpon the church dores, ſealed with the Dowglaſſes ſeale in this forme. The earle from henceforth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beſide this, in the ſame writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murtherer, periured, falſe, and a bloudſucker.

The earle of Huntleies lands.

The earle of Murrey.

The earle of Crawford forfalted.

Lords cited to appeare.

Writings ſet vp in cõtempt of the king.

The king therefore aſſembled an armie, and went forth againſt them: but becauſe the time of the yére was contrarie to his purpoſe, he could do no great hurt to his enimies, although he burnt vp their corne, and droue awaie their cattell. But the Dowglas ſéemed to paſſe little for the kings malice, and the erle himſelfe maried his brothers wife the countеſſe Beatrice, & ſent to Rome for a licence to haue that mariage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles ſute might not be obteined. Neuertheleſſe, he kept hir ſtill in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion againſt the king, the nert ſpring, and for the more part of the tearme of two yéares nert inſuing, he haried and ſpoiled the kings poſſeſſions; and the king on the other part waſted Annandale, and all other the lands and poſſeſſions that belonged to the ſaid earle of Dowglas or his friends: but ſhortlie after, as the king paſſed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came and ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him, crauing mercie in moſt humble and lamentable wiſe, and obteined the kings pardon thorough mediation of James Kenedie biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and ſir William Creichton; but the ſaid earle liued not paſt ſir moneths after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yére 1454.

The earle of Dowglas marieth his brothers wife.

The earle of Crawford ſubmitteth himſelfe to the king, and is pardoned.

He departed this life.

1455. Buch.

1454.

1454.

The ſame yére, the king called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which James earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countеſſe Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretenſed & feined mariage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey, George Dowglas earle of Dzmont, and John Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfalted & condemned of treaſon. The earledome of Murrey was giuen to ſir James Creichton, or rather reſtored to him from whome it had béene wrongfullie taken by the vniuſt ſentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be aſſigned vnto his brother the forſaid Archembald, though the right remained in the ſaid ſir James Creichton. But yet when the ſaid ſir James Creichton could not kéepe that earldome without enuie of diuerſe and ſundrie perſons, hée handled the matter ſo, that ſhortlie after it returned againe to the kings hands. Moreouer at this parlement, George Creichton was created erle of Cathneſſe, & William Haie conſtable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were alſo diuerſe created lords of the parlement, whoſe titles were as follow; Darlie, Halis, Boid, Lile, and Lorne. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a iournie againſt his aduerſaries into Galloway, and with ſmall adw brought all the caſtels of that countrie into his poſſeſſion, and then turning into Dowglaſdale, becauſe the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, be abandoned the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiors, who practiſed no ſmall crueltie againſt the inhabitants.

1454. Parlement.

The Dowglaſſes forfalted, or (as I may ſay) attеinted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglaſdale giuen in ſpoile to the men of Warre.

Herevpon the Dowglaſſes being driuen to their ſhifts, the lord James Hammilton of Cadzow was ſent from them into England to ſue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: wherevpon returning to his friends, he counſelled the earle of Dowglas to truſt to his owne forces; and ſith the ſame were farre ſuperior in number of men to the kings power, he gaue likewiſe counſell without delaie, to ſet vpon the king, that the matter might bée tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to aſſure them of their liues and eſtates, for otherwiſe he ſaw not how anie vnfeined agrеement might be concluded, the matter being now paſſed ſo farre forth to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas vtterlie (as ſome write) refuſed to fight againſt his ſouereigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Wherevpon diuerſe great lords which were with him there on his ſide, being men of great wit, and no leſſe experience, aduiſed him yet to kéepe togither his hoſt, till by their trauell and aſſiſtance a peace were concluded, and pardon obteined for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then paſt (as they alledged) for anie indifferent

The counſell of the lord Hammilton.

Io. Maior.

conditions

conditions of peace to be obteined.

The lord Hammilton departeth from the Dowglas.

Herewith alſo, the lord Hammilton being wiſer than the reſidue, bad the Dowglas farewell, and ſo departed, concluding that he ſhould neuer ſée ſo faire a day againe, wherein he might haue caſt the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lieng at the ſiege of Abircorne, who ſent him to the caſtell of Roſleine, there to remaine vnder ſafe kéeping with the earle of Orkenie, to whom the ſaid caſtell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hämilton of all paſſed offenſes, but alſo receiued him into ſuch fauor, that he gaue him his eldeſt daughter in mariage, as after ſhall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the ſaid lord Hammilton from the Dowglas, bicauſe the king had ſet forth an open proclamation of pardon to all thoſe that would forſake the earle of Dowglas, the moſt part of the ſame earles companie departed from him, by reaſon whereof he fled into England, togither with his brethren. The king lieng at the ſiege of Abircorne, loſt diuerſe of his men, beſides manie that were wounded; but yet taking firſt a ſtrong tower, being one of the chiefeſt limmes of that fortreſſe, ſhortlie after hee wan the reſt.

The earle of Dowglas being withdrawne (as yée haue heard) into England, within a while after got togither certeine companies of men, and with the ſame returned againe into Scotland by the weſt borders, in hope to find friends in thoſe parties: but ſuch as the king had appointed there to defend the countrie, aſſembling themſelues togither, and ſetting vpon him, diſcomfited his people, ſlue his brother Archembald, and toke the erle of Ormont priſoner, being firſt ſore wounded. The baron of Baluay eſcaped into a wood, and ſo got away. The earle himſelfe alſo (as Hector Boetius ſaith) eſcaped by flight, and got vnto Dunſtafage, where finding Donald earle of Roſſe and lord of the Iles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and readie inough to follow ſuch counſell) to make warre in his fauour againſt the king. And after he had once ſet him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald walked not onelie the kings poſſeſſions that lay néere to Dunſtafage, but alſo paſſing through Argile, did much hurt in all places where he came. He inuaded alſo the Ile of Arrane, and chaſed the biſhop of Liſmore, conſtreining him to take ſanctuarie. This done, he entered into Lochquhabir, & ſo into Murrey land, where he burnt the towne of Inuernes, and wan the caſtell by a guilefull traine.

In the meane time, the earle of Ormont after he was recouered of his hurts (as the ſaid Boetius writeth) was preſented to the king, and after he had remained in priſon a certeine time, he was at length beheaded. Moreouer the counteſſe Beatrice, after ſhe ſaw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas ſhould recouer his former eſtate, came to the king, and ſubmitted hirſelfe, laieng all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto ſuch vnlawfull mariage with him, being hir former huſbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteouſlie, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therwith hir eſtate. Shortlie after alſo the counteſſe of Roſſe fled from hir huſband, & came to the king for feare of hir huſbands crueltie, wherof partlie ſhe had alreadie taſted. The king becauſe he had made the mariage betwixt hir and hir huſband, aſſigned hir forth ſufficient reuenues alſo for the maintenance of hir eſtate. About the ſame time Patrike Thornton one of the kings ſeruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglaſſe, ſlue John Sandlands of Calder the kings couſine, and Alane Steward at Dunbreton, for that they fauored the contrarie faction: but the king getting the offendor into his hands, cauſed him and his complices to die for their wicked offenſe committed. The vniuerſitie of Glaſcow was founded about this time by one Turnbull, biſhop of that ſée. The vniuerſitie of Glaſcow founded.

In the yeere following, died William Haie earle of Erroll, and conſtable of Scotland: alſo George Creichton earle of Catnes, and William Creichton chiefe of that familie. 1455. Death of noble men.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Engliſhmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, wherby he loſt (as the Scotiſh writers affirme) the loue of his owne countrimen, when they ſaw him thus ioine with the Engliſhmen, to the damage of his natiue land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the ſaid earle of Dowglas inuaded the Mers, but taking little héed to themſelues, and ſuffering their people to ride abrode to harie the countrie without order; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scotiſhmen ſet vpon them, and put them to flight, ſleaing diuers, and taking to the number of ſeuen hundred priſoners. Thus (as ſhould appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vaine ſought to diſquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglaſſes and their complices: for it was Gods will the matter ſhould be taken vp without more bloudſhed, that the right line of the Scotiſh kings might be preſerued. [For (as it appeareth) he was amongſt the Engliſh inuading Scotland, ſubdued and taken by the barons Johnſton and Cokpull, who preſented him vnto the king, whereupon the king after a ſort baniſhed him into the monaſterie of Lendore, where he was bountifullie and honorablie receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious perſons, in which place he liued manie yeres, and then died.] Fr. Thin. 1454. Leſleus. lib. 8. pag. 305.

And though the almightie God might haue brought that to paſſe by other meanes, according as it ſhould haue pleaſed his good will and omnipotent power; yet he choſe this way, whereby the effuſion of much bloud might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had béene ſpilled, if the parties hauing their harts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled togither in battell. But the K. vſing the aduiſe of his kinſman James Kenedie archbiſhop of S. Andrews, compaſſed his purpoſe in the end, diſpatching out of the way ſuch as he anie waies forth miſtruſted, of which number namelie were the Dowglaſſes, whoſe puiſſance and authoritie not without cauſe he euermore ſuſpected. Many haue reported (as before is ſaid) that in the beginning king James the ſecond, through feare of the great power of theſe Dowglaſſes, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomforted by the counſell and authoritie of the ſaid biſhop James Kenedie, he aduanced his ſtudie to matters of greater importance. James Kenedie archbiſh. of S. Andrews, chéefe chancellor to the king.

The ſaid Kenedie turned the earle of Angus, being of the ſurname of the Dowglaſſes, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured alſo diuers other of the ſame bloud and ſurname, to reuolt from the other confederats, and to ſubmit themſelues vpon promiſe of pardon vnto the kings mercie; and ſo infeebling the forces of ſuch as were aduerſaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleaſure. It was thought, that forſomuch as the Dowglaſſes had their lands lieng ſo vpon the weſt and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in thoſe parts, but onelie they themſelues) if they had happilie ioined with the Engliſhmen, conſidering the great intelligence beſide, which they had in all other parts of the realme, what by kinred and alliance, the realme might The practiſe of biſhop Kenedie. Great power cauſe of ſuſpicion.

The earle of Ormont beheaded.

The countes of Dowglas Beatrice ſubmitteth hir ſelfe to the K.

The countes of Ros.

Patricke Thornton.

might haue fallen into great perill: for truelie it is a dangerous thing (as Io. Maior ſaith) for the eſtate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and vttermoſt parts therof. For if they chance (vpon anie occaſion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & ſupreme gouernor, the preiudice may be great and irrecouerable, that oftentimes thereof inſueth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this hiſtorie: and likewiſe in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Normandie: for till thoſe countries were incorporated and annexed vnto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their ſubiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Dowglaſſes were once diſpatched, and things quieted, King James the ſecond began then to reigne and rule reallie, not doubting the controlment of anie other perſon. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as ſeemed beſt to his liking, commanding the ſame to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counſelled chieflie by the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, James Kenedie that was his vncle, and the earle of Orkenie, he paſſed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenſes paſſed. And ſo he ruled and gouerned his ſubiects in great quietneſſe, and cauſed iuſtice ſo dulie to be miniſtred on all ſides, that it was ſaid in his daies, how he cauſed the raſh buſh to keepe the cow.

*Lawes ordeined.*

*A generall pardon granted.*

1455

*A parlement holden.*

In the yeere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie good lawes made and eſtabliſhed for the weale of all the realme, as in the bookes of the acts of parlement is conteined. He vſed the matter alſo in ſuch wiſe with the principall capteins of the Iles, and of the hie lands, that the ſame were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, ſhewing all obedience as well in paieng ſuch duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as alſo in readineſſe to ſerue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to do: ſpeciallie Donald lord of the Iles and earle of Roſſe, who had before ioined himſelfe in confederacie with the earles of Dowglas and Crawford againſt the king, and had taken into his hands the kings houſe, and caſtell of Inuernelle (as before ye haue head) naming himſelfe king of the Iles.

*The Iles & high land quietlie gouerned.*

*Donald earle of Roſſe, and lord of the Iles.*

Neuertheleſſe, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanor, and afterwards brought to the king three thouſand men in aid at the ſiege of Roxburgh, * whoſe reconciliation was after this maner. When this Donald perceiued aduerſe fortune to beſiege him on euerie ſide, he ſent meſſengers to the king, craning peace and pardon for himſelfe and for his offenſes. Who comming before the king (and with manie humble ſpéeches, remembring the manie parts of clemencie which the king had vſed to the earle of Crawford, and ſuch as followed his faction) they did ſo purge the fault of Donald (by tranſferring the ſame to the fatall rage and iniurie of the preſent times, and by promiſing in his behalfe that hereafter he ſhould liue moſt quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they moued the kings mind to haue compaſſion vpon him.

*Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 11.*

"But yet the king anſwered in a meane ſort betweene both, not vtterlie pardoning, nor flatlie reiecting him: for (ſaith he) there be yet manie ſhewes extant of his wickedneſſe, and he hath not giuen forth anie one token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beléeue the ſame to be true (which you haue promiſed in his behalfe) hereafter to become a dutifull ſubiect and louing neighbour to vs, and to thoſe which are about him, he muſt with repentance (proceeding from an vnfeined tong) craue pardon from vs whome he hath greeuouſlie offended, and (with ſufficient reſtitution) recompenſe thoſe whome (by ſpoiling) he had iniured: beſides which alſo, he muſt with ſome worthie exploit wipe awaie the memories and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth more beſéeme a kinglie maieſtie than clemencie, yet we ought ſo to prouide, that (meaſuring all things by the line of reaſon) the wicked war not ſo proud and rebellious (by ouermuch lenitie and looſe gouernement) as the good may be excited to the honeſt performance of their dutie by fauour and iuſtice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the reſt of his aſſociats, wherein they may openlie ſhew ſome déeds of an altered diſpoſition, and from henceforth we will ſo account of him, as his works and not his words ſhall iuſtifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to reſt in quiet, leauing it in the power of him and his, whether I, he, and they, will héereafter be accounted (by due deſerts) happie or miſerable. Which ſaid, the meſſengers departed, and Donald reſted ſatisfied.)"

In the meane while great diſſention roſe in England betwéene the two houſes of Lancaſter & Yorke; the king being principall of the houſe of Lancaſter, was taken himſelfe at the battell of ſaint Albons. But the quéene with hir ſonne the prince, and Henrie the yong duke of Summerſet, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and ſent to the king of Scotland to deſire him of aid, who vpon good aduiſe taken with his councell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and alſo for reuenge of his vncle the duke of Summerſet his death, prepared an armie of twentie thouſand men to paſſe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king James was readie to ſupport the quéene of England, ioined with hir, and paſt forward into the ſouth parts, conſtreining the duke of Yorke to flée the realme, and ſo king Henrie inioied the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agréement with the duke of Yorke his aduerſarie; which laſted not long.

*Diſſention in England.*

The duke of Yorke remembring how readie king James was to prepare an armie in ſupport of his aduerſarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incurſions vpon the Scotiſh ſubiects, & would ſuffer no redreſſe to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the cuſtome was. Wherevpon king James raiſed a power, and in perſon entered with the ſame into England, doing great hurt by deſtroieng diuers townes, caſtels and peſles in Northumberland, the biſhoprike and other parts, till at length vpon faire promiſes made by the Engliſhmen, he returned into his owne countrie. [At this time, the art of printing was firſt inuented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but whether to great commoditie or diſcommoditie of learning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, ſaith Leſleus.]

*King James inuadeth England.*

*Fr. Thin Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 308. The art of printing firſt inuented.*

1458.

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of Yorke by the counſell of the earle of Warwike, ceaſſed not to practiſe conſpiracies againſt him, ſent eſſſones to king James, requiring him of aid againſt them, and promiſed therefore to reſtore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the biſhoprike of Dureſme, and ſuch like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, ſealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scotiſhmen alledge.) The yeere next following, at the quéene of Englands

1459.

deſire to ſupport hir againſt the houſe of Yorke, king James with a great armie entered England, but after that the quéene in the meane time had ſlaine the duke of Yorke, & got the vpper hand of hir enimies, at the ſame quéenes requeſt, he retired into Scotland againe. Neuertheleſſe ſhortlie after, when the earles of March and Warwike ſought ſtill to mainteine their quarrell againſt the quéene of England, ſhe was conſtreined to withdraw into the north parts, and to deſire king James to approch eſtſones 1460. with his armie vnto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the caſtels of Rockſburgh and Warke, which were amongeſt other things promiſed to be deliuered vnto him by king Henrie, and ſo comming to Rockſburgh, laied his armie round about that caſtell, and planted his ſiege in full warlike manner.

Héere the king hauing great experience in knowledge of ſhooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he cauſed to be ſhot off. King James the ſecond is ſlaine. And héere by great miſfortune, this worthie prince James the ſecond, was ſlaine by the ſlice of a great péece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and flue not onelie the king ſtanding ſomewhat néere it, but alſo hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable preſident from henceforth, how ſuch great princes approch ſo néere within danger of ſuch péeces of ordinance, when they are ſhot off. Alias 17. 23. Buchan. He was thus killed the third day of Auguſt, in the yéere of his life 29, of his reigne 24, and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obſequies according to his eſtate, within the monaſterie of Holie rod houſe at Edenburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no leſſe ſorow and dolefull mone, than as is ſéene in a priuat houſe for the deceaſſe of the welbeloued maiſter and owner thereof. 1460. The buriall of James the ſecond. The lamentation of the people.

In time of warre, amongeſt his ſubiects in the campe, he behaued himſelfe ſo gentlie towards all men, that they ſéemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride vp and downe amongeſt them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had béene fellowlike with the meaneſt. He had iſſue by his wife quéene Marie thrée ſonnes, and two daughters. His eldeſt ſonne named James, ſucceeded him in the kingdome; the ſecond named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third ſonne called John, was made earle of Mar. The eldeſt of his daughters the Hammilton had in mariage (as before is ſaid) and alſo after ſhall be mentioned. The amiable conditions of James the ſecond. The iſſue of James the ſecond. James the third king of Scotland. Alexander duke of Albanie. John earle of Mar.

✻ All the time of the reigne of this king, chriſtian religion did greatlie flouriſh amongeſt the Scots: for there were amongeſt them twelue notable and famous biſhops, whereof the chiefeſt were James Kennedie biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, Turnebull biſhop of Glaſcow, Thomas Spenſer biſhop of Aberden, and Henrie Lichton biſhop of Murrey. At what time likewiſe there were manie religious abbats that kept ſuch great houſes, as both the nobilitie and communaltie trauelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almoſt lodge in anie publike hoſterie, but in the monaſteries: which were neuer vered or ſpoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beſide theſe men of eminent learning, there flouriſhed alſo Nicholas Deſdone, and John Eldmaire, ſingular diuines, with manie other doctors laudablie ſéene in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king alſo, Charles the 7, king of France, for ſingular ſeruice done vnto him by the Scots, in the warres (betwéene the Engliſh and the French) did honorablie indow manie of the Scots (for recompenſe thereof) with manie rich poſſeſſions in Aquitaine, who by that meanes (ſetling themſelues in that countrie) were the originall of manie worthie families of that prouince, amongeſt which is that famous kinred of Caldell de la Campania in Tolouſe, at this time greatlie flouriſhing, which had his beginning from Caldell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grandfather of him which is now liuing, head of that houſe did inioy the place of magiſtrat or ruler of the Capitoline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his poſteritie. This mans ſonne Peter Caldell being a ſenator in the high court of Tolouſe (commonlie called the parlement) was for his ſingular learning and wiſedome had in great honor of all men during his life, which ſtretched to extreame age. In whoſe place came John (the eldeſt ſonne of the ſaid Peter) who doth at this day poſſeſſe the rome of his father, as a ſenator of the ſaid court of Tolouſe. And his other children with great honor are indued with other offices of gouernement in the ſaid citie.)

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 300.

Some ſtrange ſights there appéered before the death of this king James the ſecond: for the day before he was ſlaine, a blazing ſtar was plainlie ſéene, which ſignified (as was thought) the death of the ſaid king. A blaſing ſtarre. In the yéere before the ſiege, there was in Dundee an hermophrodyt, that is, a perſon with both ſhapes, but eſtéemed for a woman onelie, till it was prooued, that lieng with hir maiſters daughter nightlie where ſhe dwelt, ſhe had got the yong damſell with child; for the which act, becauſe ſhe had counterfeited hir ſelfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, ſhe was condemned to be buried quicke, and ſuffered according to that iudgement. At the ſame time, there was a certeine theefe, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining ſecretlie within a den in Angus called Fenilden, who vſed to kill yong perſons, and to feed on their flеſh, for the which abhominable offenſe, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was ſcarſe twelue moneths of age, onelie excepted, the which being preſerued and brought vp in Dundee, before ſhe came to the age of twelue yéeres, ſhe was taken in the like crime for the which hir father died, whereupon ſhe was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitudes followed hir, in wondering at ſo horrible an offenſe committed by one of hir age and ſexe, ſhe turned to them that thus deteſted hir wicked doing, and with a countenance repreſenting hir cruell inclination, ſaid to them: What néed you thus to raile vpon me, as if I had done an heinous act contrarie to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleaſant mans flеſh is in taſte, there would none of you all forbeare to eat it. And thus with an impenitent and ſtubborne mind ſhe ſuffered the appointed execution. An hermophrodyt, that is, a perſon being both man and woman. A wicked theefe that vſed to kill yong perſons and to eat them. His daughter falleth to the like practiſe. Hir words going to execution.

*Iames the third.*

After the death of James the ſecond, his ſonne James the third a child of ſeuen yeares of age ſucceeded, and forthwith was ſent for to the ſiege of Rorſburgh, whither he was conueied by the quéene, a woman of a ſtout ſtomach, repreſenting the manlike race of hir countrie Gelderland, of the which ſhe was deſcended. For comming with hir ſonne thus to the ſiege, ſhe ſpent not time in lamenting and womaniſh bewailing the irrecouerable loſſe of hir huſband, but rather in comforting the lords, whoſe part had bin to haue comforted hir: and aboue all things ſhe exhorted them with all diligence to imploie their whole indeuors and forces to the winning of that caſtell. Whoſe words ſo incouraged the capteins and whole armie, that the ſiege was continued till the caſtell was wone, raced, and beaten downe flat to the ground; and the yong king was crowned The ſtout ſtomach of the quéene. Rorſburgh caſtell taken and broken downe.

at

1461. I.M. 1460. Leſle. at Kelſo, with the vniuerſall conſent and great reioiſing of all the noble men, and other being there preſent in the armie.

Warke beſieged and woon. This done, they beſieged the caſtell of Warke, which likewiſe they tooke, and threw downe, and afterwards the king with the nobles of his realme came to Edenburgh, to take order for the quiet gouernement of the realme. And becauſe the king was yoong, there were choſen ſeuen regents to gouerne both king & realme, as theſe, the quéene his mother, Seuen gouernors choſen. James Kenedie biſhop of S. Andrews, that was ſiſters ſonne to James the firſt, the biſhop of Glaſcow, the earles of Angus, Huntlie, Argile, and Orkeneie. Theſe, ſo long as James Kenedie liued, agréed well togither about the gouernement of the realme; but within a while after his deceaſſe, they fell at ſquare, or rather before, as appeareth by Hector Boetius, who ſaieth, that in the ſecond yéere of this kings reigne, there was diſcord in brewing betwixt the quéene and the archbiſhop Kenedie, who perceiuing that the woman ſought to vſurpe wholie the gouernement vnto hir ſelfe, withſtood hir in that behalfe, in ſo much that it was doubted leaſt the matter would haue broken forth into ſome ciuill warre, if the biſhops of Glaſcow, Dunkeld, and Aberden, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who did ſo much in the matter, that they compounded the variance in this wiſe.

The quéene mother was appointed to haue the charge of the kings perſon, and of his brethren, Alexander duke of Albanie, and Iohn earle of Mar, and likewiſe of his two ſiſters; but as for the adminiſtration and gouernance of the realme, ſhe ſhould leaue it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by common conſent as rulers, the biſhops of Glaſcow and Dunkeld, the earle of Orkeneie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor. About the ſame time, one Alane Keir, in hope to get the heritage of his brother, Iohn lord of Lorne tooke him, and kept him in priſon. But Colen Campbell earle of Argile, taking great indignation with ſo preſumptuous a part, gathered a power, and comming againſt Keir, tooke him, and ſet his brother at libertie, and brought the offendor vnto Edenburgh, where he died in priſon. Moreouer, ſhortlie after Donald lord of the Iles and earle of Roſſe, who had ſerued obedientlie in the armie at Roxburgh, and was (as outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began anew to vſe his old maners, ſpoiling & harrieng the whole countrie of Atholl, and tooke the earle thereof, and the counteſſe his wife captiues with him into the Iles.

Donald of the Iles eſtſoones rebelleth.

To repreſſe his iniurious attempts, the regents togither were preparing an armie; but therewith came true aduertiſements, that the ſaid lord of the Iles, and other the principall offendors of his companie, were ſtricken through the hand of God with a certeine frenſie or madneſſe, and had loſt all their ſhips and ſpoiles in the ſea, ſo that the earle of Atholl and his ladie were reſtored, and thoſe frantike perſons were brought vnto ſaint Brides church in Atholl, for the recouerie of their health, but it would not be. Donald himſelfe was afterward ſlaine in the caſtell of Inuernes by an Iriſhman that was a minſtrell. In the yeare 1461, Henrie the firſt king of England being vanquiſhed by his aduerſarie Edward the fourth, purchaſed of king James the third a ſafe conduct for himſelfe and a thouſand horſſe to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to Edenburgh, and was lodged in the houſe of the friers preachers, with his wife quéene Margaret, and his ſonne prince Edward. There was alſo with him the duke of Exceſter, and the duke of Sommerſet, with manie other of the Engliſh nobilitie.

Donald became mad.

Hitherto hath Hector Boetius continued the Scotiſh hiſtorie.

He was killed 1461.

Henrie king of England by ſafe conduct commeth into Scotland.

* And to the end this firme amitie thus begun, might more increaſe, and be further ſtrengthened: the two quéenes Margaret (of England) and Marie (of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) began to intreat of a mariage (hoping by affinitie to eſtabliſh that perfect amitie) to be ſolemnized betweene the daughter of James the ſecond king of Scots, and the ſonne of Henrie (king of England) being called prince of Wales, although none of them as yet was aboue ſeuen yeares old. Which mariage, Philip duke of Burgognie (vncle to the quéene of Scots, and deadlie enimie to the quéene of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his ambaſſador Gruthuſius, a noble man and of great iudgement; for this Philip did vſe ſuch bitter enimitie againſt Reinold, grandfather to the ſon of king Henrie by the mothers ſide, that he did déepelie enuie anie good ſucceſſe to happen to anie of that race, whereby it might increaſe or flouriſh; and therefore ſought occaſion by all deuiſe to hinder it: for whoſe cauſe, and at whoſe requeſt, the ſaid mariage was at that time rather deferred, than vtterlie broken off. But the end thereof (which was greatlie feared by this Philip to be the conſummation of the mariage) was by the aduerſe fortune of king Henrie vtterlie diſappointed. For (as after ſhall appeare) this Henrie being incouraged (by the benéuolence of the Scots towards him) and throughlie confirmed (by the letters of his friend ſent vnto him) diſpatched his wife into France to Reinold hir father, to procure what aid ſhe could of hir friends beyond the ſeas, to helpe to reſtore him to the kingdome: which iournie ſucceéded not to hir in vaine, obteining ſuccor from thence.)

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The quéene went into France for aid.

The ſame time, king Henrie deliuered the towne & caſtell of Berwike into the Scotiſhmens hands, whether by couenant thereby to haue the foreſaid ſafe conduct granted, or of his owne voluntarie will, to the end he might haue the more ſupport and fauor amongeſt them, it is vncerteine by the variable report of writers. Neuertheleſſe, ſhortlie after a truce was taken betwixt king James and king Edward, for the tearme of fiftéene yeares, vpon what conditions or promiſes made on king Edwards part I find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of Maie, in the yeare 1462, at the citie of Yorke, whither had bin ſent the biſhop of Glaſcow, the earle of Argile, kéeper of the priute ſeale, the abbat of Holie rood houſe, ſir Alexander Boid, and ſir William Crawſton knights, ambaſſadors and commiſſioners for king James.

Berwike deliuered to the Scotiſhmen.

A truce for 15 yeares.

1462.

All things in this ſeaſon were ordered in Scotland by the aduiſe and counſell of James Kenedie biſhop of ſaint Andrews, a man of great wiſedome and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & ſage gouernement of the realme, as well during the minoritie of this James the third, as alſo in the daies of his father king James the ſecond. Pierre de Breze, otherwiſe called le Seigneur de la Varenne, great ſeneſhall of Normandie, was ſent by the French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thouſand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie againſt king Edward. This Breze was one moſt in fauour with king Charles the ſeuenth, father vnto the ſaid king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did ſuppoſe) he was appointed by K. Lewes (who greatlie loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture; notwithſtanding, after ſome danger both of tempeſt on the ſea, and alſo of the enimies hands, he wan the caſtels of Bamburgh and Dunſtanburgh, which he caſt to the ground, and after tooke in hand to kéepe the caſtell of Anwike, and being beſieged therein,

James Kenedie the archbiſhop gouerneth the realme.

Monſieur de la Varrenne ſent forth of France to aid the part of Margaret quéene of England.

He kéepeth Anwike caſtell, and is beſieged.

ſent for aid to the Scots.

He is reſcued by the earle of Angus.

George Dowglaſſe earle of Angus as then warden of the marches, immediatlie raiſed a power of 23000, men, and comming with the ſame to the borders, choſe forth of all his numbers fiue thouſand of the moſt able horſſemen in all his armie, and comming with them to the caſtell about the middeſt of the day, tooke the Frenchmen away with him into Scotland: the Engliſh armie that lay there at ſiege beholding the maner, and not once making proffer to fight with him. Some Engliſhmen there were, that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but other (whoſe counſell was followed) were otherwiſe minded, alleging that better it were to let them paſſe without incounter, ſith they left the caſtell void, than to ieopard vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for though their number were not great, yet were they piked and choſen men, able to atchiue a great enterpriſe.

Alias 13000.

1463. The quéene mother died.

After this, the ſixteenth of November, in the yeare 1463, the quéene of Scots, mother to James the third, died at Edenburgh, and was buried in the college of the Trinitie, which ſhe hir ſelfe had founded. This woman, after the deceaſſe of hir huſband James the ſecond, liued ſomewhat diſſolutelie, procuring Adam Hepborne of Hales a maried man to kéepe hir ſuch familiar companie, as ſounded greatlie to hir diſhonor: for that ſhe could not within the whole realme find ſome ſingle man amongeſt all the nobilitie, with whome ſhe might haue maried, & in ſome ſort to haue auoided the greater open ſlander & infamie.

Adam Hepborns familiaritie with the quéene of Scots, mother to James the third.

Alexander duke of Albanie taken on the ſea.

In the ſame yeare, Alexander duke of Albanie, and brother to the king, was taken on the ſea by the Engliſhmen in the moneth of June, as he was returning from his grandfather the duke of Gilder: but the biſhop of ſaint Andrews James Kenedie, cauſed both the ſaid duke and alſo the ſhip, with all the goods there in being, at the time of the taking of it, to be reſtored; for otherwiſe (as he flatlie proteſted) he would not kéepe the truce anie longer concluded betwixt the two realmes.

1464. King Henrie returneth into England.

The duke of Summerſet, in hope of great fauor which he ſhould find in England, perſuaded king Henrie to paſſe thither, and with a great companie of Scotiſhmen he entered England, and manie of the north parts reſorted vnto him: but at length, at his comming to Eram, the lord Montacute with a great power was readie to giue him battell, and there diſcomfited him and his whole armie. The duke of Summerſet and the lords Hungerford and Roſſe were taken and put to death; the duke at Eram, and the lords at Newcaſtell. King Henrie eſcaped verie hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a certeine ſpace after, till at length he thought to returne into England in ſuch ſecret wiſe, as he ſhould not haue béene once knowen, till he might haue got amongeſt his friends, which would haue ſupported him: but ſuch diligent watch was laid for him all alongſt the borders, that he was eſpied, taken, and deliuered to king Edward his aduerſarie, who ſhut him vp in the tower of London till he was at length there made away, as in the hiſtorie of England ye may ſée more at large.

King Henrie is impriſoned.

1466. In the yeare 1466, that famous biſhop James Kenedie departed this life, and was buried in the college of ſaint Sauiour, founded by him within the towne of ſaint Andrewes in moſt ſumptuous wiſe. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all other Scotiſh biſhops, of whome anie writer maketh mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and obſerued the truce concluded with the Engliſhmen, to the great weale and commoditie of the poore commons. He was verie rich, as appeared by ſundrie buildings and works which he left behind him, as a memoriall of his name. [Whereof the three eſpeciall things for rareneſſe and magnificence, were his college of ſaint Sauiour (wherein youth might be trained to learning and religion) the other his ſepulchre, wherein he was buried (being a ſtatelie péece of worke, ſuch as before had not béene accuſtomed for biſhops of Scotland) & the third was a ſhip of wonderfull burden: all which three, the common people affirmed were of one price, and ſtood him in like charge.] Beſides his biſhoprike, he held in his hands the commandarie of the abbeie of Pettinweme, which was worth vnto him eight hundred crowns by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in October and Januarie, there were manie edicts made for the benefit of the common wealth, & chiefelie for the eſtate of the merchants; at what time alſo there was a proclamation made, that none of the Engliſhmen ſhould beare anie office, nor receiue anie benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 314.

1470. Buch. 1468. Leſle. 1469.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 315.

1469. The mariage of James the third.

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Julie, king James the third, being as then about twentie yeares of age, maried in the abbeie of Holie rood houſe néere Edenburgh, the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, which ladie was at the ſame time not paſt twelue yeares of age, ſome ſaie ſixteene. Hir father the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, in name of hir dower, tranſported and reſigned to K. James all his right, title, and intereſt which he pretended to the out Iles.

The king of Norwaie reſigneth his title to the out Iles.

The ambaſſadors that were ſent into Denmarke to conclude this mariage, and to conuete the bride into Scotland, were theſe: Andrew Buſdeir biſhop of Glaſcow, the biſhop of Orknie, the lord Auandale chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of Arrane, who had maried the kings ſiſter, and was now in his abſence run into the kings diſpleaſure; whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir huſbands arriuall with the other in the Forth, got out of Edenburgh, & comming on ſhipbord to him, gaue him to vnderſtand what diſpleaſure the king had conceiued againſt him: who perceiuing himſelfe in what danger he ſtood if he tooke land, returned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with him.

The earle of Arrane in the kings diſpleaſure.

The king herewith was ſo offended, that he cauſed both the ſaid earle and his father to be attainted of high treaſon, and ſent for his ſiſter backe into Scotland, cauſing a diuorſe in abſence of hir huſband to be ſued & gotten forth againſt them, marieng hir afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whome he gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former huſband had in gift before. Of this mariage, thoſe of the houſe of Hamiltons are deſcended, & are néereſt of blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend. [For (as ſaith Leſleus, lib. 8. pag. 316.) if the line of the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.]

The lord Hamilton marieth the kings ſiſter.

Fr. Thin.

But now to ſhew further what we find written concerning the maner and cauſe of the baniſhment of the afore remembred Thomas Boid, Giouan Ferrerio, in his appendix of the Scotiſh hiſtorie annexed vnto Hector Boetius laſtlie printed at Paris in the yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red before. For as he telleth the tale, the ſaid lord Boid being one of the gouernors of the realme, elected thereto (as before ye haue heard) within ſhort time grew ſo far in fauor with the king, that he might do all things with him at his pleaſure, although his aſſociats in authoritie did neuer ſo much go about to hinder his deuiſes: by reaſon whereof, he ſéemed to vſurpe the whole rule & adminiſtration of the realme into his owne hands, ſore to the griefe of thoſe his ſaid aſſociats being ioined with him in like office.

Giouan Ferrerio in his appendix of the Scotiſh hiſtorie.

The lord Boid beareth all the rule about the king.

Hereof the ſtate of the common-wealth through the diſſention thus bred among the gouernors, was brought

Through default of agréement in the

gouernors, euill diſpoſed men wax bold to worke miſchiefe.

brought into a miſerable plight; for iuſtice in moſt places wanted hir due courſe, ſo as theeues and robbers taking boldneſſe thereof, not onelie vpon the borders, but alſo elſewhere, began to exerciſe great outrage, to the breach of publike peace, and namelie the inhabitants of the out Iles fell to their wonted trade of pilfering, ſo that paſſing ouer in their long boats or barges, and landing here & there on the ſhore, they toke preies of cattell and other goods, greatlie to their profit, and no leſſe damage of the people that inhabited on the coaſts ouer againſt them. In the north parts alſo, ſeditious tumults amongeſt the nobles, gentlemen, and people were raiſed, to the great diſquieting of the whole countrie. Such diſorders continued no ſmall time, and becauſe the ſaid Thomas lord Boid bare greateſt rule about the king, the blame (as it commonlie happeneth) was imputed to him.

They that be in authoritie be euer ſubiect to the ſpitefull blow of enuies dart.

At length, when the king was growen to ripe yeares, and able to ſée to the adminiſtration of the common-wealth himſelfe, he was admoniſhed by certeine graue perſonages to haue ſome regard, that ſuch miſorders as diſquieted the whole ſtate of the realme, might be reformed. Herevpon he called a parlement, in the which, whether through enuie that the lords had conceiued againſt the lord Boid, or for that his doings no leſſe deſerued ſuch complaint, was exhibited by generall voices of the ſtats againſt him, that it was decreed by authoritie of the whole aſſemblie, that he ſhould come to anſwer in iudgement ſuch crimes wherewith he was charged; but when he refuſed ſo to do, and in contempt of the kings authoritie got togither a power of armed men to defend him from iniurie, that might ſéeme (as he pretended) to be offered him: at length, the king was driuen of neceſſitie to make preparation for the leuieng of an armie to apprehend him by force. Whereof Boid being aduertiſed, fled into England, becauſe he perceiued himſelfe not able to reſiſt the kings power. The king aſſured that he was thus auoided out of his realme, baniſhed him for euer, and ſeized vpon his lands and goods as forfeited.

The lord Boid is accuſed.

He refuſeth to be tried by way of arrainment.

He fléeth into England.

After this, when the ſaid Boid ſaw no hope to returne againe into the kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Engliſhmen, he paſſed from thence into Denmarke, where he remained till the mariage was concluded betwixt the king, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke, as ye before haue heard: and then in hope by occaſion of this mariage to obteine pardon, returned now in companie of the bride, and of thoſe ambaſſadors that were ſent to haue the conueiance of hir into Scotland: neuertheleſſe, vnderſtanding by his wife that came to him on ſhipbord before he ſet foot on land, that the kings diſpleaſure continued ſtill towards him ſo greatlie, that if he came on land, he ſhould be ſure to loſe his head, he returned into Denmarke, and toke his wife with him; as before is mentioned. Finallie he went into Italie, where at length he was murthered by one, whoſe wife he went about to allure for the ſatiſfieng of his ſenſuall luſt. Before he was diuorſed from his wife the kings ſiſter, he begat on hir a ſonne, the which in the daies of king James the fourth, in a priuat quarrell that roſe betwixt him and an other noble man, chanced to be ſlaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Boid of Kalmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who alſo in report of the matter touching the mariage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, ſomewhat varieth from an other that writ thereof.

He paſſeth into Denmarke.

His vaine hope to obteine pardon.

He goeth into Italie.

He is murthered.

1468. The ambaſſadors ſent vnto Denmarke as Ferrerio ſaith.

The ambaſſadors ſent vnto Chriſtierne king of Denmarke & Norwaie in the yeare 1468, as the ſaid Ferrerio affirmeth, were theſe; Andrew biſhop of Glaſcow, William biſhop of Orkeneie, Andrew lord of Anandale chancellor of the realme, Martine Wane the great almoner, & the kings confeſſor, Gilbert de Kericke archdeacon of Glaſcow, Dauid Creichton of Craukton, & John Shaw of Halie. Theſe ambaſſadors being diſpatched into Denmarke in Julie, in the yeare aforeſaid, came at length to Hafknen, where K. Chriſtierne then remained, and were of him ioifullie receiued, & well heard concerning their ſute, in ſo much at length, after he had proponed the matter to his councell about the eight of September, it was agréed in this ſort, that the ladie Margaret, daughter to the ſaid king Chriſtierne, ſhould be giuen in mariage vnto K. James of Scotland, and that the Iles of Orkeneie, being in number 28, and likewiſe the Iles of Shetland, of which there are eightéene, ſhould remaine in poſſeſſion of the kings of Scotland, till either the ſaid king Chriſtierne or his ſucceſſors in name of the mariage monie ſhould pay vnto king James, or to his ſucceſſors, the ſumme of fiftie thouſand florens of the Rheine. This mariage was thought, by reaſon of this ingaging of thoſe Iles, right profitable vnto the realme of Scotland, becauſe of the controuerſie and variance which had continued long before thoſe daies betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmarke, about the right of poſſeſſing thoſe Iles.

vnto Denmarke as Ferrerio ſaith.

The mariage concluded.

The Iles of Orkeneie and Shetland ingaged.

In the moneth of November next inſuing, after the mariage had béene conſummate in Julie before, within the abbeie church of Holie rood houſe (as before ye haue heard) or in ſaint Giles church in Edenburgh (as other write) the three eſtates were called to aſſemble in Edenburgh, where the queene was crowned, and the parlement holden, the moſt part of the lords remaining ſtill in Edenburgh all the next winter: and in the ſummer following, the king and queene made their progreſſe into the north parts, and were honorablie receiued in the principall cities and townes where they came, and likewiſe by the nobles of the countrie, to the great reioiſing of the whole realme. After their returning to Edenburgh, the king called a parlement in the moneth of Maie 1471, in the which among other things it was ordeined, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the realme, ſhould build ſhips and boats, and prouide nets for fiſhing. Alſo it was ordeined that none ſhould weare ſilks in dublet, gowne, or cloake, except knights, minſtrels, & heralds; except they might diſpend one hundred pounds in lands by yéere: and that the footbal and other vnlawfull games ſhould be debarred, and the exerciſe of ſhoting maintained. James eldeſt ſonne to king James the third, was borne the tenth day of March, in the yéere 1472, who afterwards ſuccéeded his father, and was called James the fourth. Chriſtierne K. of Denmarke, to congratulate the happie birth of this young prince being his nephue by his daughter, releaſed all the right, title & claime which he or his ſucceſſors might haue to the Iles of Orkeneie and Shetland.

1469.

1470.

1471.

The like act for ſhoting was inſtituted by king James the firſt. An. 1425. Iohn Maior

1472.

The right to Orkeneie and Shetland reſigned.

A ſtrange comet or blaſing ſtarre (as we call it) appeared in the ſouth, from the ſeuenteenth day of Januarie, vnto the eightéenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades, that is to ſay, the ſeuen ſtarres. A great ſhip built by Kennedie the late archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, called the biſhops barge, brake and was loſt beſide Banburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Manie merchantmens ſeruants and other paſſengers were drowned with hir, ſome eſcaped by boat, and were taken by the Engliſhmen, among whome was the abbat of ſaint Colme, who was conſtreined to pay vnto his taker one James Kar foure ſcore pounds for his ranſome yer he could be ſuffered to depart. The abbaſie of Dunfermling being

A blaſing ſtarre.

1473.

A ſhipwrack.

vacant, the couent chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Creichton abbat of Pasley thervnto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shaw parson of Minto was preferred by the king vnto the abbasie of Pasley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie vsed, made void: bicause the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the couents elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed vpon such as followed the court, and liued courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouslie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughtie examples of their gouernors fell to the works of wickednesse, whereupon dailie much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decaied.

Abbeies giuen by vnlawfull means.

This yéere in September, the indulgence of the sée of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same sée erected into the dignitie of an archbishops sée, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that bicause the archbishop of Yorke was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scotishmen could not haue accesse to their metropolitan, speciallie in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primat and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotland should be vnder his primasie, who would not agrée therto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleuen thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelats sent to Rome about this matter. This yéere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parlement was called in September, it was prorogued vntill the twelfe day after Christmas. In Januarie the parlement was holden at Edenburgh, in which John lord of the Iles and earle of Ros was atteinted, partlie for his owne euill déeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Iles.

The bishop of S. Andrews made archbishop. 1474.

Primat and metropolitan. Twelue bishops in Scotland.

1476.

The lord of the Iles atteinted.

In May, in the yéere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men vpon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Iles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was vsed by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Iles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, vpon certeine conditions; and thervpon in the beginning of Julie next insuing, the said lord of the Iles came to the parlement vnto Edenburgh, and there was the agréement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earledome of Rosse, the lands of Cantire and Knapden, which earledome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seignioric of the Iles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue vnto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Iles vnto order, the lands and forrest of Clouie.

1446. Lesle. The king raised an armie.

The lord of the Iles submitteth himselfe.

He resigneth Ros, Cantire, and Knapden.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yeere sent by pope Sextus into Scotland, to examin by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham archbishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proofes being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismatike, and simoniake, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schews archdeacon of the same sée was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to sée him safelie kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried in saint Sarffis Ile in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on Passion sunday in Lent, within Holie rod house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primat and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

The archbishop is not well handled.

Deprived. 1478. Lesle.

Put in prison

1478. Lesle. 1479.

Wil. Schews is consecrated archbishop.

This yéere also Alexander duke of Albanie was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edenburgh, through euill counsell; but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leauing his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorablie receiued, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Auendale, who lost at that siege three good knights, the lord of Lute, sir John Schaw of Sauch, & the lord of Cragiwallase, with the shot of a gun, & John Ramsete was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled awaie by sea, and the earle of Auendale entered, and found it void of all things whereof anie account was to be made.

The duke of Albanie imprisoned.

He escaped.

Edenburgh besieged.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the king of Scots, to persuade him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreouer, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanie, and shortlie after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Steward the kings yonger brother, this yéere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and herevpon in Cannogate beside Edenburgh, his veines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sorcerers, as well men as women conuicted of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edenburgh. The king sent ambassadors into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, ioined in mariage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the mariage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuade him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherwith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had beene euer a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgognie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind

1479. Lesl. Doctor Ireland sent vnto the king of Scots.

1479. Lesl. 1480.

John Steward a prisoner.

was put to death.

Mariage concluded. 1480. Lesle.

Bishop Spenser died.

1477. An inquisitor sent from the pope.

1481. King James ſent an ambaſſage vnto K. Edward.

mind and melancholie at Edenburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king ſent two heralds vnto king Edward, requeſting him not to aid the duke of Burgognie, nor anie other againſt the king of France: for if he did, he muſt néeds ſupport the Frenchmen, by reaſon of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit thoſe heralds to his preſence, but kept them ſtill without anſwer, till he had ſent forth a nauie of ſhips into the Forth before Lieth, Kingorne, and Pettenwen, and then were the heralds licenced to returne. The Engliſh fléet entering the Forth, toke eight great ſhips which they found in that riuer, and landing at Blackneſſe, burnt the towne, and a great barge that laie there at rode, and ſo returned.

K. Edward ſent a nauie into Scotland.

Ships taken and burnt.

The king of Scotland prepared an armie.

The king aſſembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongeſt other, the lord of the Iles came with a great companie: and now the king being readie to enter into England, there came to him a meſſenger of king Edward, ſent from a cardinall legat that was reſident as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apoſtolike, not to procéed anie further in his purpoſed iournie, to the end that peace being obſerued, all chriſtian princes might bend their powers againſt the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king James obeie, and ſo diſcharged his armie, notwithſtanding that king Edward ſent forth his nauie againe into the Forth, to the Ile of Ins Keith, but they did no hurt: for the countrie men kept them off. The Scotiſh borderers inuaded the Engliſh marches, deſtroied townes, and led manie priſoners awaie with them into Scotland. The king of England cauſed Berwike to be alleged both by ſea and land all the winter ſeaſon, and ouerthrew a wall that was newlie made about it for defenſe thereof: but the Scots within it defended the towne for that time ſo ſtoutlie, that the enimies might not win it from them.

A legat inhibited him.

In other nauie ſent into Scotland.

Berwike aſſieged by an armie of Engliſhmen.

1482. The duke of Albanie commeth into England.

The duke of Albanie, after his wife was dead, whom he had maried in France, perceiuing himſelfe not ſo well intreated as before, came ouer into England, where king Edward receiued him verie honorablie, promiſing (as ſome haue written) to make him king of Scotland: and thereupon aſſembled an armie of thirtie thouſand men, with a great nauie by ſea to inuade Scotland, and appointed capteins and leaders of the armie by land, his owne brother the duke of Gloceſter, the duke of Albanie, and others. The king of Scots hearing of their approch to inuade his realme, raiſed a puiſſant armie to reſiſt them, and came forward with the ſame vnto the towne of Lowder, where being incamped, the principall nobles of his realme, as Archembald earle of Angus, George earle of Huntleie, John earle of Lenor, James earle of Buchquhane, Andrew lord Greie, Robert lord Lile, and diuerſe other being armed, entered the kings lodging, where they accuſed him of diuerſe things done and practiſed by him contrarie to his honor and the common-weale of his realme; and ſpeciallie, becauſe he vſed yong counſell of lewd perſons, vnworthie and baſe of birth, ſuch as Thomas Cochram, whome of a maſon he had made earle of Mar, through whoſe deuiſe and counſell he had cauſed to be coined certeine monie of copper, not conuenient to be currant in anie realme, which the people refuſed, and ſo great dearth and hunger was raiſed through the countrie. Moreouer, that he would not ſuffer the noble men to come néere his preſence, nor to take their counſell in gouerning the realme, but gaue himſelfe to voluptuous pleaſure, ſetting naught by the quéene his lawfull wife, & kéeping a naughtie harlot called the Daiſie in hir place.

The preſumptuous demeanour of the Scotiſh nobilitie.

Thomas Cochram.

Imbaſing of coine.

The kings concubine named Daiſie.

Alſo they laied to his charge, that he had put his brother the earle of Mar to death, and baniſhed his other brother the duke of Albanie, and therefore they could not ſuffer him and the whole realme to be longer miſled by ſuch naughtie perſons. And heerupon they toke Thomas Cochram earle of Mar, William Roger, and James Hommill tailor, who with others being conuicted, were hanged ouer the bridge at Lowder. Onelie John Kamſeie a yong man of eightéene yéeres of age, for whome the king made great inſtance, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edenburgh, and appointed the king himſelfe to be kept in the caſtell by the earle of Atholl, and in the meane time, the ſecond of Auguſt, they ſent Andrew Steward elect biſhop of Murrey, & John lord Darneleie to the Engliſh armie, lieng then at Tuder, to take truce for thrée moneths: but the dukes of Gloceſter and Albanie came forward vnto Reſtalrig, where they incamped without anie reſiſtance. The Engliſh nauie lieng alſo in the Forth was readie to aſſiſt their fellowes by land.

Cochram earle of Mar and other hanged.

The king kept vnder arreſt.

Hérevpon, certeine noble men of Scotland, as the archbiſhop of ſaint Andreines, the biſhop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, and Andrew Steward lord Auendale, great chancellor of Scotland, went to the Engliſh campe, & treating with the two dukes, agréed vpon certeine articles, whereby the duke of Albanie was receiued into his countrie againe in peaceable wiſe, and had giuen to him the caſtell of Dunbar with the earledoms of March and Mar. He was proclamed alſo generall lieutenant to the king. And ſo the Engliſhmen returned homewards, and came vnto Berwike, where they hauing woone the towne as they paſſed that waies into Scotland, had left the lord Stanleie, and ſir John Eldrington, with foure thouſand men, to kéepe a ſiege before the caſtell, and now they inforced the ſame: but the lord of Halis then capteine within that caſtell, defended it verie manfullie, ſending to the duke of Albanie and other, the lords of the councell, for reliefe to raiſe the ſiege. The duke in déed raiſed an armie, and came to Lamer moore, but when they within perceiued that through diſſention betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, they were not like to be reſcued, they yéelded the caſtell into the Engliſhmens hands, the 24 of Auguſt, in that yéere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scotiſhmens hands the ſpace of 21 yeares.

The duke of Albanie is reconciled.

The caſtell of Berwike is taken.

1482

The king remaining as priſoner in Edenburgh caſtell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Steward lord of Auendale, chancellor, and others, till the ſaid duke, the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes, the chancellor, the earle of Argile, and diuerſe others, went to Striueling to viſit the quéene and prince, where the duke was perſuaded by the quéene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go vnto Edenburgh, and to reſtore the king vnto libertie. The duke accordinglie to the quéenes pleaſure comming to Edenburgh, beſieged the caſtell and wan it, removed the earle of Atholl, and ſet the king and all his ſeruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king ſhewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it laſted not long. The earle of Argile, the biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, the chancellor, and others, which remained at Striueling, when they heard thoſe newes, fled into their owne countries: and ſhortlie after, the biſhop of S. Andrewes, at requeſt of the king, reſigned his biſhoprike in fauor of maiſter Andrew Steward prouoſt of Glemelowden, and was content in recompenſe thereof, with the biſhoprike of Murrey. This yéere there was great theft, reiffe, and ſlaughter in diuerſe parts of the realme, by occaſion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

The king is ſet at libertie.

The king a priſoner.

The archbiſhop reſigneth

1483.

* Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) ſent into Scotland certeine

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 323.

teine ambaſſadors, which were Beroald or Bernard Steward, lord of Aubignie, marſhall of France, and Peter Mallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betweene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cauſe the king of Scots and the nobles aſſembled at Edenburgh, where (with the French ambaſſadors) ſeeking all the rols of all
1483. the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the ſame, with the ſeales of both parts ſet thereunto; which done, the Frenchmen (with whome were ſent into France diuerſe Scots) returned home. Amongeſt the Scots, one Robertſon was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and hauing imploied his ſeruice on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the ſaid choſen ſoldiors following the conduct of Beroald Steward, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmont, after king, whoſe part they tooke againſt Richard at that time vſurper vpon the Engliſh, for which cauſe the earle of Richmont (when he was after king) did dærelie loue the Scots.

The ſeditions alſo, which a long time did burne in France, cauſed deadlie wars to grow betweene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Whereunto, when the death of Charles (the laſt duke of Burgognie, ſlaine at Nants by the duke of Loraine) did ſet end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (aſſembling a great armie) did applie all his force and deuiſe to expell Alphonſe out of the kingdom of Naples, which at that time ſucceeded happilie vnto him, by reaſon that Alphonſe was then eaſilie remoued. But after, when the Neapolitane people did reuolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the ſon of Alphonſe, there aroſe great flames of warre and ſedition through Italie, each part ſtudieng to ſupport the ſtrength of his owne. The adminiſtration of which warre againſt Ferdinand, was chieflie performed by the Scots, as principall capteins of that armie, or at the leaſt equall with the beſt. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, ſon to James the ſecond king of Scots, John alſo duke of Albanie ſonne of this Alexander, George Montgomerie lord of Lorges, Bernard Steward (who was after made viceroy of Naples, which office he wiſelie manie yeeres did execute) Robert Steward marſhall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, wherof manie (for their worthie exploits) were by the French honorablie rewarded with great poſſeſſions. Who alſo (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themſelues in Iſubria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the euill cuſtome of common ſpeech, they reteine the name of Scot (as taken of their countrie) yet by the enſignes, and tokens which they had and vſed, it may eaſilie be knowne of what families the Scots their anceſtors did deſcend.

Certeine noble families in Italie and Iſubria ſprong from the Scots.

Wherefore it followeth by moſt certeine conjecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whome vſe of ſpeech hath long obteined the ſurname of Scots) flouriſhing in Placentia, had their originall from the ſtocke of the Dowglaſſes, as the armes of them both do well witneſſe: which kindred (beſides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notablie beautified by Chriſtopher Scot, who (with ſingular pietie and learning) doth gouerne the church of Canalion. Againe, there is another familie of Scots, commonlie called the Scoties in Iſubria, whereof Bernard Scotia and Horace his brother (the one a ſenator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie: alſo Francis Scotia, lord of Pine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marqueſdome of Saluce, are deſcended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schities (deſcended of James Orlando Scot, which we haue heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well aduanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are alſo the Paparons in Rome (ſo called for their armes and enſignes) whoſe anceſtors to be of the Scotiſh nobilitie, is witneſſed by a worthie monument thereof in the church of ſaint Marie the great, in which the father and the ſon called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the enſignes of knighthod out of Scotland.)

The duke of Albanie, for that he vnderſtood there was poiſon giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore ſtod in feare of his life, fled from the court vnto the caſtell of Dunbar, whereby inſued great diſcord. The king fearing the diſpleaſure of his nobles, got him alſo into the caſtell of Edenburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchquhane, and others, left the king, and aſſiſted the duke of Albanie. And the king through counſell of certeine meane perſons whome he had againe taken vnto him, ſummoned the duke and other his aſſiſtants, to come to anſwer for ſuch treaſon as he had to lay againſt them, & withall prepared an armie to beſiege Dunbar, wherof the duke being aduertiſed, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Dowglaſſe, and a great number of Engliſhmen, inuaded Scotland vpon the weſt marches, where manie Engliſhmen were ſlaine and taken by the reſiſtance of the lords Cokpull, Johnſton, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Dowglaſſe taken and brought to the king, who becauſe he was an aged man, and had beene long baniſhed his countrie, was ſent to the abbeie of Lundoris, where he remained the reſt of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

Poiſon giuen.

The king is forſaken.

Lords are ſummoned.

Scotland inuaded.

Earle Dowglaſſe ſent vnto an abbeie.

The duke of Albanie for the loſſe of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and therevpon taking a miſliking, ſecretlie departed ouer into France by the helpe of John Liddell, ſonne to ſir James Liddell knight, who afterwards loſt his life for the ſame. The duke was well interteined in France by the king there: and finallie running at tilt with Lewes duke of Orleance, was hurt with the ſplint of a ſpeare, and thereof died. He left behind him two ſonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after gouernor and tutor to king James the fift, and Alexander that was after biſhop of Murrey, and abbat of Scone. This yeere the lord Hume, Torreklis, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parlement. In the yeere 1484, the king ſent the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes vnto Rome, for certeine priuileges which he obteined. And the ſame yeere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, ſent the biſhop of Imola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, hauing not long before made diuerſe incurſions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he ſued therevpon for a truce, which came to paſſe euen as king Richard wiſhed, ſo that condeſcending to haue a communication, commiſſioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Notingham, the ſeuenth day of September next inſuing.

The biſhop is ſent to Rome.

The pope ſent to intreat for peace.

Commiſſioners appointed on the behalfe of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Notingham.

For the king of Scots there appeered Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William biſhop of Aberden, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Oliphant, John Drummond of Stubhall, Archembald Quitelaw archdeacon of Lawden, and ſecretarie to king James, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard biſhop of ſaint Aſaph, John duke of Norffolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, John Greie lord Powes, Richard lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe keeper of the kings priuie ſeale, Thomas Barrow maiſter of the rols, ſir Thomas

Thomas Bzian chiefe iuſtice of the common plées, ſir Richard Ratcliffe knight, William Catesbie, & Richard Salkeld eſquires. Theſe councellozs in the later end of September, after ſundzie mætings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes foz the ſpace of thzée yéeres, the ſame to begin at the rising of the ſunne, on the 29 of September in the yéere 1484, and to continue vnto the ſetting of the ſunne on the 29 of September in the yéere 1487.

A peace concluded foz thzée yéeres.

During which terme, it was agréed, that not onelie all hoſtilitie and warre ſhould ceaſſe betwixt the two realmes, but that alſo all aid and abatement of enimies ſhould be auoided, & by no colozable meanes oz waie in anie caſe vſed. The towne and caſtell of Berwike to remaine in the Engliſhmens hands, foz the ſpace of the ſaid terme, with the ſame bounds as the Engliſhmen poſſeſſed it at that ſeaſon, when it was deliuered to the Scotiſhmen by king Henrie the firt. It was likewiſe condeſcended, that all other caſtels, holds, and foztreſſes, during the tearme of the ſaid thzee yéeres, ſhould abide in the hands of thoſe that held them at that pzeſent, the caſtell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This caſtell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and ſo remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

The caſtell of Dunbar in the Engliſhmens hands.

Héere vpon (by reaſon the Scotiſh commiſſioners had not authozitie to conclude ante full agrément foz that caſtell, vnleſſe the ſame might be reſtozed vnto the king their maiſters hands) it was accozded, that if the king of Scots, within the ſpace of foztie daies nert inſuing, did intimate his reſolute refuſall to be agreeable, that the ſaid caſtell ſhould remaine in the Engliſhmens hands aboue the ſpace of ſix moneths, that then during that terme of ſix moneths, thoſe that kept the caſtell foz the Engliſhmen ſhould remaine in quiet, and not be troubled noz moleſted by anie kind of meanes by the ſaid king of Scots, oz anie other by his pzocurement, ſo that they within the caſtell likewiſe abſteining from making anie iſſues oz reiſſes vpon the Scotiſh people. And if after that the ſaid terme of ſix moneths were once expired, it ſhould chance that anie warre aroſe foz defending oz recouering the ſaid caſtell, yet the truce ſhould indure foz all other rights and poſſeſſions; notwithſtanding that it might be lawfull to doo what lay in ante of their powers, either foz winning oz defending the foreſaid caſtell, as though no truce had béene concluded.

In article foz the caſtell of Dunbar.

It was further agreed, that no traitoz of either realme ſhould be receiued by the pzince of either realme; and if anie traitoz oz rebell chanced to arriue in either realme, the pzince thereof to deliuer him vpon demand made. Scots alreadie abiding in England & ſwozne to the king there, may remaine ſtill, ſo their names be certified to the Scotiſh king within foztie daies. If anie warden of either realme ſhould inuade the others ſubiects, he to whome ſuch warden is ſubiect, ſhall within ſix daies pzoclame him traitoz, and certifie the other pzince therof within 12 daies. And in euerie ſafe conduct this clauſe ſhould be conteined; Pzouided alwaies that the obteiner of this ſafe conduct be no traitoz. If anie of the ſubiects of either pzince doo pzeſume to aid, helpe, mainteine, oz ſerue anie other pzince againſt anie of the contractozs of this truce, then it ſhall be lawfull foz him, to whome he ſhewed himſelfe enimie, to apprehend and attach the ſaid ſubiect, going, comming, oz tarieng within anie of his dominions.

In article foz traitozs.

In article foz Scotiſhmen alreadie being in England.

In article foz the wardens of the marches

A clauſe to be put in ſafe conducts.

In article foz ſuch as ſhould ſerue either pzinces in warre.

Colleagues compziſed in this truce (if they would aſſent thereto) on the Engliſh part were theſe: the king of Caſtile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Pozтingale, the archduke of Auſtrich & Burgognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scotiſh part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Nozwaie, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lozdſhip of Lozne in the realme of Scotland, and the Iland of Lundaie lieng in the riuer of Seurne, in the realme of England, were not compzehended in this agrément. This concozd, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be publiſhed the firſt day of October, in the moſt notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

Colleagues compziſed in the truce.

Lozne & Lundaie excepted.

For the ſure obſeruation, keeping, & perfozmance of this truce & league, there were appointed foz conſeruatozs on the Scotiſh ſide, Dauid earle of Crawford and lozd Lindſeie, Geozge earle of Huntleie lozd Gozdon and Badzenath, John lozd Darneleie, John lozd Kenedie, Robert lozd Lile, Patrike lozd Haleene, Laurence lozd Oliphant, William lozd Bozthwike; ſir John Roſſe of Halkheid, ſir Gilbert Johnſton of Elphinſton, ſir John Lundie, ſir John Ogiluie of Arlie, ſir Robert Hammilton of Fingalton, ſir William Balze of Lamington, ſir John Kenedie of Blarqhone, ſir John Wemes, ſir William Rochwen; Edward Stochton of Kirke patie, John Dundas, John Roſſe of Mountgrenan, eſquires.

It was further agréed, that commiſſioners ſhould mæt at Loughmaben on the eightéenth day of Nouember, as well foz redzeſſe of certeine offenſes done on the weſt marches, as alſo foz declaring and publiſhing the peace. On the Engliſh part, the lozd Dacres, the lozd Fitzhugh, ſir Richard Ratcliffe, ſir Chriſtopher Mozeſbie, ſir Richard Salkeild, oz thzée of them. Foz the Scots, the lozd Kenedie, the lozd Mountgomerie, the lozd Lile, John Marwell ſteward of Annandale, Robert Creichton of Sanquhan, oz thzée of them. Alſo, there were aſſigned commiſſioners to mæt at Koldenbozne foz the eaſt marches, the firſt day of December; and at Yaldan Stanke foz the middle marches, on the fourth day of the ſame moneth. At which two places foz Scotland, there were aſſigned to appeere the earle of Huntleie, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argile chancellor of Scotland, the lozd Auandale, the lozd Seiton, the lozd Oliphant, the lozd Stubhall, with others.

Commiſſioners appointed to mæt at Loughmaben.

Commiſſioners to mæt at Koldenbozne. And at Yaldan Stanke.

Foz England, the earle of Northumberland, the lozd Greiſtocke, the lozd Scrope of Yallan, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Robert Conſtable, and other. The ſame commiſſioners had authozitie to aſſigne certeine perſons, to viewe and declare the bounds and limits apperteining to Berwike, accozding to the true meaning of the leagtie. Foz the battell ground it was accozded, that the ſame ſhould remaine without ſowing, earing, building, oz inhabiting, as it had done befoze. Shortlie after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated foz a mariage to be had betwixt the pzince of Rothſaie, eldeſt ſonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Pole, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was ſiſter to the ſaid king Richard. Foz the concluding of this mariage, both the kings ſent their ambaſſadozs againe vnto Notingham, where their treatie had ſuch ſucceſſe foz that time, that the mariage was agréed vpon, and writings thereof drawen, ingroſſed, and ſealed, and aſſiances made and taken by pzoctozs and deputies on both parts. The foreſaid yong ladie was immediatlie called pzinceſſe of Rothſaie, but by the ſhort life of king Richard hir vncle ſhe ſhoztlie after loſt that name.

The battell ground.

A mariage concluded betwixt the duke of Rothſaie and the ladie Anne de la Pole.

King James within a while after the concluſion of this league and mariage aforeſaid, foz the expreſſing and declaring of his opinion touching the caſtell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the ſame ſhould remaine onelie ſix moneths, oz elſe during

King James by letters signifieth his mind touching the articles of Dunbar.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the Englishmens possessions, he wrote vnto king Richard a louing letter, signifieng vnto him, that he was not minded to séeke the recouerie of the said castell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce. Neuertheless, he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue and familiaritie, which now by treatie and alliance was sprong vp betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the said castell into his hands, according as reason might moue him thereto; considering the Englishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to them by traitors of their natiue countrie, without anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie authorised.

K. Richard would not deliuer the castell of Dunbar.

King Richard dalied in this matter with pleasant letters and faire words feeding forth king James, without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that as long as king Richard liued, king James could neuer get it for anie thing he might do. In the

1486.

yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond comming out of France with a power of men, of the which

K. Richard ouerthrowne by the earle of Richmond.

Bernard Steward a Scotishman was chiefe capteine, landed in Wales, and passing through the countrie into England, at length incountred king Richard, and slue him, so obteining the crowne of that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie established in the same, he came into the north parts, where he remained the most part of the next summer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confederat with the kings and princes ioining next vnto him, he sent from Newcastell one of his councellors Richard For bishop of Excester, and sir Richard Edgcombe knight, ambassadors vnto king James, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

An ambassage sent into Scotland.

The kings answer.

These ambassadors were gladlie receiued of king James, who declared vnto them, that he bare great fauor and loue vnto their maister, and would be glad to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his subiects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seuen yeares, sith further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subiects. But he promised secretlie, that when those seuen yeares were expired,

His promise.

he would renew the same for the tearme of other seuen yeares, and so from seuen yeares to seuen yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he perceiued that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those seuen yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

Fr. Thin: Buchanan. lib. 12.

* In the meane time died the queene, a woman of singular beautie and goodnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir husband. At what time also in France died Alexander

1487.

the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander borne of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Dikeneie) and John (borne of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland.) Immediatlie after that this truce was thus

A parlement.

concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James caused the three estates to assemble in parlement at Edenburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487,

No pardon to be granted to offendors for the space of seuen yeares.

in the which order was taken, that iustice oires should be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons should be granted for anie great crime that shuld be committed for the space of seuen yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right displeasant to manie.

Ambassadors sent to the king of the Romans.

At the same time was an ambassador sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had béene granted against Scotish merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortlie after herevpon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remoued vnto Striueling, leauing his wife the queene, and hir sonne the prince at Edenburgh castell, whilest he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather vp gold and siluer, greatlie to the offense of his subiects. Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treson or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were ministred either through hope of forren aid or otherwise.

The king giueth himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure.

After the deth of king Richard, Dunbar is deliuered.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through practise, some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & therevpon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had

The meane whereby king James might haue auoided danger of deth by his subiects.

bene to haue changed his wilfull maner of gouernment, & to haue leaned vnto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not vpon desire to please, haue maintained his vndiscréet opinions, to the wronging aswell of his commons as of the nobles and peeres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenor, the lords Halis, Hume, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselues oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without worthie deseruing) to the degree of councellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment,

The conspiracie of the Scotish lords against king James the third.

conspired togither, & determined by force of armes to sée a reformation in such a disordered maner of gouernement.

But yet because it should not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James duke of Rothsaie sonne to the king (a child borne to goodnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enterprise, and that in maner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their natiue countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloialtie. They had sent to the earle of Dowglasse, who remained prisoner (as ye haue heard) in the abbeie of Lundoris, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprise, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being alreadie schooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great griefe) what such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprise, because it séemed to him neither godlie nor honorable, sithens both himselfe and his friends had tasted for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and

and conſpiracie againſt him, was ſore diſquieted in his mind, and to meet their miſchiefous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the vſing of anie force, he ſent meſſengers to his ſonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to ſome agreement with them. He ſent alſo letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take ſome paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And beſides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the ſame purpoſe, praieng him to intermeddle his authoritie by ſending ſome legate into Scotland, to appeaſe the troubles thereof. But the Scotiſh nobilitie, and ſuch of the people as were vp in armor againſt him, were ſo deſperatlie ſet, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholeſome counſell nor medicinable aduiſe might appeaſe their furious rage, ſo that for anſwer to his meſſengers, they ſent him word, that if hee would reſigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depoſe himſelfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to ſome communication with him or elſe not. The like anſwer was giuen to the ambaſſadors of England and France, that were ſent vnto them from the kings of both thoſe realmes, which ſore lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scotiſh king.

King James gathereth an armie.

He ſendeth letters to the kings of England & France

Eugenius 8: Buchanan.

The anſwer of the rebels to the kings meſſage.

But Adrian the biſhop of Romes legat came too late, as who ſhould ſay, a day after the faire: for when their grounded malice and ſpitefull hatred conceiued againſt him might not be qualified by anie maner of means, but that they were now comming forward with all their puiſance to Striueling, where he then remained, he would not ſtaie till the erles of Huntleie, Erroll, Atholl, Crawford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathneſſe, & Marſhall; the barons, Forbes, Ogiluie, Granth, Fraiſer, and others, were arriued with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thouſand men, with the which they were comming forth of the north parts to his aid: but raſhlie and without good aduiſe he iſſued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glencarne & Montros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Parwell, and certeine other's, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduerſaries at Banockesborne, within two miles of Striueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great ſlaughter & murther made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worſſe, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therin, he was cruellie ſlaine, and vnreuerentlie left ſtarke naked. ¶ A notable mirror to all princes, that calling to remembrance ſuch a miſerable and moſt dolorous ſight, they may take heed by what maner of perſons they ſuffer themſelues to be led and abuſed. For if this prince king James the third had not followed vpon a wilfull pretenſe, and obſtinat mind, the counſell and aduiſe of vantperlors, and ſuch as (being aduanced from baſe degree vnto high authoritie) ſtudied more to keepe themſelues in fauor, than to giue true aduertiſements, and faithfull aduiſe vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yéeres, in great and high felicitie.

They met in a pitched field.

The king is put to the worſſe.

He is ſlaine.

Fr. Thin.

[In which conflict was on the kings part ſlaine (as ſaith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham earle of Glencarne.] He was thus ſlaine neere Striueling, on the ſeuenth day of June, the yéere after the incarnation 1488, being alſo the 29 of his reigne.

*Iames the fourth.*

1488.

NOw then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus ſlaine their ſouereigne lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldeſt ſon James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of June, in the yéere 1488, being not paſt ſixteene yeeres of age, who notwithſtanding that he had béene in the field with the nobles of the realme againſt his father, that contrarie to his mind was ſlaine; yet neuertheleſſe afterwards, hée became a right noble prince, & ſeemed to take great repentance for that his offenſe, and in token therof, he ware continuallie an iron chaine about his midle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, viſiting religious houſes, and beſtowing on them ſundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great reſt, peace, iuſtice, and quietneſſe, riding him ſelfe in proper perſon diuerſe daies and nights, to ſuppreſſe and take théeues, robbers, and oppreſſors of his ſubiects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietneſſe. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualities.

The king was repentant.

The king wore an iron chaine.

He was giuen to deuotion.

He was a great iuſticer.

He was learned.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their aſſiſtants, notwithſtanding that they had beene with him at the ſlaughter of his father, ſéeing that things went not as they wiſhed, raiſed an armie, and cauſed the dead kings bloudie ſhirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and comming forwards toward Striueling againſt the yong king, were ouerthrowne at Tolimoſſe, where the Lennor men, and ſundrie other of the barons ſide were ſlaine, as the lord of Biltrucht, and other taken and hanged for their offenſes. The king called a parlement at Edenburgh, which was holden the firſt of October, where he being moued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all thoſe that came in field at Striueling with his father againſt him, and appointed euerie one to haue ſpeciall pardons therevpon vnder his ſeales. He likewiſe diſpenſed with the heires of them that were ſlaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular diſpenſations vnder his ſeales, after the ſame maner. Further it was ordeined, that all iuſtices, ſhiriffes, ſtewards, baliffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had béene with his father at the field, ſhould be ſuſpended from the ſame offices for the tearme of three yeeres: and thoſe which had offices for life, or for terme of yéeres, ſhould be vtterlie excluded from the ſame.

The nobles raiſe an armie againe.

They were ouerthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall pardon.

Moreouer, he tooke order that all ſuch goods as had béene taken from landed men and burgeſſes, ſhould be reſtored to them againe, except that which was taken from ſuch landed men and burgeſſes as were in the field againſt him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was alſo iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and giltleſſe of all ſlaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all purſute and occaſion thereof: the three eſtates granting to giue their ſeales to teſtifie the ſame, with the kings great ſeale of the realme, to be ſhewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceaſſing of theft, reiffe, & ſuch other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in perſon once euerie yéere through all parts of the realme. And certeine noble men were ordeined to exerciſe iuſtice in euerie ſhire nert adioining to the places where they had their chiefe reſidence: and hereunto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the adminiſtration of iuſtice. Theſe ordinances were right well obſerued all the daies of K. James the fourth his life time, ſo that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iuſtice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the ſecond day of February immediatlie preceading his death, to the day in which hée was ſlaine.

* About

Fr. Thin. Buchan.lib.13.

✻ About this time was a monster borne of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right proportion of a man: but from the nauill vpward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, sundered to all actions and shew. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chiefflie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose seuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarilie, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agrée togither as friends. In which this was worthie remembrance, that if the legges or loines had béene hurt below, they both togither felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieued in any part aboue seuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sense did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrifaction of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yéeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.)

Buchan.li.13. This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had mainteined factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he maried Grecina Boid to Alexander Forbois, and Margaret Hammilton to Matthew Steward, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome.) Also an esquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioine with him in mariage. Moreouer beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadors into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had béene vsed in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Rothsele, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such liuings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

1486 Mariage sought for the king.

For his councell he chose a certeine number of the prelats, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continuallie remaine about him, by whose aduise he should do all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be iudged void, & not to be obeied, & this was inuiolablie kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had séene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glascow, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadors to sue for the kings mariage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glascow, touching the preheminence of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to cease, and that they

1491.

Two archbishops striue for the preheminence.

should trie it by law before competent iudges.

✻ James Ogiluie knight of Aire, was sent ambassador to the king of Denmarke, to whome the king gaue in charge, that he should labor to renew the old league that was betwéene the Danes and the Scots, which he wiselie executed and obteined, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was aduanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Ogiluies was first increased with anie honorable title.) The king about the same time tooke order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie hauen towne should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 332.

Prouision made for ships.

1492. Lesle.

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good example, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Moreouer, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the aduancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be dulie obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yéere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to sée iustice ministred, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

Prouision made for learning.

1494. Lesle. A protonotarie sent into Scotland with a rose.

1495. Lesle.

1492. The king goeth on progresse.

There was shortlie after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the Englishmen did inuade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had béene preserued now manie yéeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duches of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praieng the king to assist him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortlie after hereupon, the said feined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arriued in Scotland well and honorablie accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to atteine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

1496. Lesl.

Perkin warbecke.

✻ After whose arriuall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentablie bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Yorke, and his owne calamities: most humblie and vehementlie beséeching him, to ransome the kinglie bloud from that contumelie. For answer whereunto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so worke, that he should find his suite not defrauded of all due effect, in obteining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling togither his councell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Yorke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemblie bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left

Fr. Thin. Buchan.lib.13.

void

void of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vncle Richard duke of Gloceſter, before he could vnderſtand what calamitie or miſfortune might ſignifie.

But aided by diuine aſſiſtance, he (when his elder brother was murthered by his vncle) was preſerued by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the vſurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whoſe heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did ſo liue in forrein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from thoſe miſeries by ſudden death) to be happie in reſpect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was reſerued aliue to the ſcorne of fortune, not daring at the firſt to bewaile his calamitie amongſt ſtrangers, whereby he might moue their pitie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what perſon hée was, how noblie borne, whoſe heire, and to whome alied, he was (to increaſe all his former miſeries) more grieuouſlie aſſaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almoſt liue in ſafetie in anie place, bicauſe of the ſubtiltie of his enimies, who would haue bought his life (of thoſe with whom he remained) priuilie ſolliciting them to diſcouer his ſecrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to ſearch out and diſcouer his hidden friends, and to defame him amongſt the common people.

Herewithall not yet ſatiſfied, they reuile (ſaid he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and impriſon the nobles of England that ſéemed to fauor his cauſe; notwithſtanding all which (ſhe vſing the truth of hir owne conſcience againſt the ſlanders of hir and his enimies, and moued with pitie for the diſtreſſe of hir kinſman) did with hir abilitie relieue his neceſſitie. But at length, when he ſaw no ſure defenſe in a woman and widow (whoſe authoritie could not ſtretch to the command of hir people in that liberall ſort as ſhe would) he was driuen to ſéeke the aid of other princes, and to requeſt them to loke into the miſfortunes that might light vpon ſuch great eſtates, and that they would not ſuffer kinglie bloud (oppreſſed by tyrants) to lament in ſuch extremitie. For yet he was not ſo baſe minded (although hee were in manie great miſeries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be reſtored to his kingdome, by the helpe of ſuch friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding thereunto the helpe which he ſhould haue out of France, whereof he had alreadie made ſome triall by the ſingular beneuolence of the ſame king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefits vnto him.

Leſleus lib. 1. pag. 334.

Beſides which, not ſuppoſing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flattrie to extoll him, not douting but he (whoſe fauor had bene liberallie ſhewd to the deſtreſſed) would now diminiſh the ſame to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his ſingular humanitie to all baniſhed perſons, for pitie towards a miſerable creature, for loue towards his kinſman, for neceſſities cauſe towards his friend, and for the néereneſſe of league that ought to be among princes) ſuccor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdom. Wherfore againe he importunatly requireth the king of aid in this extremitie, ſince the ſame was honorable to himſelfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a ſingular fame among other princes in ioining with them determined to reſtore him. Which if he might obteine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promiſe alwaies to ſtand a moſt firme friend to the Scots, for whoſe cauſe he would ſpend his crowne and life.)

Thus Perkin Warbecke did vſe the matter in ſuch ſubtill wiſe, that king James either giuing, or ſéeming to giue credit to his words, after aduiſe and deliberation had and taken with his councell, receiued him in honorable wiſe, naming and reputing him duke of Yorke, and therefore promiſed him to aid him in all that he might. And ſhortlie after, hée maried him to his nære kinſwoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntleie, and moreouer raiſed a great armie, ſpeciallie of the borderers, and with the ſame hauing this pretenſed duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towns ſpoiled houſes, and toke great booties and rich preies both of goods and priſoners, & allured with the ſweetneſſe of ſuch ſpoile and gaine, waſted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to ſuch golden promiſes as he had made, that as ſoone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

Perkin Warbecke marieth the earle of Huntleies daughter. 1495.

King James inuadeth Northumberland. 1496.

King James perceiuing no ſuch matter, thought it better to returne with aſſured gaine, than to tarie this new ſprong dukes doubtfull and vncerteine victorie. And ſo hauing his people laden and peſtered with ſpoile and priſoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertiſed hereof, made preparation for the raiſing of an armie, meaning to ſend the ſame againſt the Scots: but the rebellion of the Corniſhmen, which chanced the ſame time about a tare leuied then of the people, conſtreined him to implote that armie to repreſſe the enterpriſe of thoſe rebels. Yet neuertheleſſe he ſent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the ſame from the inuaſions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in: and ſo the earle laie on the borders all that yéere.

1497. Leſle. King James returneth without profer of battell.

A rebellion in Cornewall.

The earle of Surreie ſent into the north.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came againſt him, inuaded eſtſoones the borders of England, and laied ſiege to the caſtell of Norham, ſending his light horſſemen abroad into Northumberland, and the biſhoprike of Durham, where they burned and ſpoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raiſed an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the hoſt lieng before Norham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the caſtell, notwithſtanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raiſed his ſiege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defenſe thereof. And ſo before the comming of the Engliſh armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the Engliſh writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and toke diuerſe caſtels and towers, remaining within the countrie the ſpace of ſix or ſeuen daies, and then came backe without battell or anie notable ſkirmiſh offered.

1498. The Scots inuade the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raiſed an armie.

The Scots raiſe their ſiege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

About the ſame time was one Peter Hialas ſent ambaſſador from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hialas trauelled ſo earneſtlie in the matter, that at length it was agréed, that certeine commiſſioners of both the realmes ſhould méet at Melroſſe, where for the king of England, doctor Fox, then biſhop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue perſonages, met the Scotiſh commiſſioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the concluſion of a generall peace, finallie nothing but a truce might be accorded for certeine yéeres, though Hialas did what he poſſiblie might, to haue agréed them for all maner of matters, quarrels, demands, and cauſes, whatſoeuer the ſame had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue béene concluded, becauſe he was chieflie ſent

Peter Hialas an ambaſſador from the king of Spaine.

Commiſſioners met at Melroſſe or Jedworth (as ſome ſay.)

A truce concluded for yéeres.

The cauſe why Hialas was ſent.

for that intent.

The king of England required to haue the counterfeit duke of Yorke (otherwiſe named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (eſteeming his honor more than anie earthlie thing) would in no wiſe ſeeme to betraie him that fled to him for ſuccour, and with whome he had coupled one of his owne kinſwomen in mariage: but he was contented to couenant, that the ſame Perkin ſhould be conſtreined to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further aided by him, or by anie other through his meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe promiſe made in the ſaid treatie of peace, and knowing himſelfe to be abuſed by the ſaid Richard, whom he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although he was not ſo) called him before his preſence, and declared to him the great fauour and good will which he had borne towards him, putting him in remembrance that for his ſake he had taken warre in hand againſt England, and inuaded the countrie in hope of aſſiſtance by his friends within the land, where not one reſorted to him.

In article for Perkin Warbecke.

King James reaſoneth with the counterfeit duke of Yorke.

And albeit he had maried his neere kinſwoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with England for his ſake onelie; except he might be ſure of ſome aid through his meanes, whereof he could ſee no appearance. He deſired him therefore to withdraw forth of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers ſiſter the ladie Margaret; or into ſome other place where it pleaſed him to abide, and expect ſome better time more conuenient for his purpoſe. The ſaid Richard gaue the king thanks, and obeied his pleaſure, departing ſhortlie after out of Scotland, and ſailed into Ireland, from thence to tranſport into Flanders. But finallie making an attempt into England, he was taken priſoner in the abbeie of Beaulieu, together with his wife, whoſe beautie was ſuch, as king Henrie thought hir a more meet preie for an emperor, than for ſouldiors, and therefore vſed hir verie honorablie, appointing hir to remaine in the court with the queene his wife, where ſhe continued ſo long as the ſaid king liued.

Perkin warbeck went into Ireland to come into Flanders.

1499. This yeere, the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the ſame was neere at point to haue beene broken; by reaſon that the Engliſhmen which laie in garriſon within the caſtell of Norham, did make a fraie with certeine Scotiſhmen that came riding neere to the caſtell, as it had beene to haue viewed it. But although they ment no euill, yet diuerſe of the Scotiſhmen were ſlaine, and manie wounded and ſore hurt; ſo that king James hauing information thereof, was ſore diſpleaſed therewith, thinking and ſaieng, that there was no more vncerteine thing, than to haue peace with England. And herevpon he ſent his herald Yorkmount with ſharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of England, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong done to his ſubiects, by thoſe within the caſtell of Norham. But receiuing moſt reaſonable letters for excuſe of that which was done, as well from the king of England himſelfe, as from the biſhop of Durham owner of the caſtell, he was indifferentlie well appeaſed & ſatiſfied, ſo that he required to haue the biſhop to come into Scotland vpon ſafe conduct to common with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

The truce like to be broken.

King James requireth to talke with the biſhop of Durham.

The biſhop by licence of the king his maiſter, accompliſhed the Scotiſh kings requeſt; ſo that comming into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie honorablie at Melroſſe, where (after certeine talke had betwixt them for the appeaſing of this laſt diſpleaſure) the king brake with the biſhop for the hauing of the ladie Margaret, eldeſt daughter to Henrie the ſeuenth, as then king of England, to be giuen him in mariage: and further declared that he was minded to ſend his orators vnto hir father the ſaid king Henrie, about the ſame matter. And forſomuch as he knew that the biſhop was one that might doo much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him for his ſingular wiſedome and learning, he deſired him to be a meane to further his ſute, which if it were obteined, he truſted it ſhould highlie redound to the honor & wealth of both the realmes. The biſhop conſidering heerein as much as the king was able to tell him, did not onelie promiſe to doo all that in him lay, but alſo incouraged him to ſend his orators with all ſpeed, truſting that they ſhould receiue a verie towardlie anſwer.

King James purpoſeth to be a ſutor for mariage in England.

Ambaſſadors ſent into England. 1500.

King James following the biſhops aduiſe, anon after his returne into England, ſent certeine perſons ambaſſadors vnto king Henrie, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned. Theſe ambaſſadors were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, ſo that to be briefe, their requeſt ſeemed ſo agreeable to king Henries mind, that the mariage was ſhortlie thereupon concluded (but not conſummate betwixt the foreſaid James king of Scotland, and the ſaid ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie) in the ſeuentéenth yeere of the ſaid king Henries reigne. At the ſame time, when this mariage was ſo agreed vpon, a peace was alſo concluded betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, for the terme of their two liues. And to auoid that none of either of the ſaid kings ſubiects that had offended the lawes, ſhould be receiued into anie of their dominions; it was accorded, that no Engliſhman ſhould come within Scotland, without his princes letters ſupplicatorie vnto the king of Scots, nor anie Scotiſhman to come within England, without the like letters from his prince, deſiring ſafe conduct and paſſeport.

A mariage concluded betwixt king James and the ladie Margaret.

A peace concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

1501. In the yeere next inſuing, Robert Blakater the biſhop of Glaſcow, Adam Hepborne the earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotland, were ſent in ambaſſage from king James vnto the king of England, for the perfecting of the foreſaid mariage betwixt king James, and the ladie Margaret, eldeſt daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of procuracie and mandat, in the name of his maiſter king James, affied and handfaſted the foreſaid ladie Margaret in all ſolemne wiſe, according to the maner: which aſſurance and contract thus made, was publiſhed at Paules croſſe in London, on the day of the conuerſion of ſaint Paule, in reioiſing whereof *Te Deum* was ſong, and fiers made, with great feaſting & banketting throughout that citie. This done, the ambaſſadors returned into Scotland, and then afterwards was great preparation made in England for the conueieng of the ſaid ladie into Scotland, and likewiſe great purueiance there for the receiuing of hir.

This was in the yeere 1502.

1503. Leſſe. On the ſirteenth of June, king Henrie toke his iournie from Richmond, with his daughter the ſaid ladie Margaret, and came to Colliweſton, where his mother the counteſſe of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certeine daies in paſtime and great ſolace, he toke leaue of his daughter, giuing hir his bleſſing with a fatherlie exhortation, and committed the conueiance of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And ſo this faire ladie was conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies, knights, eſquires, and gentlemen, vntill ſhe came to the towne of Berwike, and from thence vnto Lambert church in Lamer more within Scotland, where ſhe was receiued by the king and all the nobles of

that

that realme, and from the ſaid place of Lamberton church, ſhe was conueied vnto Edenburgh, where the day after hir comming thither, ſhe was maried vnto the ſaid king with great and ſolemne triumph, to the high reioiſing of all that were preſent.

The conſummation of the mariage betwixt king James the fourth, and the ladie Margaret.

And verelie the Engliſh lords (as the earle of Surreie and others) which gaue their attendance on the ſaid ladie till the mariage and feaſt were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praiſe not onelie to the manhod of the Scots, but alſo to their maners and heartie interteinment. For aſwell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that preſent, were nothing behind the Engliſh lords & ladies in coſtlie apparell, maſſie chaines, and other furniture, as well for themſelues as their horſſes, and made great bankets to the Engliſhmen, and ſhewed them ſuch iuſts and other pleaſant paſtimes in honor of the mariage, ſo well, as after the maner of the countrie could be deuiſed. By reaſon of this mariage and aliance, men were in great good hope that perfect peace and ſincere amitie ſhould continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the ſeuenth, no cauſe of breach was miniſtred betwixt him and his ſonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

The king of Denmarke commeth into Scotland.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through diuiſion that did riſe betwixt him & his lords, was conſtreined to forſake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him louingly, and vpon his earneſt ſute, for that he was both his coſine and confederat, and alſo the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings requeſt and perſuaſion, he prepared an armie of ten thouſand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he ſent with the ſaid king of Denmarke to aſſiſt him againſt his aduerſaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commiſſion, attending the Daniſh king into his countrie, reſtored him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and ſo leauing him in peaceable poſſeſſion thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himſelfe, the king, and realme.

He is reſtored to his kingdome by the earle of Arrane lieutenant to king James.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the queene was crowned, and manie good acts and conſtitutions made, eſpeciallie touching the limiting of places where iuſtice ſhould be miniſtred in the Iles and hie lands: whereby it came to paſſe, that the king was aſwell obeied, & his lawes were as duelie obſerued and kept by the hie land men, as by thoſe that dwelled in anie part of the low land.

The hie land men obedient to lawes.

1505. Leſl. 1504. The king then being at peace with England, and iuſtice ſo miniſtred amongeſt his owne ſubiects, that they liued in great reſt and quietneſſe, certeine of his councell [as William Elfinſtone biſhop of Aberden] deuiſed waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all thoſe that held anie lands within his realme, to ſhew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to ſhew, according to the ancient inſtruments and lawes of the realme ſufficient for their warrant, the lands ſhould remaine at the kings pleaſure.

Fr. Thin. A deuiſe to get the king monie.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cauſe, as with a thing deuiſed to diſquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne curteous & gentle nature he eaſilie agréed with the poſſeſſors of ſuch lands: for the which he purchaſed great loue amongeſt his people, & the deuiſers of that ordinance wan paſſing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Maie the king held his court of iuſtice at Lowder, and remouing it to Edenburgh, there continued the ſame, where the lord of Thorneton was conuicted for killing his wife, and therefore loſt his head [at Edenburgh by the kings ſentence.] Fr. Thin.

1506. There came an ambaſſador this yeare alſo from the duke of Gelderland, to renew the league betwixt the king and the ſaid duke. Alſo an herald came out of France, who brought news which the king liked well.

A great ſhip made. This yeare alſo, the king cauſed a mightie ſhip to be made, the which was put forth into the rode the ſeuenth of Julie, and the king ſailed himſelfe into the Maie, an Iland in the Forth, and was driuen in againe with tempeſt: but the ſame ſhip was after appointed forth, and ſent to the ſea with ſundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and ſpoiled diuerſe Scotiſh ſhips, and throwne the merchants and other that were in the ſame ouer bord. For reuenge whereof, Andrew Barton toke manie ſhips of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he ſent vnto the king for a witneſſe how he had ſped. A ſtar like a comet appeared the tenth of Auguſt, giuing great light in the night ſeaſon like to the ſun beams. A Frenchman named ſir Anthonie Darcie knight, called afterward Le ſir de la Bawtie, came through England into Scotland to ſéeke feats of arms. And comming to the king the foure and twentith of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and ſo as neither of them loſt anie péece of honor. This yeare James prince of Scotland and of the Iles was borne in the abbeie of the Holie rod houſe, the one and twentith of Januarie; and on the three and twentith of the ſame moneth, he was baptiſed in the ſaid abbeie church. His godfathers were theſe, Robert biſhop of Glaſcow, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the counteſſe of Huntleie was his godmother. The quéene, after ſhe was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great ſickeneſſe, ſo that ſhe lay in great danger: for recouerie of whoſe helth the king went on foot vnto ſaint Ninians in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Julie, both the king and the quéene went thither to viſit the ſame ſaint.

The Hollanders ſhips taken.

A bright ſtar appeareth in the ſkie.

Anthonie Darcie.

1507. Prince Iames is borne.

The king went on pilgrimage.

Pope Julius the ſecond ſent an ambaſſador vnto king James, declaring him protector and defendor of the faith, and in ſigne thereof ſent vnto him a purpure diadem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, togither with a ſword, hauing the hilts and ſkabbert of gold ſet with pretious ſtones, which were preſented vnto him by the ſaid ambaſſador, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbeie church of Holie rod houſe. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Terueer or Camfire in Zealand (whoſe anceſtors not long ago came forth of Scotland) ſent his meſſenger the bailiffe of Terueer to the king, who preſented vnto him certeine great horſſes and other rich preſents, in remembrance that he came of the Scotiſh race; and the king in recompenſe thereof, ſent vnto the ſaid lord his order, and made his ambaſſador knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in Auguſt) with right honorable gifts.

The pope declared king James protector of the faith.

Horſſes preſented vnto the king.

The whole realme remained in ſuch peace and quietneſſe in theſe daies, that the king rode one day himſelfe alone in poſt from Sterling, by S. Johns towne, and Aberden, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the houſe of maiſter Thomas Leſleie then parſon of Angus, went to horſſe againe, and came to ſaint Duthois in Roſſe, by that time they were readie to go to maſſe. This was on the one & thirtith day of Auguſt. About the latter end of September, the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were ſent ambaſſadors into France. They toke ſhip the ſeuen and twentith of September. The ſeuentéenth of Februarie, James

Peace and quietneſſe in Scotland.

An ambaſſage into France.

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Galloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernor.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 8. pag. 345.

*About this time, the K. (to tell you here, as saith Lesleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongest the Romane people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speach he was delighted) abbat of Tungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceipt, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conuersant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchumie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long loking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their pursses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did (partlie to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glorie, and partlie to recouer the kings fauor) giue out a rumor, that he would (by flieng) be in France before the ambassadors (which were sent thither, and had losed from shore to take their iournie) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to meet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iournie. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted togither, desirous to see this new bird; amongest whome (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iournie: but this deceiuer suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (vncerteine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whome he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to flie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would flie like Icarus, did now lie like Simon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in peeces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this worthie abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the default of his flieng wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not meet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the downghill (wherupon those birds liue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

1508. In ambassage sent vnto the king.

The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obinie, and the president of Tholous, came from Lewes the French king as ambassadors to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in mariage with Francis de Vallois of Vien, and duke of Angolesme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made sute for hir. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduisement taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succeed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie forren prince, sith otherwise some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The king's answer.

The lord D'obignie died.

The lord D'obignie tooke a sickneslie and died thereof at Corstorphin, in the moneth of June, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Ninians in Galloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilest he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchiued manie high enterprises against his enimies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whome he vanquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchiued, this lord D'obignie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne.

This was the king himselfe.

This yeare also in Maie and June, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edenburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

Ambassadors sent.

There were diuerse ambassadors sent forth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the bishop of Murrey into England. The fiftéenth of Julie, the queene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortlie after she had receiued baptisme, deceassed, and the queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death.

The archbishop of Glascow died.

The bishop of Glascow died this yeare in his iournie to Jerusalem, the nine and twentith of Julie; James Beton succeeded him in that see.

A bickering.

The thirtith of Julie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Warwell, and the lord Creichton of Sanchar, where the lord Creichton was chased with his companie from Dunfreis, & the lord of Daliell and the yong lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine.

An earthquake.

The nineteenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceiued in churches.

Horsses sent vnto king James.

The king of England sent a gentleman with horsses trimlie trapped with bards of steele to be presented to king James, who thankefullie receiued them, and right honorablie rewarded the messenger.

The archdeacon of saint Andrews came out of France.

The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned forth of France in a great ship called the treasuror, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in November following returned home and came to Edenburgh.

The earle Bothwell died.

Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edenburgh the seuentéenth day of October, and earle Patrike succéeded him. Henrie the seuenth king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentith of Aprill, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succéeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honorable ambassage of certeine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in such cases appertaineth.

1509.

King Henrie the eight succéedeth his father.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. cap. 250.

*At this time, John and Andrew Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Portingals) preieng on the borderers of Portingale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandize) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of prises being often made by the Bartons vnto the Portingals, gaue them cause greeuouslie to complaine to their king, of the wicked piracie of the Scots.

Scots: but neither the king of Portingale with his councell, nor his people with their force, could at anie time ſuppreſſe the Bartons (defended with the Scotiſh letters of marque) but that he would inuade, ſpoile, & carie awaie the Portingale ſhips, if he happened vpon anie of them. Touching which, becauſe it ſhall not ſéeme to be a manifeſt iniurie by the Bartons to the other (and not rather a iuſt cauſe giuen by the Portingals) we haue here inſerted the letters of our king James the fift (as they be found amongſt the records) written to Immanuell king of Portingale for this matter. In which it ſhall manifeſtlie appeare, whether the fault were not moſtlie in the Portingals or no.

## Iames the fift, king of Scotland, *to Immanuell the woorthie king* of Portingale.

Worthie king, friend, and dære cõſine, certeine yeares paſt, a Scotiſh ſhip laden with merchandize, & loſing from the port of Sluis in Flanders, was inuaded by two armed ſhips, gouerned by Portingals; whereof, the one was called John Uaſque, and the other John Pret. Which ſhip (after certeine of hir merchants ſlaine, manie wounded, manie taken priſoners, and the reſt caſt into a fiſher-bote to be ſet on land at the next ſhore) was by them caried into Portingale: all which was done in the ſight of the reſt of the Luſitan ſhips, which at the ſame time did alſo loſe out of that hauen to paſſe into Portingale. The full trueth whereof, Charles the duke of Burgognie, and earle of Flanders, vnderſtanding (and moued not ſo much for the ſingular iniurie done to the Scots, as by the breach of the priuilege, & right of his harborows) did ſignifie the ſame (knowne, and found by order of iudgement) to the king of Portingale, admoniſhing him, that vnleſſe he tooke order for ſuch wicked dæds, and for the reſtitution of the hurt and loſſe: that he would indeuor, that all the Portingals (which frequented the marts of Flanders) ſhould by ſentence of iudgement, ſatiſfie all the damages which the Scots had ſuſteined. But the vntimelie death (of that iuſt and valiant man) did fruſtrat all his determination.

The king alſo our grandfather (when he had by his letters complained of that iniurie to the king of Portingale, and had not much profited) gaue forth letters of marque, that is, he gaue authoritie to John & Robert Barton, brothers & heires to that John, which was maiſter of that ſhip ſo caried away, to recouer ſo much of the Luſitans. Before the execution whereof, my grandfather died: after which (my father being yet verie yong) the whole ſtate of the realme did ſuppoſe it beſt to alter nothing in forren cauſes, vntill he came to full age. At time (being of ſufficient yeares) he did forbeare to grant the vſe of the ſaid letter of marque, till he had firſt conſulted with the king of Portingale thereabouts. Wherevpon (diſpatching an ambaſſador vnto him) our father alſo died (before we could againe heare anie anſwer from thence) leauing me a child not paſt three yeres old. For which cauſe, the gouernor of the kingdome iudged it beſt (during our minoritie) to defer theſe letters of marque, vntill we came to riper yeares; which was done, not without great griefe and complaint of thoſe miſerable and poore men.

Wherevpon, we alſo for theſe laſt two yeares (being now growen to riper age) are moued aſwell to prouide, that other merchants which in that ſhip of Julian, haue loſt their goods and kinred, as alſo to permit the heirs of the ſaid John Barton (by way of letter of marque before granted) to haue power giuen them, onelie to take ſo much recompenſe of the Portingals. Whereof yet, we thought it meet, that they ſhould not vſe any of them, vntill we had firſt (by this Snadone our eſquier) laid before your maieſtie the whole order of the matter, which is the iudiciall knowledge of the piracie, the value of the loſſe, and the cauſe of our long ſilence, aſſuredlie hoping that you will not do anie thing, in reſpect of your humanitie and vprightnes, but that which ſhall be good and iuſt. The which, if you dæme is yet to be deferred; we require your woorthineſſe to conſider, that we cannot forſake our ſubiects, afflicted with ſo great iniuries, whome hereafter we refer to the law of all nations, for recouerie of their goods taken away, which thing ought not to ſéeme to anie man (by anie meanes) to be the violating of friendſhip, league, or conſanguinitie, wherewith we haue bæne linked. Wherefore, when that ſame ſhall happen, we deſire your excellencie to take the ſame in good part (moſt woorthie cõſine and confederat king) to whom I wiſh long and happie life. From Edenburgh, the day before the Ides of Aprill, in the yeare, 1540.

The king about this time gaue liberall poſſeſſions to Robert Borthwike, a notable artificer for making of field pæces and other guns; for the which liberalitie, he ſhould make certeine great pæces in the caſtell of Edenburgh, whereof there are manie yet to be ſéene in Scotland, with this ſuperſcription: *Machina ſum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.*) Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 353.

This ſummer the king went in pilgrimage vnto ſaint Duthois in Roſſe, and the quéene remaining at Holie rood houſe, was brought to bed of a prince, the twentie day of October, the which the third day after was baptiſed and named Arthur. Two great ſhips came forth of France to the king, fraught with guns, ſpeares, and all other kind of munition for warre. Alexander, baſtard ſonne to the king, newlie made archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, who had bæne long in Germanie ſtudent there in the ſchooles with that famous clearke Eraſmus Roterodamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flanders by ſea into Scotland, and was ioifullie receiued, becauſe he had beſtowed his time ſo well in vertues and learning.

The king went on pilgrimage.

A ſhip with munition. 1510.

The archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews.

The lord of Faſt caſtell came ouer with him, who had trauelled through a great part of chriſtendome: and moreouer paſſing into Turkie, came to the em-

The lord of Faſt caſtell went into Turkie.

perour of Turkie at the citie of Caire, who reteined him in seruice, and gaue him good interteinement, so that he remained with him, till he heard that the liuing of Fast castell was fallen to him by lawfull succession; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight seuerall persons before him to succeed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceassed. The 14 of Julie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Iles, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh. Two scorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the castell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a maruellous great wonder, that anie should be séene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuersall sickenesse reigned through all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stope gallant.

Prince Arthur deceased.

Two scorpions found in Scotland.

Stope gallant a sickness.

There came also a passing faire woman into Scotland about the same time, naming hir selfe Katharine Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himselfe duke of Yorke, but at length being brought to the king, she confessed what shée was, and so auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir selfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, so that she liued there verie well and honorablie manie yéeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edenburgh to the water of Rule, tooke diuers misgouerned persons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbils, with naked swords in their hands, and withs about their necks met him, putting themselues in the kings mercie, which were sent to sundrie places to be kept in ward, with diuers other of those countrimen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwards: and from thence the king passed to saint Johns towne, where iustice were holden the residue of the winter.

Katharine Gordon.

The Trumbils with other are taken by the king.

The next yéere in the beginning of Maie, the quéene went from Dunfermling toward saint Duthois in Rosse, and was all the way right honorablie vsed and interteined. About the tenth of Julie, she returned to Edenburgh, where she found the lord Dacres, and sir Robert Durie knight come thither as ambassadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honorablie receiued. In the yéere next insuing, in June, Andrew Barton being on the seas to meet the Portingals (against whom he had a letter of marque) sir Edmund Howard lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Howard, sonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to sea with certeine ships, and met with the said Andrew as he returned homewards néere to the Downes, hauing with him onelie one ship and one barke.

1511.

An ambassage from the king of England.

1511. Lesle.

1512.

The Englishmen at the first made signe vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, saue onelie to salute them as friends; but getting within them, they set vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themselues, so that manie were slaine on both sides: but in the end the Englishmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andrew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ship called the Unicorne, and the barke called Jennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scotishmen that remained aliue in the same, which were had to London, and staied as prisoners in the bishop of Yorke his house for a time, and after sent home into Scotland. King James was sore offended with this matter, and therevpon sent an herald with letters, requiring redresse for the slaughter of his people, and restitution of his ships, sith otherwise it might séeme to giue occasion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirat (as he tooke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheless he promised to send commissioners to the borders, that should intreat of that matter, and other enormities chanced betweene the two realmes.

Two ships taken by the Englishmen.

* About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accustomed to be diuided into three parts) deerelie beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer disposition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promised to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe awaie the reproch of late receiued by the English) that shortlie he and his followers with their kindred and aliances, would so bring the matter about, that the English should as greatlie lament for their losses, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered three thousand souldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there spoiled seuen townes before anie succour might come to rescue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accustomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delaie, presentlie diuided the preie in the host, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was nerest vnto him. Yet Alexander did not disperse such as he might keepe togither: but assembling as manie of them as would tarie, with a small companie abode the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eie to sée if anie pursute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (passing the time more careles than before) he fell vnwares into the hands of three hundred English laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did set vpon him and his, and (driuing them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all such as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were slaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the said Alexander (exchanged for Comarch, Heron, and Ford, taken prisoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Car) was one, and the chiefest, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.)

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them sent ambassadors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his assistance against England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, sent an ambassador vnto the king of England, desiring him in brotherlie and most louing wise to liue in peace and quietnesse, and not to make anie wars against his confederat friends, offering himselfe to agrée and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the said princes. The king of England, who had alreadie sent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countries against the duke of Gelderland, made such faire answer hereunto as he thought good with reason, and so dispatched the ambassadour backe againe to his maister, without anie more adoo in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

The king of France required aid against England.

King James perswadeth to peace.

* Much about these daies, there was called a prouinciall synod of bishops, abbats, and other religious persons at Edenburgh, in the monasterie of the Dominicke friers, Balomanie the popes legat being present. In which by the common voice of them all (although against the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that benefices or priests liuings (whose reuenues did yéerlie exceed the value of 40 pounds) should pay

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 8. pag. 356.

pay a penſion of the tenth to the pope; and ſhould giue to the king (when he required) ſuch ſummes as he liked to demand: which vnto this day is called the Balomane monie or tax.] John lord Gordon, ſonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntleie, returned out of France, and was maried vnto the kings baſtard daughter, in November following, in this preſent were 1512, of whome the houſe of Huntleie is deſcended.

The kings baſtard maried.

Shortlie after came the biſhop of Murrey home, hauing beene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleaſant letters: and with him came a clearke of Spaine in ambaſſage vnto the king. This yeere the eleuenth day of Aprill, the queene was deliuered of a yong prince in the palace of Luithgo, who was ſhortlie after baptiſed, and named James the fift prince of Scotland, and of the Iles, that after ſucceeded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor Weſt came in ambaſſage from the king of England, and Monſieur de la Mot came with letters alſo from the French king, to perſuade king James to make warre againſt England, promiſing him monie, munition, and all other neceſſarie prouiſions of warre. In his waie as he paſſed the ſeas towards Scotland, he had drowned three Engliſh ſhips, & brought ſeuen awaie with him vnto Lieth for priſes, in the which were but three Engliſhmen left aliue. Shortlie after, maiſter James Dgiluie abbat of Dzburgh came forth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the ſea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 priſes of Engliſh men which he had taken.

The biſhop of Murrey came home.

A yong prince borne in Scotland.

Fourteene priſes of Engliſhmen taken.

About this ſeaſon, the lord of Drumweldie was ſlaine in Edenburgh by two perſons, which toke ſanctuarie in Holie rood houſe, and ſo eſcaped. John erle of Atholl deceaſſed the nineteenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceaſſed the firſt of October. Great miſrule was exerciſed on the borders in this ſeaſon, and therefore the king aſſembled the lords in Edenburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the queene was brought to bed of a child, which died ſhortlie after it was chriſtened. There came a great ſhip into Scotland, which the king of France had ſent vnto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The ſame ſhip landed at Blackneſſe the nineteenth of November. King James ſent a purſeuant called Unicorne into France, and another into England called Ilaie, which Ilaie required a ſafe conduct for an ambaſſador to be ſent from the king his maiſter vnto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Miſrule exerciſed.

The queene brought to bed of a child.

1513. Leſle.

The league renewed with France.

Purſeuants ſent into England and France.

Vpon the ſaid Ilaies returne, Monſieur de la Mot was ſent backe into France, and with him ſir Walter Dgiluie, and a meſſenger whome the pope had ſent into Scotland. On the ſirteenth of March next inſuing, doctor Weſt came as ambaſſador into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certeine commiſſioners ſhould meet on the borders for redreſſe of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next inſuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after ſhall appeare. The king ſent Forman biſhop of Murrey into France, to ſignifie vnto the French king the meſſage of the ſaid doctor Weſt, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certeine ſhips out of Denmarke laden with guns, powder, armor, & other kind of munition. Alſo Monſieur de la Mot landed in the weſt part of Scotland the ſirteenth of Maie, with foure ſhips fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineteenth of the ſame moneth.

1513. Leſle.

Doctor weſt ſent into Scotland ambaſſador.

1513

Munition for warre ſent out of Denmarke.

Prouiſion ſent out of France.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edenburgh, the firſt of June, offering his friendſhip and ſeruice to him before all other princes, and ſpeciallie againſt the king of England; wherupon he was thankfullie receiued, honorablie interteined, & richlie rewarded. And ſo the band of friendſhip being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great nauie of ſhips, the principall whereof were the Michaell, Margaret, and James. They made ſaile towards the ſea the twentie ſeuenth of Julie; and the king ſailed in the Michaell himſelfe, till they were paſt the Iland of Maie, James Gordon ſon to George earle of Huntleie being one of the capteins of the ſame ſhip.

Odonell profred friendſhip vnto king James.

A nauie ſent out.

The commiſſioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but becauſe the Engliſhmen would not conſent to make anie redreſſe or reſtitution, till the fiftéenth of October next, thinking by that delaie and continuance of time, they ſhould vnderſtand the ſtate of their kings procéedings in France, and in the meane time reteine in their hands the Scotiſhmens goods which they had taken both by ſea and land (as the Scotiſh writers affirme) the king of Scots being thereof aduertiſed, ſent Lion king of armes vnto king Henrie then lieng at ſiege before Terwine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refuſed to accompliſh the contents of his ſaid letters, he ſhould denounce warre vnto him. Wherevpon Lion arriuing in the Engliſh armie with his cote of arms on his backe, about the middeſt of Auguſt, deſired to ſpeake with the king, and was within a ſhort ſpace by Garter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings preſence, hauing his nobles and councellors about him, where, with due reuerence, & some good words firſt vttered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof inſueth.

Commiſſioners met at the borders.

The Engliſhmen protract the time.

A king of armes ſent vnto K. Henrie of England.

## The tenor of the king of *Scots letters.*

RIght excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our deereſt brother and cowſine, we commaund vs vnto you in our maiſt hartie manner, and receiued fra Raff Heraulde your letters, quhar vntill ye approue and allow the doings of your commiſſiouners latelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redreſſe quhilk is thought to you and your councell ſhould be continuet and delaet to the fiftæenth day of October. Als ye write ſlaars by ſee aught not compeere perſonallie, but by their attourneys. And in your letters with our herauld Ilaie, ye aſcertaine vs ye will naught enter in the treur taken betwixt the maiſt chriſtian king and your father of Aragoun, becauſe ye and others of the hale liege nether ſhould nor may take peace, treur, nor abſtinence of warre with your common enimie, without conſent of all the confederats. And that the emperor, king of Aragoun, yea and euery of you be bounded to make actuall warre this inſtant ſommer againſt your common enimy. And that ſo to do is concluded and openlie ſworne in Paules kirke at London, vpon S. Markes day laſt by paſt. And farther haue denied ſafe conduct vpon our requeſts that a ſeruitor of ours might haue reſorted

to

to your presence (as our herauld Ilaie reports.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our derest brother and cousing, the said meting of our and your commissiouners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwirt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformatioun before continuet to the commissiouners meting, to effect that due redresse suld haue bene made at the said meting, like as for our part our commissioners offred to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrestet to the said diet. And to glose the same, ye now write that slaars by se ned not compere personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gef in criminall action all slaars suld naught compere personallie, na punitioun suld follow for slaughter, and then vane it were to seke farther metings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the ded shewes) that ye will nouther kepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

The great wrongs and vnkindnes done before to vs and our leiges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in vpbearing, mainswering, noundressing of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our wardan vnder trust of daies of meting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd, in slaing our liege noblemen, vnder color by your folks, in taking of vthers out of our realme prisonet and chanet by the cragis in your cuntrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promist in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Androw Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naught offended to you nor your leiges vnredrest, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your ded, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Quharvpon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissiouners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrate and als shew by vthers vnto vs, that full redresse suld be made at the said meting of commissiouners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desisted fra inuasioun of our friendes and cousings within their awne countries that haue naught offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender cousing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & cousing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tine his countrie of Willaine, and now inuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hase bene vnto you kind without offense, and more kindar than to vs.

Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye because of vthers, haue giuen occasion to vs and to our leiges in time by past, nouther doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, proceding alwaies to the vtter destructioun of our nerest friendes, quha mon do for vs quhan it shall be necessarie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightlie fauour, manifestlie wranged your sister for our sake incontrarie our writs: and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the cõtrarie. Inded such it is, we gaue you words as ye dud vs, trusting that ye suld haue emended to vs, or worthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and suld naughtight haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour pear, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therevpon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though vther informatioun was made to our halie father pape Julie, by the cardinall of Yorke, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premisses, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor Wiest instantlie desired we suld sende one of our councell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwirt you and vs, furthering of pear if we might, betwirt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwirt Infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destructioun of our brother and cousing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes without remedie done dailie vnto vs, our leiges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of vthers, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actuall warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and cousing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we truist may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and for deuit and postponit iustice to our leiges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwirt you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence. Right excellent, right hie & mightie prince our derest brother and cousing, the Trinitie haue you in keping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edenburgh the twentie sixt day of Julie.

The herald is sent for.

King Henrie hauing read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his councell, sent for the herald againe, and told him that he had read and well perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

condition, that he would promiſe to declare the ſame to his maiſter. Wherevnto Lion made this anſwer: Sir, I am his naturall ſubiect, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to ſay, I may boldlie ſay with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare ſay vnto my ſouereigne lord. But your letters ſent by me, may declare your maiſters pleaſure, albeit your anſwer requireth dooings and not ſaiengs, that is, that you immediatlie ſhould returne home. Then ſaid the king: I will returne at my pleaſure to your damage, and not at thy maiſters ſummons. And herewith he cauſed an anſwer to be written to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

The heralds anſwer.

## King Henrie his anſwer.

RIght excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edenburgh the twentie firſt day of Julie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearſall and accumulation of manie ſurmiſed iniuries, griefs and dangers doon by vs and our ſubiects to you and your lieges, the ſpecialties whereof were ſuperfluous to rehearſe, remembring that to them and euerie of them in effect reaſonable anſwer founded vpon law and conſcience, hath tofore bene made to you & your councell; ye not onelie require vs to deſiſt from further iuuaſion and vtter deſtruction of your brother and cooſine the French king, but alſo certifie vs that you will take part in defenſe of the ſaid king, and that thing which ye truſt may rather cauſe vs to deſiſt from purſute of him, with manie contriued occaſions and communications by you cauſeleſſe ſought & imagined, ſounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace paſſed, concluded, and ſworne betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels cauſeleſſe deuiſed to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promiſed, all honor & kindneſſe, we can not maruell; conſidering the ancient accuſtomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promiſe than pleaſed them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, nighneſſe of bloud, honor of the world, law and reaſon had bound you, we ſuppoſe ye would neuer haue ſo farre procæded, ſpeciallie in our abſence. Wherin the pope and all princes chriſtened may well note in you diſhonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, ſæke the waies to doo that in our ſaid abſence, which ye would haue bene well aduiſed to attempt, we being within our realme and preſent. And for euident approbation hereof, we næd none other prowes nor witneſſes, but your owne writings heretofore to vs ſent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but paſſed the time with vs till after our departure from our ſaid realme. And now percaſe ye ſuppoſing vs ſo farre from our ſaid realme, to be deſtitute of defenſe againſt your inuaſions, haue vttered the old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept ſecret.

Neuertheleſſe, we remembring the brittlenes of your promiſe, & ſuſpecting though not wholie beleæuing ſo much vnſtedfaſtneſſe, thought it verie expedient and neceſſarie to put our ſaid realme in a readines for reſiſting of your ſaid enterpriſes, hauing firme truſt in our Lord God, and the righteouſneſſe of our cauſe, with the aſſiſtance of our confederats & alies, we ſhall be able to reſiſt the malice of ſchiſmatiks and their adherents, being by the generall councell expreſſlie excommunicate and interdicted; truſting alſo in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by ſuch vnnaturall demeanor haue giuen ſufficient cauſe to the diſheriſon of you and your poſteritie for euer, from the poſſibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for aſſiſtance giuen to the French king, can not reſtraine you from this vnnaturall dealing; we ſuppoſe ye ſhall haue like aſſiſtance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & ſo the French king peaceablie ſuffereth him to continue, wherevnto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we næd not to make anie further anſwer to the manifold griefs by you ſurmiſed in your letter: forſomuch as if anie law or reaſon could haue remoued you from your ſenſuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes ſufficientlie anſwered to the ſame: except onelie to the pretended græfs touching the denieng of our ſafe conduct to your ambaſſador laſt ſent vnto vs.

Wherevnto we make this anſwer, that we had granted the ſaid ſafe conduct; and if your herald would haue taken the ſame with him, like as he hath bene accuſtomed to ſolicit ſafe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as ſoone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied ſafe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to paſſe, but we ſee well, like as your ſaid herald had hertofore made ſiniſter report contrarie to truth, ſo hath he doone now in this caſe, as it is manifeſt and open. Finallie, as touching your requiſition to deſiſt from further attempting againſt our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of ſo high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe. Wherfore (God willing) we purpoſe with the aid and aſſiſtance of our confederats and alies to proſecute the ſame; and as ye doo to vs and our realme, ſo it ſhall be remembred and acquited hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone ſaint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our ſignet in our campe before Tirwine, the twelfth day of Auguſt.

This

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scotish herald, he departed with the same into Flanders, there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie passage he staied, and returned not into Scotland till Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For king James perceiuing all the Englishmens doings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the assembling of his people, immediatlie after he had sent forth his herald with commandement to denounce the warre, he determined to inuade the English confines, and first before his maine force was come togither, the lord Humes that was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the thirteenth day of August, hearing that the Englishmen had fetched a bootie within the Scotish ground, assembled a power, & followed them into Northumberland, but yet he could returne he was forelaid [in Brome house, or Brome field] by the Englishmen, which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Scotishmen to the worse, and of them tooke and slue manie.

Englishmen fetched a bootie in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. ✻These wars thus begun, the king determined to go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assembled. Wherevpon comming to Limuch, he went to the church to heare euensong; as the maner was. Buchan. lib. 13. To whome, after he had entered the chappell, there came an old man, whose heare was somewhat yellowish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance. This man seeking the king, passed through the companie standing there, and drew neere to the king. Who being now come vnto him (and with a certeine rude behauiour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the king was placed) in homelie sort saied vnto him:

"King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonishment that thou hasten not forward to the place which thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and with all such as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am commanded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou eschue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women, and if thou doest otherwise, it shall succeed to thy hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he mingled himselfe with the other companie, neither could after be found (the euensong being ended) when he was sought for by the king: for he was neuer seene after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which seemed the more strange, because that manie which stood neere him (marking all his order, and desirous to haue heard more things from him) could not perceiue his departure; amongest which persons (of those that meant to haue asked him further questions) Dauid Lindsete (a man of approued credit and vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far estranged from lieng and falshood) was one, who told this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most certeine; or else I would haue ouerpassed it as a fable caried about by common report.]

King James approched neere vnto England with his power.

The king of Scots made too much hast.

Norham. The Braies.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland assembled, with the which king James approching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his people, purposed with greater aduantage of victorie to recouer that detriment; and herevpon he made such hast, that he would not staie for the whole power of his realme, which was in preparing to come forward vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed ouer the water of Tweed the two and twentith of August, and entered into England, lodging that night at Wesilham neere to the riuer of Tuisell, and the nert day laid siege vnto the castell of Norham, and within short space wan the Braies, ouerthrew the Barnekine, & slue diuerse within the castell, so that the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the king to delaie the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie alreadie come with an armie into the north parts, couenanting if they were not rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was granted: and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appointed day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and beaten downe. After this he wan the castels of Fourd and Etell, & diuerse other places of strength, of which, part were ouerthrowne. He also tooke manie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland, and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eightéene daies within England, till two parts of his armie were scaled & departed home from him, which they did vpon this occasion. Barnekine. Fourd and Etell taken.

✻The king was determined & persuaded to haue besieged Berwike (beyond which he was now passed) since the same alone was more honor (than all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because they were sure that the towne and castell were vnfurnished of all things for the defense thereof. Wherevpon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on worke as much as they might in the French wars) being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering courtiers) did leaue the same vndone at this time, meaning in his returne easilie to haue obteined it. But as they were yet at Ford, a herald of the English came vnto them, requiring that they would appoint a day and place, where and when both the armies might ioine in battell. Wherevpon, there was a councell called amongest the Scots, in which it was agréed by the greater part, that the Scots should returne home into their countrie, least with so small a companie they might hazard the state of the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had alreadie sufficientlie obteined fame, glorie and riches, and to the vttermost satisfied the band of amitie with the French; for there was no iust cause, why they for number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe be laid open to so great a multitude of the English dailie increasing with succors. For it was said at that time; that Thomas Hayward brought into the field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in France) before Turweine. Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 13.

To which persuasion (to make the matter more strange) it was further added, that if the king did depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissolued, and could not that yeare againe be repared, because their souldiers were fet from the furthest parts of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight, that he then should do it in his owne realme, keeping the time & place in his power alwaies to be appointed. But when the French ambassador (and certeine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and greedie of warre, was easilie persuaded to abide his enimie in that place. In the meane time, when the English came not forth (at the day appointed to them by the herald, which before had béene with the Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that their not comming to battell was onelie a traine and deceipt, deferring the matter from day to day, to the end that their force might be increased, and the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie against them. For since they haue not attended the time

time preſcribed vnto them, it is no ſhame to the Scots to returne into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the ſurer counſell were to follow the firſt; which if it be not liked, then is there good occaſion offered to execute the other. For ſince the riuer of Till (hauing hie banks) is not paſſable, but at certeine miles hence (except it be by a bridge) ſome few may there reſiſt a great multitude. Beſides which, when a part of the Engliſh armie is paſſed the bridge, the ſame bridge maie eaſilie (by engins placed therefore) be cut in ſunder; ſo that there ſhall not be paſſage for anie more: by meanes whereof, the one part of them ſhall be ſubdued on the one ſide of this riuer, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of theſe deuiſes and perſuaſions; but anſwered, that he would not ſuffer the Engliſh to depart (vnfoughten with) although there were an 100000 againſt him. At which raſh anſwer, the whole nobilitie was greeuouſlie offended.

Wherevpon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in peeres and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle perſuaſions, and began to make a more ample diſcourſe vpon the two former counſels giuen by the nobilitie. For he ſhewed that the king had fullie ſatisfied the requeſt of the French, in that he had now turned the greateſt part of the Engliſh armie before bent againſt the French, againſt himſelfe and his owne people; and had ſo wrought, that thoſe great armies ſhould neither hurt France nor do anie iniurie vnto the Scots, ſith they were not able long to remaine in campe in thoſe cold places, and in a barren countrie vnfurniſhed of all things (by the calamities of the laſt warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on ſo faſt) in thoſe northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambaſſador doth ſo much vrge vs vnto the battell, I ſuppoſe that the ſame ſhould not ſeeme either new or ſtrange vnto vs, that a ſtrange man (which doth not reſpect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer lauiſh in powring out the bloud of other men. Beſides which, his requeſt is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of ſingular experience and wiſedome) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdome or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Neither ſhould the loſſe of his hoſt ſeeme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) bicauſe that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counſell) are aſſembled here togither, who being ſlaine, the reſt of the realme would ſoone be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more ſafe for vs, and more profitable to the eſchewing of all danger, for him to fight at this preſent? No trulie. For if Lewes do ſuppoſe, that the Engliſh (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or elſe wearied by delaie; what can be done more neceſſarie for the preſent ſtate of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie, to the end that we may eaſe the weight of warre againſt the French by one part of the hoſt to be ſent againſt vs, and ſtill to hold them plaie as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to ſet vpon vs, & by remouing to giue them cauſe to follow vs? For ſo I ſuppoſe ſhall the glorie and ſhew (which theſe men I feare rather valiant in words than deeds, do with their raſhneſſe ſo much pretend) be fullie anſwered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of ſo manie caſtels, by the ſpoile of ſo manie countries with ſword and fire, and by the driuing home of ſo great booties and preies) haue done that iniurie to them, as that their countrie ſhall not by the peace of manie yeeres recouer hir former eſtate? What greater profit may we looke for by warre, than in ſo great tumult of warres, with great praiſe and honor to vs, and with ſhame and reproch to our enimies, to obteine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreſhing of our ſelues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by ſwords) chieflie belongeth to men, and of men ſpeciallie to the leaders and capteins, as ſuch a glorie whereof the common ſouldiors may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus ſpoken by earle Dowglas, although all they which were preſent ſeemed (by their countenance) to giue conſent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himſelfe to fight with the Engliſh) receiued theſe counſels with contrarie eares; and in heat commanded Dowglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Wherevpon he (conceiuing ſome vnkindneſſe, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all theſe things would come by the kings raſhneſſe) forthwith burſt out in teares. After which (as ſoone as he could ſettle himſelfe thereto) he ſpake theſe few words. If (ſaid he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reaſon or perſuaſion I might cleare or defend my ſelfe. For trulie ſo long as this my bodie was able to ſuſteine anie labor, I neuer ſpared to ſpend the ſame in the defenſe of my countries helpe, and my ſouereignes honor. But ſince I ſee their eares to exclude my counſell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two ſonnes (who nert vnto my countrie are moſt deare to me) and the reſt of my kinred (of whom I greatlie account) as a certeine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards thee, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be falſe, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold thoſe things which I feare will happen vnto vs. Which words when the Dowglas had ſaid to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The reſt of the nobilitie (bicauſe they ſaw they could not draw the king to their mind) tooke that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (ſeeing they were much inferior in number to their enimies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the Engliſh armie, as it was knowne by the ſcouts) to defend themſelues with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill nert vnto their campe.)

The power of the north countrie raiſed.

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raiſed all the power of the north parts of England, came with the ſame towards the place where he heard that king Iames was incamped, and approching within three miles of the Scotiſh campe in full ſight of the Scotiſhmen, pitcht downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king Iames had great deſire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet bicauſe he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, ſo as the enimies could not approch to fight with him, but with great loſſe and danger to caſt themſelues away, he thought good to keepe his ground, ſpeciallie bicauſe all thoſe of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduiſe that counſelled him to giue battell.

The Engliſh campe in ſight of the Scotiſh campe.

King Iames was minded to keepe his ground.

At what time the earle of Surrie had ſent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his ſtrength vnto ſome indifferent ground, where he would be readie to incounter him, & namelie the earle of Huntleie, a man for his high valiancie ioined with wiſedome and policie, had in moſt reputation of all the reſidue, affirmed in plaine words [beſides that which Dowglaſſe had before ſaid] that nothing

Paulus Iouius.

The earle of Huntleie his counſell.

Fr. Thin.

nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therfore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of aduantage, and with prolonging the time to His persuasions. trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarsitie of vittels, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for carriage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to ceasse, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduisement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke striken through disaduantage of the place, and lacke of vittels to susteine their languishing bodies.

Foule weather. And suerlie beside the want of vittels, the foule and euill weather sore annoied both parties; for there had not bæne one faire day, no scarse one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scotish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also sore vexed the Englishmen, as well in their iournie thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scotish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Ilaie the night before the battell, conteining as followeth.

## King Iames his quarell vnto the *earle of Surrie*.

WHere it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we sware last before his ambassadors in presence of our councell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would kæpe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs yer we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your assired time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. ¶ Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should do anie thing ouer rashlie.

Prodigious chances. There chanced also manie things taken (as yée would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in councell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hare start amongst them, which An hare. hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hir, with great noise and showting, yet she escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mise had gnawne in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet therewith he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreouer, the cloth or veile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the dewie moisture thereof had bæne of a bloudie colour.

The buckle leather of his helmet gnawn with mise.

The cloth of his tent of bloodie colour.

Herevpon the king kéeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constreined by necessitie to séeke all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hils of Floddon, where the king of Scots laie incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twisell bridge; the rereward going ouer at Wilford, putting themselues as nére as they could betwixt the Scotish campe and Scotland. King Iames perceiuing the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that laie betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to preuent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all spéed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither yer the English men could perceiue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, bicause the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, couered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

The English campe remoued by the earle.

The Scots campe remoued also.

In the meane while were the Englishmen aduanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scotish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching vpwards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downewards vpon them. For king Iames hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought verelie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might atteine to ioine with them. Therefore the Scotish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as saith Lesleus) the earle of Huntleie and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Crawford and Montrosse; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argile and Lennox] making downwards, incountered with the English host nére to the foot of the mounteine called Branxton, and first sir Edmund Haward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constreined to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselues to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and aduancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king Iames no sooner saw that wing of the English host ouerthrowne and discomfited, but that he déemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had bæne fleéing away: and therfore alighting beside his horsse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

Advantage gotten by the ground.

King Iames his practise.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Edmund Haward was fiercelie assailed.

A good beginning had an euill ending.

King Iames deceiued himselfe and aught ted from his horsse.

His capteins did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to prouide and sée that euerie thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can do no more than another man; yet kæping his place as apperteineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arraie of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleéing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

The capteins good counsell not regarded.

The kings hardinesse marred all.

resistance, so that there was a right hard incounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt done therewith.

Sir Edward Stanlie inuaded the backe of the reregard.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the reregard of the Englishmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Brankston, vpon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruellie on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scotish host, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he saw where the other Scotishmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remoue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Moreouer, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run vpon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to do; but looked one vpon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despaire now after the death of their king to recouer the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

King James slaine.

The lord chamberlaine stood still.

The lord chamberlaine beareth the blame.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king James had ordered himselfe wiselie in this battell, or that after he was slaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had beene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedlie had béene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Whereupon the Englishmen remembring how manifestlie Gods goodnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselues long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued three houres, in the which fiftéene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the least was of Englishmen (as was crediblie reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past fiftéene hundred.

The Englishmen thanked God for this noble victorie.

5000. Buchan.

15000 men slaine.

But yet the Scotishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and tooke it for his; but rather an other Scotish mans corps, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night aliue at Kelso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namelie to Jerusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to driue forth the residue of his daies, in doing penance for his former passed offenses: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Nancie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliue.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night following after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scotish armie returned homewards the same way they came, walking and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them, for that as cowards and naughtie persons, they neither sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellowes that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namelie Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reproued, as cause of all that mischiefe, which behaued himselfe not as a captetne, but as a traitor or enimie to his countrie. * Upon the honor of this victorie, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognisance (to weare on their left armc) which was a white lion (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

The Scotish men returne home againe.

They were reuiled of their owne people.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 13

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilfull order, the Scotish armie was ouercome, and that worthie prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentie and fift yéere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yéere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, hée deserued to be numbred amongest the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scotish nation. All theft, reiffe, murther, and robberie ceassed in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: insomuch that the sauage people of the out Iles sorted themselues through terror and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where otherwise of themselues they are naturallie inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

The sauage people reformed themselues.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrewes his bastard sonne, the bishop of the Iles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Kilwennie: the earles of Montrosse, Crawford, Argile, Lennor, Glencar, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell; Arrell high constable of Scotland, Addell, Atholl, and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Clueston, Rws, Inderbie, Saintcleare, Marwell, and his three brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Borthicke, Bogonie, Arskill, Blackater, and Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir John Dowglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fast castell, sir Alexander Seton, sir Danie, maister John Grant, sir Dunkin Cawfield, sir Sander Lowder, sir George Lowder, maister Marshall, maister Key, maister Ellot, maister Cawell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Ellester, Macke Rene, Macke Clene, with manie others.

* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogither vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vnwillinglie drawen vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilest he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (obiected to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 13.

that powerfie, that it ſeemed (if he had lived long) that he would haue loſt the fauor of his people (woone in old times) by the impoſition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

*Iames the fift.*

After the death of that woorthie prince king Iames the fourth, ſlaine at Flowdon (as before ye haue heard) his ſonne Iames the fift ſucceeded him: for after the returne of thoſe that eſcaped from the ſaid field, the quéene aſſembled the lords and eſtates of the realme togither at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513. hir ſonne the foreſaid Iames the fift, a child of one yeare, fiue moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuerſall aduiſe and conſent was crowned king, and his mother the quéene appointed regent of the realme, vſing the counſell of the reuerend father Iames Beton archbiſhop of Glaſcow, the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Arrane. ✠ This gouernement the quéene obteined by reaſon of hir huſbands teſtament, who making his laſt will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint thereby that the whole adminiſtration of all things ſhould remaine with hir, ſo long as ſhe continued a widow: the which though it were againſt the cuſtome of the countrie (being the firſt example of a womans gouernement amongſt the Scots) yet it ſeemed tolerable to moſt men (giuen to peace) eſpeciallie ſince there were not men ſufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occaſion of the great ſlaughter of the nobles at Flodden field, which gouernement ſhe did not long inioy.]

In aſſemblie at Striueling 1513.

The king crowned, and the quéene appointed regent Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 13.

For ſhortlie after they fell at variance amongſt themſelues, about the beſtowing of thoſe benefices which were vacant by the deaths of thoſe perſons which had béene ſlaine at the field; by reaſon whereof, ſome of them writ letters ſecretlie into France to John duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of blood to the king, and neereſt to the crowne, in caſe the kings children decreaſſed without iſſue. He therefore ſent monſieur de la Bautie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had béene in France) landed on the weſt coaſt the third of November. And ſhortlie after, the ſaid monſieur de la Bautie deliuered his letters to the quéene and lords, who thereupon met at ſaint Johns towne, and there by vniuerſall conſent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie ſhould be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the ſame ſhould be confirmed in parlement by the three eſtates which ſhould be kept at Edenburgh, the thirteenth day of March next, for the ſame intent.

Debate.

The duke of Albanie is ſent for.

Monſieur de la Bautie is ſent into Scotland.

In aſſemblie had at Striueling.

To rehearſe the troubles and great diſquietneſſe that chanced, during the minoritie of this king, through lacke of due adminiſtration of iuſtice, and by diſcord & variance dailie riſing amongſt the lords & peares of the realme, a man might haue juſt cauſe greatlie to wonder thereat, and in weieng the ſame throughlie, no leſſe lament the oppreſſion done to the poore commons in that wicked and moſt miſerable time, when iuſtice ſeemed to ſléepe, and rapine with all the other ſorts and rabble of iniurious violence inuaded hir emptie ſeat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. ✠ During the times of which diſorder, there was (amongſt thoſe which pyried and ſpoiled others) a great captaine of the ſame faction, called Macrobert Stroun, who (ouerrunning Athol and the adioining places) was accompanied for the moſt part with eight hundred théeues, and ſometime more. Which Stroun was at length (whileſt he ſpoiled a merie man at his owne pleaſure, and at that time remaining with his vncle John Creichton) taken by

The great diſquietneſſe reigning in Scotland during the minoritie of Iames the fift.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 13.

ſwift laid for him, and inforced to depart with his life.]

The quéene ſent louing letters vnto the king of England hir brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the ſpace of one yeare and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement ſhould be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his ſiſter that ſhe ſhould in anie wiſe impeach and ſtaie his comming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for hir, but alſo for hir ſonne to haue him gouernor, which was to ſucceed, if hir ſon were once out of the way. But the chiefeſt cauſe that moued the king of England to labour, that the duke ſhould haue nothing to do in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would ſhew himſelfe an enimie againſt England, with all the force he might make or procure.

The king of England writeth to his ſiſter.

Now ſhortlie after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he ſent a letter alſo, requiring him not to ſuffer the duke to paſſe into Scotland, for the reaſon firſt alleged. But notwithſtanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the ſtates in parlement aſſembled in Edenburgh, at the time preſixed, that ſir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes ſhould be ſent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in ſuch caſes prouided. Whereupon, in Aprill then next following they tooke the ſeas, and paſſed into France, accordinglie as by the ſtates had béene deuiſed.

The duke of Albanie confirmed tutor by parliament.

This yeare came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtith of Aprill was the quéene deliuered of a prince in the caſtell of Striueling, which was baptiſed by the poſtulat of Dunfermling, and the archdeane of ſaint Andrewes, and inſtantlie confirmed by the biſhop of Caithneſſe, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the quéene lay in childbed, great diſcord fell out betwixt the lords of the weſt parts, and the other lords of the realme: but ſhortlie after the quéene called an aſſemblie at Edenburgh the twelfth of Julie, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the clergie were ſent into England for peace. And the 28 of the ſame moneth, maiſter Iames Ogilbie abbat of Dunbarre, and ſir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came forth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes comming was excuſed, becauſe the king could not want him, till ſome end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next inſuing.

1514. A legat from Rome.

The quéene deliuereth of hir ſecond ſon Alexander.

This yeare, the firſt of Auguſt, the quéene married Archembald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus, and immediatlie after in ſaint Johns towne tooke the great ſeale from the biſhop of Glaſcow, that was chancellor of the realme. Wherupon the ſaid biſhop got him to Edenburgh, where manie lords aſſiſted him, and kept out the quéene and hir new huſband, ſo that they might not enter there: whereof great diſcord roſe within the realme amongſt the nobles and peares of the ſame. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewes the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the right king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scotiſhmen thought great fait in the French king, ſaying that for his cauſe the warre had béene attempted betwixt them and England. The ſame yeare, &

The mariage of the quéene mother.

The great ſeale taken from the biſhop of Glaſcow.

A peace concluded betwixt England & France

hunt

The deceasse of the bishop of Aberden.

bout the twentie fift of October, William Elphingston bishop of Aberden, and lord kéeper of the priuie seale departed this life at Edenburgh. He had béene a faithfull councellor to James the third & to James the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and indowed the college in the old towne of Aberden, for the increase of learning & vertue, which hath florished with good wits of students euer since, till these our daies.

Monsieur de la Bautie.

The 20 of Nouember, Le sire de la Bautie receiued the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Albanie, at the hands of the deane of Glascow brother to the bishop of Murrey, called Forman. Shortlie after, John Hepborne the prior of saint Andrews then elect archbishop of that sée, besieged the castell of saint Andrews, and wan it by force from the kéepers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the name of Gawin Dowglasse, wherewith the quéene and the earle of Angus were highlie offended. The twelfth of Januarie, being a verie darke & windie night, the earle of Lennor, and the maister of Glencarne vndermined the nether groundsoile of the castell gate of Dunbreton, & entered thereby into the castell, & so tooke it, putting out thereof the lord Erskin. Shortlie after (that is to say) the fifteenth of that moneth, a great assemblie was made betwixt the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue fought with the other, which was the cause and beginning of great trouble that insued.

1514.

The castell of Dunbreton taken.

The same day in Edenburgh were the buls published, which Forman the bishop of Murrey had purchased at Rome, for the obteining of the archbishoprike of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Dunfirmeling, and Arbroeth, through supplication of the quéene and duke of Albanie. From which buls the prior of saint Andrews appealed, pretending title to the archbishops sée by election and generall gift of the lords of the realme; and herupon got togither his friends in Edenburgh, as the maister of Hales and others. And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and diuerse of the bishop of Murreis friends got the kings letters, by vertue whereof they proclamed the said maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrews rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the horne: whereupon they were constreined to depart out of Edenburgh. And in Maie following, the prior went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeale.

The popes buls published.

1515. Lesle.

Contention about the intoieng of the sée of saint Andrews.

The foure and twentith of Februarie, a parlement was assembled at Striueling; but because the lords could not agrée amongst themselues, it was proroged till the comming of the duke of Albanie, which was loked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or at the furthest in Maie next insuing, as he had sent word by sir John Striueling of the Keir, that was latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords and péeres of the realme. The fifteenth of Maie, truce was proclamed betwixt England and Scotland, to indure for three yeares, or three moneths (as saith Lesleus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the afternoone, the Englishmen entered the borders of Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forraied the countrie, doing great hurt therein, notwithstanding the truce. The seuentéenth day of Maie, John duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland, arriued at the towne of Aire, with eight ships well appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of necessarie prouision for his estate.

1515.

Truce betwixt England and Scotland.

The duke of Albanie his arriuall in Scotland.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed alongst the coast till he came to Dunbreton, and there came on land, & on the next day passed forth to Glascow, where all the westland lords receiued him with great semblance of reioising for his arriuall. The six and twentith day of Maie, he was receiued into Edenburgh, a great number of lords méeting him on the way. The quéene also came from hir owne lodging and met him, to do him honor. Sundrie conceipts, pageants, & plaies were shewed by the burgesses, to honor his entrie in the best maner they could deuise. Shortlie after his comming to Edenburgh, there came thither forth of all parts of the realme, the lords and barons, where they being assembled in councell, he tooke vpon him the gouernement of the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise, so that they would assist him in setting forth of iustice and good orders, which they vndertooke to do.

The duke of Albanie receiued into Edenburgh.

A parlement summoned.

Herevpon was the parlement, which had béene proroged till his comming, summoned to be kept at Edenburgh the twelfth of Julie, in the which diuerse acts were concluded and made; and the lord Drummond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for striking Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him of life and honor, but his lands and goods remained in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was afterwards restored to the same againe. In this parlement also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by the three estates of the realme tutor and gouernor to the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to him: his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to others, and namelie to their king and souereigne lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the vttermost of their powers, for the aduancement of his honor, and suertie of the realme.

The king deliuered to the kéeping of certeine lords.

In the meane time, whilest this parlement was in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king should haue béene conueied forth of the realme secretlie into England: whereupon he suddenlie departed in the night time from Edenburgh, with his men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling, where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with the quéene; which castell, togither with the kings person, and the other within it, were deliuered to him the third day of August: whereupon he committed them and the castell to the kéeping of foure lords of the realme, whereof the earles of Eglenton and Montrosse were two. The lord Hume, because he had assisted the earle of Angus and the quéene against the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and the earles of Lennor & Arrane, with manie others, were sent to his houses to seize the same into the kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gunpowder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that entered first into the castell were burned.

The lord Hume denounced a rebell.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England, and sore disquieted the marches, so that no day of truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle marches. The twelfth of August, the quéene, the earle of Angus, and his brother George Dowglas, went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, and from thence passed to the nunrie of Candstreame; whereupon aduertisement being giuen to the K. of England, and his pleasure therein knowne, the six and twentith of that moneth she was receiued by the lord Dacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter, called Margaret Dowglasse, afterwards maried to the earle of Lennor, as in place conuenient it shall further appeare. There was no Scotishman at this time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to the borders with his Frenchmen, where the first of October, the said lord Hume came & submitted himselfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alexander shortlie after did the same, and they were both deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed to kéepe them in safetie within the towne of Edenburgh.

The birth of the countesse of Lennor.

The lord Hume submitted himselfe.

But the twelfth of October next insuing, the said earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night season,

The earle of Arrane ſteadeth away.

ſeaſon, with thoſe his priſoners, ſtealing their waies on fot. Herevpon, the gouernor cauſing the parlement to be holden that was ſummoned to begin the foure and twentith of October, the ſaid lord Yume, maiſter William Yume, and Dauid Yume, were conuict of treaſon by all the ſtates, to loſe their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was prorogued till fifteene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or elſe it was agreed that they ſhould proceed againſt him in like maner. And in that meane ſpace, the gouernor went to beſiege the caſtell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old counteſſe of Arrane, daughter to king James the ſecond, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers ſide, cauſed not onelie the caſtell to be ſurrendered at the dukes pleaſure, but procured alſo the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of Nouember next inſuing, came with the biſhop of Glaſcow vnto Edenburgh, and there ſubmitted himſelfe to the dukes will.

The lord Yume and other conuicted of treaſon.

The old counteſſe of Arrane purchaſeth hir ſons pardon.

About the ſame time, certeine lords toke part with the earle of Murreie the kings baſtard brother, and the earle of Erroll, againſt the erle of Huntleie, and raiſed a commotion; ſo that being got into Edenburgh, there was much adoo, & the towne greatlie diſquieted. The gouernor lieng in the abbeie, came into the towne, and toke the earles of Huntleie, Erroll, Murreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the caſtell, while he tried the cauſe: and finding that maiſter William Yaie being with the earle of Murreie had raiſed that ſturre, he ſent the ſame Yaie into France, there to remaine during his pleaſure, and forthwith the ſaid earles were ſet at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was ſtopped at Caldſtreame by the lord Yume, who toke his letters from him, and kept him priſoner, till Alexander Yumes mother, that remained priſoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eightéenth day of December, Alexander duke of Roſſeie the kings brother departed this life at Striueling.

A commotion betwixt the earles of Murreie and Huntleie.

Lion king of armes ſtaied by the lord Yumes.

The ſeuentéenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt England and Scotland, till the feaſt of Pentecoſt nert. This truce was agréed vpon at Coldingham, by certeine commiſſioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were theſe: Monſieur de Planes the French ambaſſador, archdeacon of ſaint Andrews, maiſter Gawin de Dunbar, and ſir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Engliſhmen compriſed for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Yume within the compaſſe of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernor againe, and repaired to the weſt parts, where he confederated himſelfe with certeine lords, notwithſtanding that ſir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanor within the caſtell of Edenburgh. The earles of Lennor, Glencarne, and other cauſed the caſtell of Dunbreton and diuerſe other to be furniſhed, and toke the caſtell of Glaſcow with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and ſpoiled the ſame.

A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The earle of Arrane eſtſones reuolteth from the gouernor.

The earle of Lenor furniſheth Dunbreton.

The gouernor aduertiſed thereof, raiſed an armie & went to Glaſcow, where, by the labor of the biſhop of that place, an appointment was taken, ſo that the caſtell was deliuered into the biſhops hands. The earle of Lennor came in to the gouernor, and toke a new reſpit, and about the beginning of March nert following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Yume did the like. Forman the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, againſt whome the prior of ſaint Andrews did ſtand (as ye haue heard) for that ſame benefice, to the great diſquieting of the realme, by ſuch partakings as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edenburgh, and reſigned all the three benefices, whereof he had purchaſed buls of the pope, that is to ſay, the archbiſhoprike of ſaint Andrews, the abbaſies of Arbroth and Dunfirmeling in the gouernors hands, to beſtow the ſame at his pleaſure: who by the counſell of certeine lords, to ſatiſfie ſuch as claimed intereſt to the ſame, and pacifieng of all debates, beſtowed them as followeth.

The earles of Lennor and Arrane take a reſpit.

Forman reſigneth his title to the archbiſhops ſée.

First, the ſaid archbiſhoprike he gaue to the ſaid Forman with the abbaſies of Dunfirmeling, and to maiſter James Hepborne he gaue the biſhoprike of Murrey, and benefices worth a thouſand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of ſaint Andrews for a recompenſe; the abbaſie of Driburgh he gaue vnto maiſter James Ogiluie, and the biſhoprike of Aberden (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gurdon, and to the archbiſhop of Glaſcow called Beton he gaue the abbaſie of Arbroth, aſſigning to the earle of Murrey a large penſion out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning [and George Dundaſſe was made prior of the knights of the roads.] And thus he beſtowed the benefices which had béene vacant euer ſince Floddon field, vnto diuerſe lords, or to their kinſmen, that by ſuch liberalitie vſed towards them, all debates and diſcords might ceaſſe, which had happened amongeſt them, ſpeciallie about the beſtowing of the ſame benefices. This was done in the moneth of Februarie.

Beſtowing of benefices.

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after, the gouernor, by counſell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietneſſe, and the noble men vnited togither, receiued into fauor the earle of Angus, & maiſter Patrike Pantoun ſecretarie, who for his cauſe had béene kept as priſoner in Inſche gaile. He likewiſe receiued the lord Yume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenſes paſt. And in parlement holden the fift of Maie, they were reſtored to all their lands, heritages, fées, and honors. About that time, the lord of Strawen in Atholl committed diuerſe great offenſes and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Logiraith by the gouernors commiſſion.

1515.

The earle of Angus and others receiued into fauor.

All this while, the parlement was not diſſolued but vpon prorogation, and ſo the ſame began againe the firſt day of Julie, at what time the king of England, at requeſt of his ſiſter the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now aſſembled in parlement, requeſting them to expell the gouernor forth of the realme. But all the lords and ſtates with vniuerſall conſent ſent Albanie the herald with letters to the ſaid king, excuſing them, that they might not in anie wiſe ſatiſfie his deſire therein, the ſame being againſt reaſon and the lawes of their countrie.

The parlement began againe.

The king of Englands letters to the lords.

In the moneth of September, the gouernor commanded the lord Yume, with his brother maiſter William Yume, and Dauid Bar of Fernihurſt, to be arreſted and beſtowed in ſeuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, ſundrie informations were giuen vp againſt them: and therevpon, the eight of October, the ſaid lord Yume and his brother were conuict of treaſon, for aſſiſting and mainteining of the théeues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foreſaid William Yume was likewiſe beheaded, and their heads were ſet vpon the Tolbuith in Edenburgh: Dauid Bar was ſpared.

The lord Yume and other arreſted and committed to ward.

The lord Yume beheaded.

* Alexander lord Yume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of thoſe times greeuouſlie afflicted with diuerſe miſfortunes. For George, being baniſhed for the ſlaughter of a man, remained

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

remained in England amongeſt his friends. Iohn abbat of Jedworth was baniſhed beyond Taie. Dauid the yonger brother, which was prior of Coldingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by Iames Hepborne, the huſband of his ſiſter) ſlaine by a traine, vnder color of a meeting and parlée, wherevnto he was called; whome all men did pittie, becauſe he was a harmleſſe yong gentleman, of a ſingular wit, and fowlie betraied by thoſe of whom he ought not ſo to haue bin intrapped.

The duke of Albanie viſiteth the borders.

Another parlement.

The duke of Albanie ſecond perſon of the realme.

Shortlie after, the duke rode to Jedworth with a great companie of men, & ſtaied the great robbing & reauing which had béene vſed on the borders, & left there good wardens to kéepe good rule in thoſe parts, and ſo returned to Edenburgh. The third of Nouember, another parlement was holden, in which it was decréed, that the gouernor ſhould be déemed and reputed for ſecond perſon of the realme, notwithſtanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Dirkeneie, which was alleged to haue béene firſt maried to their father the duke of Albanie, before he was maried to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Whereupon this Alexander made proteſtation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agréed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers fauor, and was made biſhop of Murreie, and abbat of Scone. At this parlement, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be abſent there ſix moneths: but this ſute was not granted till Aprill following.

The gouernor aſketh licence to go into France.

The earle of Lennox in ward.

At the ſame time was the earle of Lennor put in ward within the caſtell of Edenburgh, till he had cauſed the caſtell of Dunbreton to be deliuered vnto one Alane Steward in the conſtables name, & then he was ſet at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monſieur de la Bautie was made warden of the eaſt marches in ſtead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured ſuch hatred, that it coſt him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Ianuarie, the gouernor went to ſaint Johns towne, and there held his ſeat of iuſtice, where the lord Fleming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fées thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambaſſadors from Francis the new French king, to deſire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scotland, their realmes, dominions, and ſubiects.

Monſieur de la Bautie made warden of the marches.

1517.

Ambaſſadors from France.

For this cauſe, all the lords of the realme were aſſembled at Edenburgh, where, by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himſelfe ſhould paſſe the ſeas into France; and alſo that the biſhop of Dunkeild, the ſecretarie, and the maiſter of Glencarne as ambaſſadors ſhould go thither: the which the thirteenth of Maie, went a ſhipbord, and by the eaſt ſeas ſailed thither, and the gouernor toke ſhip at Newmarke beſide Dunbreton the ſeuenth of June, taking his courſe by the weſt ſeas, and ſo paſſed into France, where it was agréed, that he ſhould haue remained but onelie foure moneths, he hauing appointed the biſhops of ſaint Andrews and Glaſcow, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whileſt he was abſent. Alſo he ordeined Anthonie Darcie, or Monſieur de la Bautie lieutenant of the borders.

In ambaſſage into France.

The gouernor goeth into France.

Gouernors appointed to the kings perſon.

He alſo had cauſed the king to be brought into Edenburgh caſtell, within the which he ſhould remaine in the kéeping of the earle Marſhall, the lords Erſkin, Borthwike, Rithuen; of the which, two at leaſt ſhould be alwaies preſent. The quéene that remained as then in England, after ſhe vnderſtood that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edenburgh the ſeuentéenth of June, but ſhe was not ſuffered to ſée the king till Auguſt following: at what time, for feare of the peſtilence to be crept into the caſtell, he was remoued to Cragmiller, where the quéene oftentimes came vnto him; but at length, through ſome ſuſpicion conceiued, leaſt the quéene might conueie him away from thence into England, he was eftſoones brought vnto the caſtell of Edenburgh, in which he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalfe.

The king remoued.

The doubt which the Scots had in the quéene.

* Much about this time in the which theſe things were done, John Gordon (the eldeſt ſonne of that Alexander earle of Huntleie, which for the praiſe of his ſingular goodneſſe obteined the ſurname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had ſailed with the gouernor) was ſingularlie welcomed and interteined of all men, who going vnto his owne people (in the north parts) was vrged with ſuch grieuous ſickneſſe that he died therwith, and by his father (to whom he ſhould by courſe of nature execute the ſame office) ſhortlie after buried in the abbeie of Kilroſſe, with a goodlie towne erected on him by his ſaid father. The death of which John gaue (for manie cauſes) manie griefes vnto manie perſons: but amongſt other the chiefeſt to his father, who liued not long after his ſonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the ſaid earledome to his nephue, ſonne of his ſonne John; who bicauſe he was but ten yéeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be inſtructed in all goodneſſe of maners anſwering to the excellencie of that wit wherewith he was indued.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 386.

This earle Huntleie adorned with excellent ſwéetneſſe of maners and pleaſantneſſe of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or verie hardlie ſuffer to depart out of his companie. For which cauſe when the erle of Angus, for certeine ſuſpicions of treſon was baniſhed Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuiſes and perſuaſions to intiſe the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allured with anie flatteries or perſuaſions to ſubmit himſelfe to the leaſt note of reproch, in forſaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting vp his crauing hands to the king, did grant himſelfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and prouided that he ſhould be inſtructed in euerie ſort of vertue and learning, that was to be deſired in ſuch a prince; bicauſe the ſaid child was borne of his ſiſters mariage.

The lords and other nobles highlie offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they ſaw Anthonie Darcie lord Bautie the French aduanced to greater credit than themſelues, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but alſo capteine of Dunbreton, the ſtrongeſt fort of Scotland) began to raiſe tumults in the land. For William Cockborne (vncle of Comarch Lanton) who (expelling the gardians of the pupill) did kéepe the caſtell of Lanton, aſſiſted with the helpe of Dauid Hume lord of Wodburne (whoſe ſiſter the ſaid Cokeborne had maried) firſt began a commotion in thoſe parts. For when they ſaw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the ſame, and to ſet vpon Bautie, they determined to performe the ſame (with ſome ſecret deuiſe) by lieng in wait for him.

Buchan. lib. 14

For the caſtell of Langton or Lanton, being kept in the poſſeſſion of Wodburne (and ſuch as toke his part againſt the king) he the ſaid Wodburne appointed ſubtill fellows ſecretlie to enter the caſtell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Wodburne feining a counterfeit anger (for he was a man full of all ſubtiltie) that this caſtell was ſo iniurioullie taken from him, and kept to the

Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 387.

kings behoofe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to recouer the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bautie might be intised to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bautie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the vse of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Wodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns [vpon the castell of Hume] the nintéenth of Januarie.

1517.

Monsieur de la Bautie slaine by the lord of Woodburne. Fr. Thin.

The lords regents were herewith meruelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Bauties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edenburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not séeming to passe much thereof, toke George Dowglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Parke Bar, committing them to ward within the castell of Edenburgh, because of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Wodburne & his complices. Moreouer, for due punishment of the murther of the foresaid de la Bautie, there was a parlement called the nintéenth of Februarie next, in the which, Dauid Hume lord of Wodburne, and his thrée brethren, William Cockborne & John Hume, with diuerse other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Bautie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

A parlement called.

The lord of Woodburne indicted.

Immediatlie after the end of this parlement, the earle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillerie, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lowder, the keies of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Wodburne, which he receiued at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that hée might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of Dauid Hume, prior of Coldingham, whom he had slaine traitorouslie. A litle before this parlement, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one capteine Mores a Frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to receiue the castell of Dunbar into his kéeping, which accordinglie he did, the same béeing deliuered vnto him.

The earle of Arrane commeth into the Mers.

The maister of Hales.

The bond of league betwixt Scotland & France

Capteine Mores.

1518.

The earle of Lennox, who had béene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, because the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselues euill vsed, being his confederat friends, and thervpon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Gawen Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and clearke of the register, was preferred to the bishops sée of Abberden that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

The abbat of Glenluce.

The Scots euill vsed at the French kings hands.

This Gawen founded an hospitall in Abberden, and indowed the same with lands for sustenance of twelue pore men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with seuen arches ouer the water of Dee beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall vpholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Moreouer, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renowme; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buildings.

The bishop of Aberden a builder.

The seuentéenth of June, there rose great stur in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsey, about the inioieng of the shiriffewike of Fife, by reason whereof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbreton. About the beginning of August, the quéene remaining in Edenburgh, vnderstood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then soiourning in Dowglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which act she conceiued such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a clearke as ambassador from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seuenth of June, a mad man in Dundee slue in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

Contention betwixt the erle of Rothes and the lord Lindsey.

The cause of the hatred betwixt the quéene and hir husband.

1519. Lesle.

1519. A mad man.

The king of England writeth vnto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albanie, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pase vpon the seas to watch for his comming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was remoued forth of the castell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh to haue bin effsones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

The king of England séeketh to keepe the duke of Albanie forth of Scotland.

The earle of Arrane.

Herevpon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughters thereof insued, as of the prior of Coldingham, and six of his men murthered, by the lord of Wodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Errol, and Crawford; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Orkeneie, and Dublane, with diuerse abbats and other prelats. And in the towne of Glascow was the bishop of Glascows chancellor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennox, Eglenton, and Cassels; the lords Rosse, Sempill, the abbat of Paisley, the bishop of Galloway, and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take anie order for the good gouernment of the common-wealth.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

In December, monsieur de la Fatot, and a French clearke called Cordell, with an English herald called Clarencieux, came from the kings of France and

Monsieur de la Fatot.

and England, with an ambaſſador alſo from the gouernor, with a concluſion of peace taken for one yeere, betwixt Scotland and England: who comming to Edenburgh, were receiued by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which ſent for the chancellor & the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come anie neerer than to Linlithgo. The ambaſſador therefore toke in hand to perſuade, that an aſſemblie might be had in Striueling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. Neuertheleſſe, the ſaid ambaſſadors went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancellor and others, receiued them thankfullie, and proclamed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and ſo with courteous anſwer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carlauerok, reprouing them ſharpelie for their demeanor, and for taking their anſwer of the chancellor, ſo that they were not a little afraid, leaſt the earle in his diſpleaſure would haue vſed ſome outrage towards them, which otherwiſe than in words it ſhould appeare he did not.

The peace proclamed.

1520. In Januarie, about the keeping of a court at Jedworth, there was raiſing of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Kar the lord of Fernihurſt; in whoſe aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred Mers men: but the lord of Seſſeford then warden, aſſiſting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Kelſo with a great companie, and when they were lighted on foot, and ſhould haue foughten, the Mers men left ſir James Hamilton, the baſtard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne men about him, ſo that with much paine he was horſſed, and eſcaped in great danger vnto Hume, with loſſe of foure of his ſeruants which were ſlaine: and on the other part, there was an Engliſhman ſlaine called Rafe Kar, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernihurſt, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regalitie, held his court at the principall place of the forreſt of Jedburgh, and the earle himſelfe held his court likewiſe in an other part of the ſame land, three miles diſtant from the other.

Variance betwixt the earle of Angus and the lord of Fernihurſt.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Wodburne, and maiſter William Dowglaſſe, newlie made prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edenburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, againſt the earle of Arrane, and James Beton the chancellor, who were alſo there. But now by the comming of theſe ſuccors, which entered by force at the neather bowe, and ſlue the maiſter of Mountgomerie, ſonne of the earle Eglenton, and ſir Patrike Hamilton knight; the earle of Arrane, and the chancellor, were conſtreined to forſake the towne, & to paſſe through the north loch. [To reuenge this contumelie, the Hamiltons beſieged the cell of Parnocke (which is the caſtell of Cuningham) but they ſhortlie returned backe without doing anie thing againſt them.]

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14.

The one and twentith of Julie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edenburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the abbat of Coldingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and Dauid Hume of Wodburne, and a great companie of gentlemen, and others, and paſſed to the Tolbuith, where they remained, till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken downe beſide the place where they were faſtened on a tauill, and this was done in preſence of the prouoſt for the time being. The nert day they went to Linlithgo, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the chancellor, and ſome other of that faction there. But miſſing of their purpoſe, they returned to Edenburgh againe, and cauſing ſolemne funerall obſequies to be kept in the blacke friers, for them that owght thoſe heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting anie other thing for that preſent.

The lord Hume's head taken downe.

In November, the duke of Albanie arriued in Scotland on the weſt parts, at an hauen called Grawrach, the nineteenth of the ſame moneth; and on the three and twentith he came to Edenburgh, accompanied with the queene, the archbiſhop of Glaſcows chancellor, the earle of Huntleie, and manie other lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within ſir daies after their comming thither, the prouoſt and baillifes were depoſed, becauſe they had beene choſen in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their roomes. Then was there a parlement ſummoned to be kept at Edenburgh, the ſix and twentith of Januarie nert following; and on the ninth of Januarie, a generall ſummons of forfalture was proclamed at the market croſſe in Edenburgh, wherein were ſummoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Wodburne, the lord of Dalehouſie, John Summerwell of Cawdſtreme, and William Cockborne of Langton, with their complices, to make their appearance in the ſaid parlement, to be tried for ſundrie great offenſes by them committed.

The duke of Albanie returneth into Scotland. 1521. Buch.

The prouoſt & baillifes of Edenburgh depoſed.

A parlement ſummoned.

1521.

Maiſter Gawin Dowglaſſe biſhop of Dunkeld, hearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and remained in London at the Sauoie, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning clearke, and a verie good poet: he tranſlated the twelue bookes of the Aeneidos of Virgill in Scotiſh meeter, and compiled alſo The palace of honor, with diuerſe other treatiſes in the Scotiſh language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the ſentence of forfalture to be laied againſt him at the parlement, procured his wife (although there was ſmall liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the gouernor. Whereupon it was agreed, that the earle, and his brother George Dowglaſſe ſhould paſſe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the gouernors pleaſure: and ſo they departed into France, and remained there all the nert yeere following.

Gawin Dowglaſſe biſhop of Dunkeld fleeth into England.

The earle of Angus feareth the ſentence of forfalture.

He and his brother baniſhed.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotland, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting leaſt he ſhould perſuade the Scotiſhmen to aſſiſt the French king, againſt whome, by perſuaſion of the emperor he ment ſhortlie to make warre, ſent his herald Clarencieux into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alledging, that it was promiſed by the king of France at the laſt enterview betwixt them, which chanced the ſummer before, that he ſhould not come into Scotland. And moreouer, whereas the king of England was vncle vnto the king of Scots, he conſidered with himſelfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephue, as he ment to do; and therefore he thought it not reaſon, that the duke being nert to the crowne to ſucceed, if ought came to the yong king, ſhould haue the gouernement of him, leaſt he might be made awaie, as other yong kings had beene. He further complained, that the earle of Angus ſhould be ſent out of the realme, ſo that he could not inioy the companie of his wife, ſiſter vnto the ſame king of England.

Clarencieux an Engliſh herald ſent into Scotland.

The king of England douteth to haue the duke of Albanie gouernor to the king his nephue.

Clarencieux had therefore commandement, that if the duke refuſed to depart out of the realme of Scotland, he ſhould intimate a defiance with open warre againſt him: which the ſaid Clarencieux did, declaring his meſſage vnto the duke from point to

Warre denounced by Clarencieux againſt the duke of Albanie.

point

The dukes anſwer.

point at Hollirod houſe, as he had in commandement. To whome the duke anſwered, that neither the king of France, nor the king of England ſhould ſtaie him from comming into his countrie. And as touching the king, who was as yet young in yeares, he loued him as his ſouereigne lord, and would haue him, and defend both him and his realme againſt all other that would attempt to inuade the ſame, according to his conſcience, honor, and dutie. And as touching the caſtle of Angus, he had died towards him all cleanneſſe and meetnie, notwithſtanding his euill demerits, and that principallie for the queenes cauſe, whome he would honor as mother to his ſouereigne lord. This anſwer being reported vnto the king of England, contented him nothing at all, and therefore prepared to make warre.

1522. The tenth of Aprill, there came ſeuen great ſhips into the Frith, vnto Inchkeith, to haue ſpoiled the ſhips, and inuade the coaſt there: but they were ſo ſtoutlie reſiſted and kept off, that they were not ſuffered to do anie great exploit, and ſo they returned without preie or pelfe. In this ſeaſon, Andrew Foreman biſhop of Saint Andrewes deceaſſed, and biſhop James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſcow, chancellor of Scotland, was removed to Saint Andrewes, & made abbat alſo of Dunfermling, and the archbiſhoprike of Glaſcow was giuen a young man one Gawin Dunbar, that was the kings ſchoolemaiſter. In the moneth of Maie, there was great ado in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the ſeruants of the earles of Murrey and Cuntll, with the ſeruants of the earle of Huntlie, by reaſon whereof, the whole towne fell to partakings; but the duke comming ſuddenlie from the abbeie of Holie rod houſe, ſtaied the matter, and committed the ſaid earles vnto ward within the caſtell.

The deaths of the archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes. James Beton ſucceeded him. A feare in Edenburgh.

The emperor commeth into England. Scots and Frenchmen baniſhed out of England. The earle of Shrewſburie murdreth Scotland.

The emperor came into England, and perſuaded the king there to moue warres againſt the French king, and to not onelie the Frenchmen but alſo the Scots were commanded to auoid out of England, their goods confiſcated, and they commanded forth of the land, with a white croſſe ſowed vpon their vppermoſt garment. In Julie, the earle of Shrewſburie was ſent by the king of England into the borders, with commiſſion, to raiſe the power of the moſt parts to inuade Scotland, who vpon the ſunder entered and came to Kelſo, where he burnt one part of the towne, but the borderers of the Mers and Teuidale, not being halfe ſo manie in number as the other, ſet vpon them, ſlue, and tooke manie priſoners, and ſo conſtreined them to returne into England with ſmall honor.

In Thin. Lelleus lib. 9. pag. 400.

The gouernor after this (when he ſaw the Engliſh ouerrun all the borders of Scotland) called a parlement at Edenburgh, the 9 kalends of Auguſt, to raiſe the ſame warre. Beſide this, the French fearing them ſelues (becauſe of a prepared and well furniſhed nauie of the Engliſh which did euerie waie couer and keepe the ſea) ſent manie (and thoſe wiſe and of excellent knowledge) vnto the gouernor, to requeſt him that he would either by counſell perſuade, or by authoritie inforce his Scots to take armes againſt the Engliſh. After which (the matter being with great conſultation and manie reaſons toſſed in argument to and fro) it was decreed by common conſent of the parlement, that a choſen number of ſouldiers ſhould be prepared, to defend the borders from the inuaſion of the enimie, & (the more ſtrongly to repell the Engliſh force) it was concluded, that the children of ſuch as were ſlaine in that expedition, ſhould be freed from all charges or troubles that might light on them during their minoritie: and further, that the wiues of all ſuch which had anie lands (during their liues) fell in that conflict, ſhould after the death of their huſbands keepe the ſame for the terme of fiue yeares.

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great preparation that the earle of Shrewſburie made, to raiſe an armie of foure foure thouſand men to inuade Scotland, he cauſed (as it was before decreed) ſent vnto all the earles, lords, and nobles of the realme, willing them to raiſe all ſuch power as they could make in defenſe of their countrie, which they did. And ſo being aſſembled, the duke with a mightie armie of Scotiſhmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great artillerie, marched forward till he came to the bordor of Eſke ouer againſt Carlell: and perceiuing that the Engliſh armie came out them forward, he did what he could to perſuade the noble men to enter into England: but as they were in councell togither about that earneſt motion made to them by the duke, a certeine graue perſonage ſaid to them in this maner.

The duke of Albanie raiſeth an armie to inuade England.

The words of a councellor.

My lards, hither we be come by the commandement of my lord gouernor duke of Albanie, and alſo if we be readie to defend our alone native realme, contrarie the inuaſions of our auld enimies of England, yet neuertheleſſe it ſeemeth not guid, nor for the weale of our realme of Scotland, to paſſe within England with our armie to inuade the ſame at this time. And the earneſt perſuaſions quhilk the gouernor makes to vs to do the ſame, proceedes alsmeikle for the pleaſure of France. It appeareth to be ſufficient inough for vs ſo lang as the king our ſouereigne lord is within age to defend our alone realme, and not to inuade: otherwiſe, we may put the haile countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tinſall: for king James the fourth brought the realme of Scotland to the beſt that it euer was, and by the ſame it was brought to the higheſt almoſt that might be: ſo by that warre, was he and his nobilitie ſlaine, quhilk Scotland ſare laments. Wherefore by mine aduiſe, let vs go to the gouernor, and know of him the cauſe why he would perſuade vs to inuade England.

Then they all came to the gouernors tent, and the earle of Arrane, an auncient wiſe man ſpake for them all, and ſaid: My lord gouernor, by your will and commandement, here is aſſembled the maiſt of the nobilitie of Scotland with their power, vpon a pretenſe to enter within England. My lards heare would know the cauſe and quarrell why this warre is begun, gif it might pleaſe your goodneſſe, it ſhould well ſatiſfie their minds. The duke fruited a little ſpace, and ſaid: This queſtion would haif bin demaunded per auin, for well you know, that I for deuie luſe I beare to the realme of Scotland (of the quhilk I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haife paſſed the ſeas from the noble realme of France, into this realme of Scotland. And great cauſe there was for me ſo to do, to bring you to a vnitie, when ye were in diuiſioun, by reaſoun whereof, your realme was like to haue bin conquered and deſtroied. And alſo the king of France, by my ſuites and interceſſioun, will ioine with you in aid againſt the Engliſh nation: and when this warre was determinate in the parlement, you made me capteine, authorizing me to inuade England with banner diſplaied. Then was no demaund made of the cauſe or quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your aſſent and agreement, and that I will iuſtifie. But to anſwer your demaund, me thinke you haif iuſt cauſe to inuade England with fire, ſword, and blood, gif ye be not forgetfull, and without you will beare diſhonor and reproch for euer. For ye know that this realme of Scotland is our inheritance, as a portioun of the world allotted to our nation and anncetors whome we ſucceed. Then where may there be better warre, than

The earle of Arrane declareth to the gouernor the mind of the lords.

The duke anſwer to the earle of Arrane.

"than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance? Is it not dailie ſéene, the great inuaſiouns that the "Engliſhmen on vs make, the great manſlaughters and murders, with theſts and ſpoiles that they do dailie? Is not this one cauſe of warre? To defend "the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the verie ſeruice of chiualrie, and the dutie "naturall of the communaltie: for I thinke it a iuſt quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Eng- "laund, and anner it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that natioun to vs and "our predeceſſors. For ſéene the begining of our habi- "tatioun in this Ile of Britaine, the Engliſhmen and we haue euer bin enimies, and vs hatſ they euer ha- "ted, and yet haue we euer withſtand them. Suppoſe, we at the laſt battell of Floddoun field by chaunce "loſt our ſouereigne lard, & diuerſe noble men, quhilk was rather by treaſoun of the lard chamberlaine, "than otherwiſe, who would not relieue the kings ar- "mie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the field, quhilk murder all we noble men ought to re- "uenge. Therefore I wauld that you ſuld couragi- ouſlie aduance your ſelues in this quarrell to get ho- "nor, and to be reuenged.

1522. The replie of a wiſe counſellor.

Then one wiſe man that was preſident of the councell, anſwered the gouernor, ſaieng: My lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he ſtriks the ſtrake, we can warke na meracles, & heare "are the lards of Englaund readie to incounter vs. And gif we inuade their realme, ſuerlie they will "fight, for their power ſall increaſe dailie, and ours "will diminiſh. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I truſt he ſall) yet haue we not won the field, "for readie comming is the earle of Shrewesburie ſa mikell dread in Fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an "great puiſſant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of Englaund will ſend or bring another armie "gif we ſuld chance to get the firſt battell. And gif we get the ſecound field, that will not be without great loſſe of manie nobles, by reaſoun whereof, the "realme ſhall be weaker. And gif we be ouercommen how manie ſuld be ſlaine, God knawes. They that "ſée are worthie to be reputed as traitors to the king, and ſo by wilfulneſſe and fule hardineſſe, the realme "may be in ieopardie to be vndone. I ſay, while the king is within age, we aught to moue na weir, leaſt by weir we may bring him to deſtructioun.

The gouernors words to the preſidents replie.

Then ſaid the valiant gouernor: Héere is an puiſſaunt armie of Scotlaund, gif we returne, we ſall incourage our enimies. Therefore ſéene you thinke "it not gude to inuade, my councell is that we campe "ſtill on the bordures, while we ſée what the Engliſh- men pretends to do againſt our relme. To the which the nobles conſented, and laie ſtill there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had be- twirt the nobles and the gouernor, the quéene as then being not with them, but aduertiſed of all the proceé- dings and determinations, ſent word to the gouer- nor, and deſired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and ſhe promiſed to get the warden of the Engliſh marches to come to the gouernors campe, vpon pledges, whervnto the gouernor condeſcended.

The lord Da- cres.

Héere vpon, the lord Dacres, warden of the weſt marches of England [with Thomas Mulgraue] came vnto the gouernors campe, and thither alſo at that time was the quéene hir ſelfe come, and ſo vp- on the eleuenth of September, an abſtinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quéene ſhould ſend ambaſſadors into England, to treat and conclude a reſolute peace.

In the moneth of October nert inſuing, there were thrée ambaſſadors ſent into England, accor- ding to the agreement in the laſt treatie, but there were ſo hard and extreame conditions proponed on the king of Englands behalfe, that the ſame could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honor and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scotiſhmen toke the matter. And ſo thoſe ambaſſadors returned without agréement or concluſion of peace: whereu- on followed great trouble betwirt them of the bor- ders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but ſhortlie after, he began to make ſute to be diſcharged of that office, & ceaſſed not till he obteined it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marqueſſe Dorſet warden of the eaſt & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing ſtill in his of- fice of wardenſhip ouer the weſt marches.

The earle of Northumber- land made lord warden.

The earle of Surreie.

The lord marques Dorſet.

The lord Da- cres.

About the firſt day of March, the ſaid lords came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie conſidering that the warres betwirt Scotland and England were irkſome to the nobles of the realme, becauſe the ſame wars were taken in hand chieflie to ſerue the French kings turne, therefore he paſſed by the weſt ſeas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartilie and gladlie re- ceiued of the king, his requeſt was onelie to haue fiue thouſand horſſemen, and ten thouſand footmen of Almains, to be tranſported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the aſſiſtance of the Scots, he ſhould be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or elſe to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beléeued this vaine brag, nor yet might ſpare anie ſuch power, hauing warre at that time both againſt England, and the emperor: neuertheleſſe, he promiſed him ſome aid, whereupon the duke abode and waited for the ſame a long ſea- ſon. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland cau- ſed certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders mo- nethlie, in defenſe of the ſame againſt the Engliſh- men, dailie looking for ſupport from France. Euerie companie remained their moneths, and then depar- ted home as the cuſtome is, and thus they continued ſtill till September following. Much hurt was done on either part, and diuerſe houſes were ouerthrowne and deſtroied both in England and Scotland.

The duke of Albanie goeth ouer into France.

His requeſt.

His vaine brag.

1523.

The borders watched.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ſhips, with men, and munition, to paſſe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great nauie of ſhips in the paſe on the ſeas, as he ſhould make his courſe. But the duke embarquing himſelfe with his people at Brell in Britaine, ſai- led by the weſt parts of Scotland: and the one and twentith day of September landed at Kirkowbre in the weſt part of Scotland; he brought with him (beſide a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Pole, a man of great parentage, borne in Eng- land, and baniſhed his countrie. Whileſt the duke was on the ſea making ſaile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thou- ſand men, entered into Scotland, and comming to Edenburgh, burned the towne and the abbeie. [But Leſleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. ſaith it was Jedworth which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue paſſed further, but the Scotiſhmen aſſembling themſelues againſt their inuaſions, they were con- ſtreined to returne with loſſe (as ſome Scotiſhmen haue written.)

The duke of Albanie re- turneth into Scotland,

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Surreie in uadeth Scot- land.

Fr. Thin.

*In this place, Buchanan (before he commeth to the parlement aſſembled by the duke of Albanie af- ter his returne out of France) writeth in this ſort. We haue ſhewed (ſaieth he) how miſerable the ſtate of Scotland was the laſt ſummer (through the diſ- ſention which was amongeſt the nobilitie) by the Engliſh (with all kind of ſlaughter) ſpoiling the places bordering néere vnto them, and beſetting the

Buchanan. lib. 14.

the ſea on euerie ſide, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuiſe of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with ſuch euils) to conclude a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reaſon of the French faction) that by the means of the quéene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwéene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglaſſe baniſhed, and all the reſt of the nobilitie rather méet for companions than leaders in battels; ſuch as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themſelues to the quéenes faction.

Whereupon ſhe (to gratifie hir brother, and to wreſt all the gouernement into hir owne hands) did (diſſembling hir gréedie deſire to rule) perſuade them, to deliuer their ſonne (almoſt now paſt childiſh yeares) out of the hands of ſtrangers, and themſelues from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quæne did well foreſée, that preparation and ſuccor was made, and did come againſt hir huſband, whome before ſhe had begun to hate extreamelie. The king of England alſo did commend and prefer to the Scots the counſell of his ſiſter, by manie letters ſent, and with faire promiſes offered; becauſe he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendſhip might alwaies remaine betwéene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times deſired; ſo now he moſtlie wiſhed it, not for anie commoditie to himſelfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would imbrace, defend, and aſmuch as reſted within his abilitie, ſéeke the commoditie of his ſiſters ſonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would perſuade themſelues to breake the league with the French, and ſoine in amitie with the Engliſh; they ſhould ſhortlie well vnderſtand, that the king of England did not ſéeke after ſouereingtie, glorie, power, or honor; but onelie ſtudied for a concord amongſt themſelues, & a league betwéene their nations. For which cauſe, he would beſtow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which mariage, the Scots ſhould not be ſubiect to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the Engliſh vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, beſides the quenching of great hatred betweene the nations (and intercourſe of merchandize, exchange of mutuall courteſies and ioinings in affinitie) there ſhould be an indiſſoluble knot made for the honor of the whole Iland.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and diſaduantage that might riſe to the one from other, by the friendſhip or hatred of either kingdome, and the benefit that they might looke for from their Engliſh neighbours, more than by anie poſſibilitie they might obteine from their French confederats. For on the one ſide, the Engliſh and they were borne in one continent, brought vp vnder the ſame influence of the heauen, and ſo like in all things, in tong, in maners, in lawes, in decrées, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather ſéeme one than two nations. On the other ſide, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall ſoile and clemencie of the heauens; but more ſeuered from them in order and forme of liuing, being further ſuch a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the Engliſh are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being ſo far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawen to take their part. Beſides which, there can be no ſuccor from France but by ſea, which the enimie may eaſilie ſtop; and ſo the Scots not able to be ſuccored by them. But from the Engliſh they may haue aid by land with ſpeed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they ſhould conſider how diſcommodious (for the diſpatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defenſe of themſelues) it ſhould be, to hang all the hope of their ſuccor vpon the fauor of the wind, and to place the moſt ſuertie of their eſtate in the vnconſtant friendſhip of the vncerteine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but feele in déed what helpe is to be hoped (in preſent dangers) from abſent friends, when that the Engliſh can not onelie helpe you now, but at this inſtant do alſo kéepe away your promiſed and long expected aid, which they haue ſo beſieged vpon the ſea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that theſe things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the Engliſh league, as there were not a few which gaue conſent to that motion, ſo were there manie that ſtiflie argued to the contrarie. For in that aſſemblie, there were manie penſioners of the French faction, who (increaſing their priuat commoditie by the publike detriment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; beſides whome, there were alſo ſome, which ſuſpected the facilitie of promiſe in the Engliſh: eſpeciallie, ſince the whole eſtate of England did then chiefelie hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolſeie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious perſon, and who referred all counſels and conſultations to the amplifieng of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cauſe, applied that and all other things to euerie blaſt of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerſe reaſons (as the varietie of diuerſe wits bred diuerſe minds) did yet with like endeuor tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the ſame ſudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way ſort to their benefit; ſince this was not the firſt time that the Engliſh had vſed that policie to intrap vnwarie men: as did Edward the firſt, who (ſwearing and binding himſelfe with all bonds of law, when he was choſen an arbitrator to ceaſe the ſtrife of the kingdome of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleaſure: and of late alſo, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promiſed his daughter Cecilie to the ſonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the mariage) diſſolue the ſame, by taking occaſion of warre through our ciuill diſſentions. According to which, the Engliſh do now alſo ſéeke none other matter, than (caſting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right ſeruitude; and (when we are deſtitute of all forren helpe) to oppreſſe vs with all the power of their kingdome.

Neither is that true alſo (wherein the chiefeſt ſtrength of their ſpéech conſiſteth) that the aid of our neighbors néere at hand, is better or ſurer to vs than further friendſhip. For how may we looke for anie good from thoſe our neighbors, ſince commonlie amongeſt neighbors there neuer want occaſions of diſſention; which oftentimes chance bringeth forth, and the ſtronger (hauing ſmall or no occaſion) will manie times ſéeke to offer: at what time, he which is greateſt in armes, muſt & will appoint lawes of agréement as ſéemes beſt to his liking. Beſide, there was neuer yet ſo ſacred or firme a bond of amitie betwéene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or ſought occaſions of diſpleaſure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the Engliſh will abſteine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not ſpared the bloud of ſo manie of their owne kings. For the ſanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts and

where the Engliſh haue killed one, the Scots haue murthered ten as the courſe of their hiſtories will well prooue.

and couenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongeſt the good: but amongeſt the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occaſion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and iniuries, do dwell in people, whome neereneſſe of bounds, conuerſation of language, and not vnlike maner of life hath ioined togither.

And if all theſe things ſhould be far otherwiſe, yet there be two things which we ought ſpeciallie to foreſee and prouide for; whereof, the one is, that we ſpend not our time in vaine by chiding and diſagreement, as perſons drawen into diuerſe factions; the other, that we reiect not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can ſay; eſpeciallie in ſuch a cauſe (as this) which may not be determined, but by the conſent of the parlement. Vpon which, the French followers did earneſtlie ſtand, that there ſhould not anie thing be done therein; and therefore ſent certeine of the French aid as ambaſſadors about the cauſe. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour ſpread abroad, the ſame made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdrew others (that were inclined to the Engliſh part) from the ſame opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arriuall came to Edenburgh, where he cauſed all the lords of the realme to aſſemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, inſomuch as hearing of the ſlaughters, murthers and burnings, practiſed by the Engliſhmen, he thought that he felt the ſame done vnto him, reputing himſelfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would bee partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he ſhewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to aſſemble an armie, in reuenge of iniuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Herevpon it was concluded, that the armie ſhould aſſemble at Dowglas dale the eighteenth of October: the which concluſion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldſtreame vpon Tweed, and ſent ouer the water certeine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of Dauid Car; and being got ouer, they lay ſiege to the caſtell of Warke, which was kept by ſir William Liſle capteine thereof, hauing with him a ſtrong garriſon of Engliſh ſouldiors, and great prouiſion of artillerie, and all things neceſſarie: yet at the firſt aſſault, the vtter barnekin was woone, and the ſaid companie of Scotiſhmen and Frenchmen lay within the ſame, indamaging the caſtell in all they might.

Dauid Car. Warke caſtell beſieged.

The earle of Surrie and diuerſe others of the Engliſh nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thouſand men, were at Anwike, not far diſtant from Warke, and the marqueſſe Dorſet was ſent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Berwike, for doubt leaſt the ſame ſhould haue béene beſieged. Alſo in the meane time, a new aſſault was made to the inner barnekin of Warke, and the ſame woone likewiſe as the other had béene before. After this was the caſtell aſſailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scotiſh ſide of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the aſſault was giuen, and the ſame continued, till that through darkneſſe and lacke of light, the aſſailants were driuen to retire. Great ſlaughter was made at that aſſault on both ſides, but eſpeciallie of them within the houſe. The aſſailants ment to haue giuen a freſh aſſault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a ſore and vehement ſtorme and tempeſt of raine chanced that night, ſo that they were conſtreined to leaue off that enterpriſe, and to get themſelues ouer the riuer againe vnto the armie, leaſt by the riſing of the water of Tweed, they might haue béene cut off by their enimies, before they could haue bæne ſuccoured.

The earle of Surrie and diuerſe others of the Engliſh nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thouſand men, were at Anwike, not far diſtant from Warke, and the marqueſſe Dorſet was ſent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Berwike, for doubt leaſt the ſame ſhould haue béene beſieged. Alſo in the meane time, a new aſſault was made to the inner barnekin of Warke, and the ſame woone likewiſe as the other had béene before. After this was the caſtell aſſailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scotiſh ſide of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the aſſault was giuen, and the ſame continued, till that through darkneſſe and lacke of light, the aſſailants were driuen to retire. Great ſlaughter was made at that aſſault on both ſides, but eſpeciallie of them within the houſe. The aſſailants ment to haue giuen a freſh aſſault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a ſore and vehement ſtorme and tempeſt of raine chanced

The earle of Surrie with an armie of fortie thouſand men.

The marques Dorſet appointed to keepe Berwike.

Warke aſſaulted.

The Scots and French retire backe ouer the water.

In the meane time, whileſt this ſiege continued, a number of Scotiſhmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the Engliſh marches, and burnt and ſpoiled diuerſe townes, caſt downe ſundrie piles, and returned without anie reſiſtance: for the earle of Surrie would ſuffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scotiſh ſide of Tweed, ſent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his abſence he had inuaded Scotland with fire and ſword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honor to come forward, and he would meet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which meſſage the earle anſwered, that he had no commiſſion to inuade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as ſome haue reported) he cauſed a ſecret meſſenger to paſſe to the queene, as then lieng a good way diſtant from the armie, to moue for ſome abſtinence and truce, and further to perſuade the duke to retire home; which he did, ſo that by hir labor, a truce was taken for that inſtant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honor (as the Scotiſhmen report.) This truce was well kept all the nert winter following, and no inuaſion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie ſent againe to the Engliſh borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defenſe of their countrie, as the vſe is.

Glendale burned by the Scots.

An herald ſent.

A truce.

Sée more of this matter in England.

1524.

On Trinitie ſunndaie, being the one and twentith of Maie, fiue hundred Scots entered England, to ſurpriſe the Engliſh merchants, and others, going that day vnto Berwike, where yerelie on that day the faire is kept; and ſo by reaſon therof, they met with diuerſe of them that went to this faire, and tooke to the number of two hundred priſoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall ſaith, that by the comming of the yong lord of Fulberie to the ſuccors of the Engliſhmen, the Scots were chaſed, and loſt two hundred of their numbers. On the firſt of Julie, ſir William Fenwike, Leonard Vulgraue, & Baſtard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Engliſhmen, entred into the Mers, and began to ſpoile and rob the countrie: but they were ſhortlie compaſſed about with Scotiſhmen, & ſo hardlie aſſailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken priſoners, and Baſtard Heron with diuerſe other ſlaine. Amongeſt the priſoners, were ſir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Vulgraue, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

Scots enter into England

Engliſhmen inuade Scotland.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited.

Baſtard Heron ſlaine.

On the ſeuententh of Julie, the lord Marwell, and ſir Alexander Jordein, with diuerſe other Scotiſhmen in great numbers, entred England at the weſt marches by Caerleill, with diſplaied banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Engliſhmen aſſembled on euerie ſide, ſo that they were farre more in number than the Scotiſhmen, and therevpon ſet fiercelie vpon their enimies, inſomuch that for the ſpace of an houre, there was a ſore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Marwell like a right politike capteine (as of all that knew him he was no leſſe reputed) ceaſſed not to incourage his people; & after that, by the taking of

1524.

Foure thouſand ſaith Hal.

The lord Marwell inuadeth England.

of Alexander Iordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in arate againe, and beginning a new ſkirmiſh, recouered in maner all the priſoners, tooke and ſlue diuerſe Engliſhmen, ſo that he returned with victorie, and led aboue three hundred priſoners with him home into Scotland.

In aſſemblie of the lords.

After this iourneie, there was an aſſemblie of the lords in Edenburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where ſome of the lords were of mind that the warre ſhould continue: other thought it not reaſon, that for the pleaſure onelie of France, the realme ſhould ſuſteine ſuch damage, as it had done by thoſe three laſt yéeres wars now paſſed, and therefore they perſuaded peace. Moreouer, there was alſo much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; ſome of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himſelfe, and that the gardianſhip or tutorie of a king expired ſoner than of another priuate perſon. The duke of Albanie perceiuing how the lords were diuided amongeſt themſelues, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had ſo earneſtlie perſuaded for the pleaſure of France, hée declared to them that he wold returne into France, and ſo taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Striueling where the king was, of whome he tooke leaue, alſo giuing vnto him ſuch louing and faithfull counſell, as to his knowledge ſéemed expedient, and ſo went into the weſt countrie, where he tooke the ſeas in September, and ſailed forth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of Albanie returneth into France. Fr. Thin.

The king of England [before the rumor of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of June ſent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, perſuaded him to come from thence ſecretlie into England, which accordinglie he did; and being ſafelie arriued in England, king Henrie procured him to paſſe into Scotland, that with the aſſiſtance of ſuch lords as would be readie to take his part, he might raiſe war againſt the duke of Albanie, which ſought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to deſtroie him & his: but yet the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the ſix and twentith of Julie, the king by the aduiſe of his mother, and certeine yoong lords, came from Striueling vnto Edenburgh; and three daies after, the quéene tooke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the caſtell of Edenburgh with the king, where they ſoiourned the moſt part of the next winter. The prouoſt of Edenburgh was diſcharged, whom the towne had choſen, and the lord Marwell was appointed by the queene, prouoſt in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement alſo ſummoned to be holden at Edenburgh the third day of Februarie next inſuing [and the biſhop of ſaint Andrews and Aberden (as ſaith Buchanan li. 14.) were caſt into priſon, who after gathering armes (and curſſing all others) within the ſpace of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.]

The king of England glad to beare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, ſent into Scotland in ambaſſage one maiſter Iohn Magnus, and Roger Ratcliffe eſquier, to declare vnto the quéene and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had beene the onlie procurer of the warres. Herevpon they agréed to take truce to indure for one yéere, and in the meane time they appointed to ſend ambaſſadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, alliance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and bicauſe of the diſpleaſure which the quéene bare him, there inſued occaſions of great diuiſions within the realme. Notwithſtanding the quéene by aduiſe of certeine lords, ſent the lord Gilbert earle of Caſſels, Robert Cockeborne biſhop of Dunkeld, and doctor Mille abbat of Cambuſkenneth, ambaſſadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Gréenewich by the king of England the foure and twentith of the ſame moneth: where the biſhop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cauſe of their comming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more ſure eſtabliſhment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

Ambaſſadors into England

This requeſt was well heard by the king, who thereupon appointed commiſſioners to common thereof with the ſaid ambaſſadors. Diuerſe articles were propoſed by the ſaid commiſſioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in eſpeciall one; which was, that the king of Scotland ſhould renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he ſhould come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be maried. Bicauſe the ambaſſadors had not commiſſion to conclude ſo farre, the earle of Caſſels returned into Scotland, to vnderſtand the minds of the lords and councell in theſe points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Vpon All ſaints day there was a great motion of wind, with ſuch ſtormes and tempeſts of thunder and lightning which ſuddenlie aroſe, that the ſame (ouerthrowing manie priuat houſes in Edenburgh, and the pinacle of the tower of Dauid in the ſame caſtell) entered into the quéenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt ſo vehementlie, and went ſo farre, that it had almoſt conſumed the ſame; which ſtorme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the biſhop of Whitchurch) the biſhops lodging did yet remaine ſafe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

Fr. Thin. 1525. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 414.

Candida Caſa.

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh was come, the king, queene, and lords, fearing ſome tumult in the towne to be raiſed by the earle of Angus, would not paſſe forth of the caſtell, but kept the parlement within the ſame. Archembald Douglaſſe earle of Angus, and Iohn Steward earle of Lennor, with diuerſe others, to the number of two thouſand men, came in the night ſeaſon vnto Edenburgh, bicauſe they durſt not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that laie in the caſtell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of Februarie, the ſaid earles with the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, the biſhop of Aberden, that by the quéenes appointment had béene kept before in ward, the biſhop of Dublane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argile, and diuerſe other lords and barons being in the towne, ſent to the caſtell, alledging that the king was kept as priſoner by the queene, and iuſtice ſuppreſſed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he deſired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduiſe of the three eſtates, and if they refuſed to deliuer him, they would beſiege the caſtell, and if they wan it, all their liues within ſhould reſt at their pleaſures, the kings onelie excepted.

The earle of Angus his requeſt.

The quéene, by the counſell of the earles of Arrane and Murrey, refuſed not onelie to deliuer the king, but ſent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would ſuerlie diſcharge all the artillerie

The quéene taketh the gouernment into hir hands.

A parlement ſummoned. Fr. Thin.

A truce taken for one yeare.

artillerie of the caſtell againſt them. Hereupon, great feare roſe in the towne, ſpeciallie among the burgeſſes, but by the diligence of certeine perſons that trauelled betweene the parties, an aſſurance was taken on either ſide for certeine daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus cauſed the caſtell to be forſet, that neither meat nor other thing might be ſuffered to be conueied into it, except ſo much as might ſerue for the ſuſtentation of the kings owne perſon. At length, all the parties were agreed, ſo that the foure and twentith day of Februarie, the king came vnto the parlement holden in the Tolbuith in moſt honorable wiſe, with the aſſiſtance of all the eſtates, hauing the crowne, ſcepter, and ſword borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbeie, where he remained.

*He forſetteth the caſtell of Edenburgh.*

*The parties are agreed.*

In this parlement, there were eight lords choſen to be of the kings priuie councell, the which toke the gouernement of the king and realme vpon them, as theſe: the archbiſhops of ſaint Andrews and Glaſcow, the biſhops of of Aberden and Dublane: the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennor: the queene was adioined to them as principall, without whoſe aduiſe nothing ſhould be done. From this parlement alſo was the earle of Caſſels ſent, with anſwer to the king of England; who came to London the nintéenth of March. But bicauſe the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Pauie, he would not proceed in the treatie of mariage betwixt the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduiſe, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and ſo renewing the truce for three yéers and ſix moneths, the ambaſſadors returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next inſuing, without anie contract of mariage at that time. The agréement betwixt the queene and lords continued not long, for anon after died the biſhop of Dublane or Dunkeld (as ſaith Leſleus) whoſe benefice the earle of Angus obteined of the king for his brother William Dowglas, without the aduiſe of the queene and other lords. Whereupon the quéene departed and went vnto Striueling, leauing the king with the eale of Angus, who toke the whole rule and gouernment of the realme and king vpon him, and made his vncle Archembald Dowglas treaſuror of the realme, and beſtowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduiſe of his brother George Dowglas, and the earle of Lennor, who aſſiſted him.

*Councellors appointed.*

*Truce renewed.*

*Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 417.*

In this meane time, the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Purrey, remaining with the quéene at Striueling, alledged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus ſore againſt his will: and therefore they ſent vnto the earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle cauſed the king to giue the anſwer himſelfe, that he would not come from the erle of Angus, albeit he would gladlie haue beene out of his hands if he might; as by ſecret meſſages ſent to ſundrie of the lords, and likewiſe at that time it appéered, for he willed them by priuie meanes to aſſemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus deteined him. Hereupon ſhortlie after, they raiſed a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgew, purpoſing to paſſe into Edenburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the ſaid earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his aſſiſtants being thereof aduertiſed, came to the field with the kings banner diſplaied, and brought the king with him, although partlie againſt his will.

*The king not in his owne power.*

*The quéne mother in armes.*

The queene and ſuch lords as were with hir there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare vnto the kings perſon, and alſo fearing the danger that might chance to them if they buckled togither in a foughten field, they withdrew themſelues to Striueling, and from thence the quéene went into Purrey land with the earle of Purrey, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the weſt countrie, and the biſhop of ſaint Andrews to Dumbarmling: and then the earle of Angus toke vpon him more boldlie the gouernment of the king and realme, and ſent to the biſhop of ſaint Andrews (who was chancellor) for the great ſeale, which was deliuered to them that were ſo ſent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themſelues, there was ſmall obedience of lawes & iuſtice. Diuerſe ſlaughters in ſundrie parts were committed, great theefts & robberies made by the borderers vpon the inland countries. Moreouer, a diuorſe this yére (as ſome haue ſaid) was ſued before the archbiſhop of S. Andrews, betwixt thequéene, and the earle of Angus hir huſband, and then afterwards ſhe toke to huſband one Henrie Steward, ſonne to the lord of Auendale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methwen.

*The great ſeale deliuered*

*A diuorſe betweene the quéene and the earle of Angus.*

On the foure and twentith of Julie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the Barres & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpoſe to haue reformed the miſgouernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience ſhewed towards them, they all returned. And vpon the 29 day of Julie, at the bridge of Melroſſe, the lard of Boclouth, accompanied with a thouſand horſſemen, began to ſhew himſelfe in ſight, whoſe principall purpoſe was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his aſſiſtants, being requeſted and commanded by the king himſelfe ſo to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie ſent an herald vnto the lard of Boclough, to know what his intention was to do; who anſwered, that he came to do the king honor and ſeruice, and to ſhew his friends and power as the vſe is of the borderers.

1526.

*The lard of Boclough his enterpriſe, to take the king from the earle of Angus.*

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the reſt, not being content with this anſwer, becauſe of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the Kars, ſent vnto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approch néere to the kings preſence, vnder paine of high treaſon. Whervnto he anſwered, that he knew the kings mind well inough & would not ſpare for this commandement to come to his graces preſence. Which anſwer receiued from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the Kars, the lard of Seſſeford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horſbacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Parwell, George Dowglaſſe, and Ninian Creichton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lard of Boclough lighted alſo on foot, but becauſe the moſt part of his men were of the theeues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, vpon their firſt comming to ioining with their ſpeares, they fled, leauing the lard of Boclough with a ſmall number of his owne ſeruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themſelues verie manfullie, and ſlue the lard of Seſſeford and diuerſe other, on the earle of Angus his ſide: but finallie, oppreſſed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure ſcore of Boclowghes men ſlaine in the chaſe. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the ſpace of foure daies, and then returned to Edenburgh.

*The lard of Seſſeford ſlaine.*

*The lard of Boclough put to flight.*

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden againſt his will, by the earle of Angus and his aſſiſters, although he did not outwardlie ſhew ſo in countenance, but diſſembled the matter as well as he might,

might, yet perceiuing two enterpriſes to haue quailed that had béene attempted for his deliuerance, he thought to aſſaie the third; and héerevpon, procured the earle of Lennox to aſſemble an armie, with aſſiſtance of the quéene and hir friends, to helpe to deliuer him from the hands of his enimies. The earle of Lennox did ſo, and came with ſuch power as he could raiſe from the weſt parts vnto Linlithgo. The earle of Angus being aduertiſed, that the earle of Lennox was gathering men, ſent to the earle of Arrane for aid, requiring him to come with ſuch power as he could make, and to méet him at Linlithgo. The earle of Arrane immediatlie héerewith gathered a power, and with the ſame came to Linlithgo before the earle of Lennox came thither, who ſhortlie after comming with his people, approched that towne, vnto whome the earle of Arrane ſent a meſſenger, requiring him to turne and ſaue his enterpriſe, aſſuring him, that albeit he was his ſiſters ſonne, he would not ſpare him, if he held forward vpon his iournie. The earle of Lennox héerewith anſwered in a great rage, that he would not ſtaie, till he came to Edenburgh, or elſe die for it by the waie. The earle of Arrane therefore not ſtaieng for the earle of Angus his comming from Edenburgh, iſſued forth of Linlithgo at the weſt end of the towne, and incountered the earle of Lennox and his companie, where there was a cruell onſet giuen on both ſides, but ſuddenlie the earle of Lennox his companie fled, and he himſelfe with the lord of Hunſton and diuerſe other gentlemen were ſlaine.

The earle of Lennox gathereth a power.

The earle of Arrane gathereth a power.

The earle of Lennox ſlaine

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

*The death of which Dowglas the king did greatlie lament, and hearing the clamor and noiſe that was made in that conflict, did ſend forth (but all to late) Andrew Wood (his familiar) to haue ſuccored the Lennox, if by anie meanes he could. After this victorie, the faction of the Dowglaſſes (to the end that ſtriking a feare in thoſe that were enuious againſt them, they might make them alwaies to be in danger to them) began to moue queſtions and ſutes in law, againſt ſuch as had borne armor againſt the king: for feare whereof ſome bought their peace with monie, ſome toke part with the Dowglaſſes, ſome followed the Hamiltons, and ſome ſtiflie ſtanding in the matter, were followed and called into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of Caſſiles (when he was earneſtlie preſſed by James Hamilton the baſtard, to yéeld himſelfe to the part of the Hamiltons) being a man of great ſtomach, gaue this anſwer, that the old league of friendſhip, which was betwéene their grandfathers (in which his grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and firſt named) ſhould not make him now ſo forgetfull of the honor of his familie, that he would ſéeme to degenerat from his anceſtors, and willinglie grant to be vnder defenſe (which is the nert degrée of ſeruitude) of them, whoſe head in making an equall league and couenant was contented with the ſecond place of honor.

Wherefore, when the ſaid Gilbert appéered in the law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his cauſe: Hugh Kennedie his kinſman anſwered for him, that he was preſent in that battell, as ſent thither by the king, and not as enimie to the king, and he would (if néed required) bring forth the kings letters therfore, notwithſtanding the Hamiltons frowning and fretting againſt his boldneſſe: for the king had written as well to Gilbert (going home) as to manie others, to ioine with John Steward earle of Lennox, who ſéeing the battell at hand, and that he had not time left to call togither his friends and followers, did with his preſent companie (taking his iournie out of the waie) turne to Striueling. Wherfore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cauſe ſomewhat ſuppreſſed) James Hamilton the baſtard ſtirred with great hatred againſt Kennedie, did procure Hugh Campbell ſhiriffe of Aire to diſpatch him out of the waie, which he ſhortlie after did in his returne home. Afterward this Hugh, to the end he might diſſemble his conſcience or knowledge of this euill (the execution wherof he had committed to his fellowes) was remaining at the day and time of the ſame murther, with John Areſkine, whoſe ſiſter was the wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

The death of the earle of Caſſiles.

But ſhe (as ſoone as ſhe heard of that déed) did with manie bitter words lay the fault vnto him, becauſe by that fact the noble houſe of the Kennedies had almoſt béene brought to vtter ſubuerſion, had he not left a yoong ſonne behind him. This yoong earle, after the death of his father, fled to his kinſman Archembald Dowglaſſe then the kings treaſuror, to whome he committed the defenſe of himſelfe and his familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called into law for the ſaid déed, who being manifeſtlie convicted thereof, was baniſhed into an other place. Neither did the Dowglaſſes with leſſe bitternelle exerciſe their anger againſt James Beton, for bringing their power to ſaint Andrewes, which they ſpoiled, as after appéereth.)

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing the king with him, arriued, and had come to the battell, but that the king was not willing to come forth of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as ſome haue written) and therefore made excuſes, as he did alſo by the waie, fained himſelfe ſicke: but George Dowglas droue and called vpon his horſſe verie sharpelie, and conſtreined him to ride forth with faſter paſe than he would haue done, giuing him manie iniurious words, which he remembred afterwards, and would not forget them. They went that night to Striueling, and ſhortlie after paſſed through Fife, ſearching for the quéene, and the biſhop of ſaint Andrewes; and becauſe they were kept ſecretlie in their friends houſes, ſo that they could not be heard of, they ſpoiled the abbeie of Dunfirmeling, and the caſtell of ſaint Andrewes, taking awaie all the moueables which the archbiſhop had within the ſame.

The quéene ſought for.

*In the north parts alſo, the two families of the Leſlées and the Forboiſes, intangled with mutuall hatred, raiſed great flames of tumults and parts taking: which enimities did after grow to be the greater, becauſe there were dailie manie ſlaughters of the nobles & other people committed in War, Garreoth, and Aberden, whileſt ech faction labored to defend it ſelfe againſt the others. For which cauſe (when the common-wealth was much deformed thereby, and all iuſtice ſeemed almoſt vtterlie ouerthrowne in thoſe parts) the earle of Angus and other of the nobilitie (which were of the kings priuie councell) did not ceaſſe, vntill they had made vnitie betwéene thoſe two families. But in the end (the heire of the Forboiſes, & the lord Lenturke, hauing by wait killed the noble baron Meldrume, which fauored the Leſlées) thoſe buried contentions began againe to be raiſed from the dead; whoſe enimities being once againe knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might inſue thereof to the common ſtate) they attempted all poſſible meanes once more to quench that deadlie flame, and afreſh to ioine their minds togither in amitie, with this prouiſo, that the murtherers of Meldrume ſhould (for puniſhment of their offenſe) be baniſhed into France, where the greateſt part of them died, after manie miſeries and reproches ſuſteined in their pitifull life. Which laſt league ſo ſincerelie vnited betwéene the Forboiſes and the Leſlées, was imbraced with ſuch faith ech to other, by renewing thereof with continuall mariages & other courteſies, that it continueth moſt firme euen vnto this day.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 423.

1526.

In

1520. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 423, 424, &c.

In which north parts alſo, the inhabitants (partlie following their naturall diſpoſition, and partlie excited by the example of the former times long ſuffered ſo to be vſed) did in like ſort ouerrun and ſpoile all things, by reaſon of ouermuch libertie. But of all other ſturs raiſed in thoſe parts, that was the greateſt and moſt troubleſome, which was raiſed by the Makintoſches. Of which vnrulie people, the one familie was called the Glenchattens, and the other was ſurnamed Makintoſches after the head of that kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Lachlane Makintoſche a man of great poſſeſſions, and of ſuch excellencie in ſingularitie of wiſedome, that with great commendation he did conteine all his followers within the limits of their dueties, more than others did. Which conſtreints (when they could hardlie beare (as loth to liue in order) hauing ſo long paſſed their time licentiouſlie) did withdraw the hearts of manie men from him. Amongeſt whome was James Malcolmeſon his kinſman (who thirſting after the deſire to rule) toke occaſion (by the iniurie of the time) traitorouſlie with deceipt to kill this Makintoſche; after which (fearing further trouble to inſue towards him) he flieth to the Ile (at the lake Rothmurcoſſie) as a ſanctuarie or defenſe for him. But the reſt of the familie of the Makintoſches did purſue him with ſuch eager minds, that by force taking him in the Ile, they worthilie killed him, and manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wickednelle. After which (becauſe the ſonne of Makintoſche, for his tender yeares, was not ſufficient with feare & puniſhment to bridle the minds of his fierce ſubiects) by common conſent they choſe the baſtard brother of the ſlaine man (called Hector Makintoſche) to be head and leader of that familie, vntill this yoong nephue might grow to yéeres, and might wéeld the gouernement of his owne tribe.

Rothmurcoſſie

New tumults in that familie.

Now when when the earle of Murreie perceiued that if the ſonne of Makintoſche were committed to the raſhneſſe of a people ſomewhat fierce and cruell, that he ſhould (on euerie ſide) be oppreſſed with manie troubles, he did moſt godlie (for the care he had of him his nephue being his ſiſters ſonne) prouide, that he ſhould be caried to an other place, to the Dgiluies, the childs kin on the mothers ſide, where he ſhould be well inſtructed and imbued with the precepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hector was greatlie offended, to ſée that the child ſhould ſo ſubtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming that much of his authoritie was thereby diminiſhed) he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child againe into his poſſeſſion, that thereby he might ſaiue and recouer his credit and authoritie. But ſome there were, which ſuppoſed that the great care and labor which he ſo much employed (for getting the child into his hands) was to none other intent, but that he might make him waie, and prepare a path whereby to lead his owne ſonne to the gouernement of that familie. Which conceipt being déeplie grauen in the mind of the earle of Murreie, cauſed him to ſéeke the preſeruation of the child, that by no means he might fall into the hands of Hector.

Wherewith Hector being highlie incenſed (and determining to ſpue out his choler, ſéeking reuenge by anie kind of means) he did cauſe his brother William & other of his kindred, that ioining their force, they might ſtronglie ver the earle of Murreie, and ſpoile his poſſeſſions: which they did with ſo great furie, that ouerthrowing the fort of Dikes, and beſieging the caſtell of Tornewaie, they executed manie cruelties, ſlaughters, ſpoiles, burnings, and other miſchiefes vpon all ſorts of people, men, women, and children, and all ſuch as fauored them. For their hatred not limited againſt the earle of Murreie, extended further againſt the familie of the Dgiluies, amongeſt whome the child was left in cuſtodie for educations cauſe. With which mind this Hector and his complices placing their campe at the caſtell of Pettens, which belonged to the lord of Durnens (one of the familie of the Dgiluies) they did ſo furiouſlie beſiege the ſame, as the people of the ſame were in the end forced to yéeld the fort: which when they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of the Dgiluies, whom they found therein. Wherupon (their minds being now aduanced with ſpoiles and happie ſucceſſes) they became ſo proud, as (truſting ouermuch to proſperous euent in all their actions) they neuer ſet end to their wicked crueltie, vntill the erle of Murreie did with force execute iuſt iudgement vpon them. For when the earle beheld them immoderatlie reioiſing, in ſpoiling his lands, and committing other exceſſiue euils; he obteined of the king and his councell, that he might be made the kings deputie and gouernor in that battell, to bridle the rage and boldneſſe of thoſe in that order ſpoiling the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle aſſembling an armie, did with ſuch ſpædie valure come vpon them and their countrie, that at the firſt he toke almoſt two hundred of their capteins, and committed them to the gallowes. All whoſe faith was ſo true to their capteine, as (when life was ſcuerallie promiſed to euerie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes) there would not anie one of them confeſſe where their capteine Hector had hidden himſelfe. For euerie one anſwered (with bold ſpirit) that they knew not where he was become; and if ſo be they did, that yet they would not (by anie paine or terror of death) be induced to breake their faith and to betraie their maiſter. But hanging not being thought a ſufficient reuenge (for ſuch capteins as the earle had taken) there were more grieuous puniſhments laid vpon William Makintoſche (brother to Hector) becauſe in the beginning he nouriſhed thoſe coles of choler for his brothers cauſe. For after that this William was hanged, his head was chopped off and faſtned vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure parts of his bodie were ſent to the townes of Elgin, Forreſſe, Inuerneſſe, and Alderne, there to be ſet vp publikelie to the reproch of them, and the example of others.

Wonderfull faith of euill men to their capteine.

Now, after all theſe ſturs, Hector (ſéeing his men were thus diſperſed and executed, and that himſelfe was excluded from anie other ſuccor) fled to the faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar deane of Murreie, by whoſe aduiſe he goeth humblie and ſecretlie to the king, beſeeching his mercie and fauor to be extended vnto him: for he ſuppoſed it better, rather to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to make triall of the earle of Murreis certeine reuenge. Wherevpon the king (ſéeing his humble ſubmiſſion) receiued him into his fauor; and did with all his heart louinglie after embrace him, becauſe he was valiant and wiſe in warre, and in counſell. But God, whoſe iuſtice is alwaies ſhewed in puniſhing of wickednelle, would not ſuffer this filthineſſe of crueltie, theft, murther, & ſpoile (wherewith Hector did wickedlie defile his life) to go vnreuenged with moſt grieuous paine vpon the ſaid Hector. For in the citie of ſaint Andrews, ſudden death (than which there can be no greater puniſhment) was laid vpon him by one James Spenſe a prieſt, who was himſelfe afterwards beheaded.

The familie of Makintoſche raiſe ſeditions.

When the earle of Murreie had ſhewed ſuch reuenge vpon the friends of Hector and their companions; the people of the prouince of Glencatten did from thenceforth keepe themſelues within the limits of their duetie: vntill that the ſonne of Lachlane

lane Makintoſche came to mans eſtate and full age. Which yong man was in his firſt yeares imbued with ſuch learnings and policie of life conformed therevnto, that when he was imploied about the common-wealth; all the capteins of them (who naturallie ſpeake Iriſh in the furtheſt part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaiſter to frame a well ordered ſtate. Wherefore certeine (not able to ſuſteine the brightneſſe of his vertue) did ſoine in counſell with ſuch as were néereſt of blond vnto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we ſhall more liberallie intreat in an other place.]

This yeare the king by counſell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thouſand men vnto Jedburgh, to ſet ſome order amongeſt the borderers, for the kéeping of better rule: and ſo on the eight of June, the principals of all the ſurnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themſelues, and deliuering pledges for their good demenors. The ſeuenteenth of Julie, there was 1527. Leſle. a great aſſemblie of the lords at Holie rood houſe, at what time, there came a ſimple fellow (to looke vpon) ſeruant and horſkeeper ſometime to the earle of Lennor, who in the midſt of a great companie of people in the abbeie cloſe, ſtrake ſir James Hamilton knight verie deſperatlie with a ſhort prage or dagger in the bellie thrée ſeuerall ſtripes vp to the haft, and yet the ſaid ſir James died not of thoſe hurts. Sir James Hamilton hurt by a deſperat perſon.

The man being taken, by & by confeſſed the déed " without repentance, ſaieng; Fy on the feeble hand " quilke wald not dow that thing the heart thought, and " was determinat to dow. And being inquired what he was, and who cauſed him to dow the ſame; he anſwered that he was a ſeruant of God, ſent by him to dow that déed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines dailie by the ſpace of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other anſwer, and ſo he was hanged, and his head ſet ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh towne. About the ſame time, there came out of Germanie maiſter Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers ſonne to the earle of Arrane, who had béene ſcholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuented and examined vpon certeine articles, as of iuſtification, predeſtination, of frée will, and ſuch like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, becauſe he did affirme, and conſtantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned. The abbat of Ferne burnt.

The eightéenth of March, the king beſieged the caſtell of Edenburgh, the queene and hir husband Henrie Steward, with James his brother being within it. But as ſoone as the quéene vnderſtood, that hir ſonne the king was there in perſon, ſhe cauſed the gates to be ſet open, and vpon hir knées beſought him of grace for hir husband and his brother, and would not reſt, till ſhe had obteined the ſame; but yet they were kept in ward within the caſtell, till the king afterwards releaſed them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of ſeuenteéne yeares, and of good diſcretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Therevpon he aſſembled diuerſe noble men of Striueling, & by their counſell ſent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his aſſiſtans reſiant as then in Edenburgh, commanding them on paine of high treaſon, that they ſhould depart forth of that towne, & that none of them ſhould come within foure miles of the court, whereſoeuer the ſame chanced to lie. Edenburgh caſtell beſieged. 1528 Leſle. The king being ſeuenteéne yeares of age, refuſeth to be longer vnder gouernement.

Shortlie after, the king himſelfe with two thouſand men, followed the herald: therevpon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and aduertiſed of the kings comming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And ſhortlie after, the ſame herald was ſent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he ſhould remaine priſoner within ward in the countrie of Murrey, till the kings pleaſure were further knowen: which he would not obeie; wherefore both he and his adherents were ſummoned to appeare in parlement to be holden at Edenburgh, in September nert following. In this parlement begun at Edenburgh the firt of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his vncle by his father Archembald Dowglas, Alexander Drommond of Carnocke, and diuerſe other, were by decrée of parlement atteinted, and forfalted for diuerſe offenſes, and ſpeciallie, for aſſembling the kings people to haue aſſailed the kings perſon: and becauſe he had deteined the king againſt his will with him the ſpace of two yeares and more, all which time he ſtood in feare of his life. 1528. The earle of Angus forfalted. The earle of Angus atteinted by parlement.

In this parlement Henrie Steward the quéenes husband was created lord of Methwen, and made maiſter of the ordinance. * Beſides which, in place of earle Dowglas was Gawin Dunbar, the kings ſchoolemaiſter made chancellor, a good and a learned man, and one in whome manie did deſire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archembald Dowglas the treaſuror was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parlement there was onelie one found, called John Bannatine, who fauoring the Dowglas, did boldlie there proteſt, that whatſoeuer was therin don, ought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Dowglas; ſince iuſt feare of his appearance there, was a iuſt cauſe to force him to be abſent from thence. Within a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monaſterie of Holirood died, partlie by ſickeneſſe, and partlie by griefe of mind, being wearied with the preſent ſtate of things; whoſe place Robert Carnicruce, a man of baſe birth, but well monied, did obteine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next ſpirituall liuing. At length, the Dowglas out of hope of all good ſucceſſe, burnt the townes of Conſtandie and Cranſtoune, and ſo fled to the caſtell of Tantallon. Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

In October following, the king aſſembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerſe kinds of munition, to beſiege the caſtell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertiſed of the preparation made for the ſame ſiege, furniſhed the caſtell with men and all kind of neceſſaries, and went himſelfe into England. When the ſiege then was laid about the caſtell, it was ſo ſtrong and ſo well prouided, that it might not be wone for all that could be done at that ſeaſon: in ſomuch that after Dauid Fauconer, principall gunner of the kings ſide was ſlaine, the king cauſed the ſiege to be raiſed; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. * Before the deliuerie whereof, the king déepelie ſware that he would not leaue one aliue to ſucceed in the inheritance and name of the Dowglaſſes, ſo long as he liued and was king. The caſtell of Tantallon beſieged. Dauid Fauconer ſlaine. Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

Whereupon he came to Edenburgh, where (to the end he might diſtreſſe them the more) he determined by the aduiſe of his councell to ſend a daillie companie (though no great number) to Coldingham, which ſhould defend the husbandmen from the ſpoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthaine, he did vtterlie refuſe; either fearing the power of the Dowglas (whereunto all the other ſtrength of Scotland did of late not ſeeme to be equall) or that he would not (being then yong) imbrue his hands with the deſtruction of ſo famous a familie. Whereupon, ſince

ſince the king durſt not truſt the Hamiltons (as friends to his enimies, & being offended with them for the death of Iohn Steward earle of Lennor, nor durſt commit the matter to anie of the adioining nobilitie) at length the ſame came ſo about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furtheſt borders of the kingdome, being a man of good eſtimation for his wiſedome, and approued experience in feats of warre, and for his iuſtice déerelie loued of the people) was ſent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglaſſes (being forſaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to thoſe extremities, that they were inforced to depart into England to K. Henrie the eight, who honorablie and liberallie receiued and interteined them. After this, the king (as is ſaid) getting the caſtell of Tantillone by compoſition, did ſcarſe keepe all the couenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Drumman at the requeſt of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which (as it ſéemeth) when James Coluille and Robert Carnicruſe were remoued from the court (as perſons ſuſpected to fauor the Dowglaſſes) their offices were beſtowed vpon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouernement of manie places.)

1529. The eightéenth of Maie, in the yéere 1529, the earle of Cathneſſe and the lord of Sincler, with a great armie by ſea paſſed into Orkenie, to haue taken that Ile into poſſeſſion; but the people of the countrie aſſembled at the commandement of James Sincler of Kirkewall their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with ſuch courage, that he diſcomfited the enimies: the earle with fiue hundred of his men was ſlaine, and drowned in the ſea, vnto the which they were driuen. The lord Sincler and all the reſidue were taken. The Orkenie men held opinion, that their patrone ſaint Magnus was ſéene that day to fight in the field on their ſide againſt their enimies. In the ſame moneth on the fiftéenth day, there was a great aſſemblie of the lords in Edenburgh, where the king himſelfe ſate in iudgement. The lard of Hinderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tuſhlaw, who was named king of théeues, were accuſed of theft, and of receiuing and maintening of théeues, ſlaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they loſt their heads, which were ſet ouer the Tolbuith of Edenburgh.

The earle of Cathnes paſſeth ouer into Orkenie.

The earle of Cathneſſe ſlaine.

The blindnes of the Orknie men.

In aſſemblie of the lords.

King of théeues.

Execution.

On the ſame day, the earle of Bothwell was alſo conuict, for mainteining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edenburgh caſtell, and after ſent into Murrey land, & laſtlie baniſhed the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Uenice.] Alſo, the lord Yarwell, the lord Hume, the lards of Walglueth, Fernihurſt, Pollort, Johnſon, Yarke Kar [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by aſſiſe, and put in ward: by reaſon whereof, the borderers kept better rule euer after, during the kings reigne. [Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men (before impriſoned, and then to be baniſhed) to be reſtored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot (killing Robert Johnſtone a théefe of noted crueltie, therwith to gratifie the king) began deadlie enimitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both thoſe kinreds.]

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thin. Baniſhed the realme.

Fr. Thin. Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

John Scot faſted fortie daies without receiuing any food. 1231. Buch.

About this ſeaſon, a landed man named John Scot, that had trauelled abroad in the world [ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as ſaith Leſleus] who now being returned into Scotland, (bicauſe it was bruted in other countries that hée had faſted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for triall therof put in Dauids tower in Edenburgh caſtell, and diligent watch ſet vpon him to ſée that he had no ſuſtenance to relieue him withall, and ſo kept for fortie daies, he faſted all that time without anie kind of nouriſhment, to the great wonder of the people. In the ſummer of this yeare 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had béene forfalted (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striueling parke, & beſought his grace of pardon, which he had obteined fullie at his hands, bicauſe he fauoured him more than anie of that ſurname, if he had not béene (as he was indéed) altogither determined that none of them ſhould remaine within the land at that time, and ſo he baniſhed him into France, where ſhortlie after through griefe of mind he departed this life.

1529.

Archembald Dowglas baniſhed.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to ſet order there for better rule to be kept, and to puniſh ſuch as were knowen to be moſt culpable. And herevpon he cauſed fortie and eight of the moſt notable théeues, with their capteine John Armſtrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murther, theft, & treaſon, were all hanged on growing trées, to the example of other. There was one cruell théefe amongſt the reſt, which had burned a houſe with a woman and hir children within it: he was burned to death. George Armſtrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he ſhould appeach the reſidue, which he did; ſo that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and puniſhed for their miſdoings, according as they had deſerued. In Auguſt following, manie meruellous ſights were ſéene about Striueling, as candels burning on the tops of hils in the nights, and in the morning afore ſunne riſing. Diuerſe armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of ſome trouble to inſue in thoſe parties. The fiftéenth day of Auguſt, a great number of people being aſſembled at the market in Campſcenneth, fiftie & two perſons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongſt the which were diuerſe honeſt men and women of the countrie.

The king commeth to the borders.

Théeues hanged.

A théefe burnt to death.

Wonders ſéene in the firmament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

The firſt of March, in the yéere 1530, the abbat of Culroſe called James Inglis, was cruellie murthered by the lord of Tulliallan and his ſeruants, amongſt whom there was a prieſt called ſir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the ſaid ſir William the twentie and ſeuenth of the ſame moneth, vpon a publike ſcaffold in Edenburgh was degraded (the king, quéene, and a great companie of people being preſent) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the earle of Argile high iuſtice, and the next day the ſaid Tulliallan and the ſame prieſt were beheaded. This yéere the colege court of iuſtice called the ſeſſions was inſtituted in Edenburgh by the king, with conſent of the three eſtates in parlement aſſembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftéene councellors ordinarie, eight of them being ſpirituall perſons, of the which the moſt ancient is preſident, and ſeuen temporall men, but ſo as by this number the chancellor of the realme is aboue the preſident, when he is preſent. There are alſo foure councellors extraordinarie, remoueable at the princes pleaſure. In the yéere 1531, I find little done to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not perſuade the king of England in his fauor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the ſame earle earneſtlie laboured to bring that to paſſe.

1530.

A abbat murthered.

The ſeſſions inſtituted.

1531.

* The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuilie into England (being ſuppoſed to haue had ſecret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 kalends of Februarie committed to the

Fr. Thin. Buch. lib. 14

1532.

caſtell of Edenburgh, & ſir Iohn Sandland knight was ſent with authoritie to the hermitage (a caſtell in Liddeſdale) to repreſſe the ſpoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had béene no certeine daies and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongeſt the citizens and people of Scotland, Iohn duke of Albanie obteined from the biſhop of Rome, that a yærelie ſumme of monie (as much as ſhould be ſufficient to paie the ſtipend of a few iudges that ſhuld be appointed therefore) ſhould be leuied of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his eſtate and ſubſtance. Wherupon Gawin Dunbar biſhop of Aberden for himſelfe in the name of the cleargie, appealed to the ſaid biſhop of Rome. Which controuerſie continued from the fift Ides of March, vntill the tenth kalends of Maie, at which day the college of the iudges of Edenburgh was eſtabliſhed, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equallie miniſtred; but yet the ſame end did not follow which was then hoped amongſt them. For ſince in Scotland there be almoſt no lawes but ſuch as are decréed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of ſuch lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fifteene men, which haue perpetuall power therfore, being in truth but tyrannicall gouernment, ſince their onelie arbitrements muſt ſtand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

But bicauſe Leſleus treateth in more ample and other ſort of that matter; and for that I will not depriue the reader of the ſeuerall writings of them both touching one thing: I will alſo ſet downe Leſleus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (ſaith he) by the conſent of the ſtates, it ſéemed good that the forme of iudgement vſed by our anceſtors ſhould be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were choſen euerie yeere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill cauſes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuerſie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened, either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not atteine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the worſer part had vniuſtlie the vpper hand againſt the righter; to which diſcommoditie this was alſo ioined, that no cauſe could be well examined to the vttermoſt by one man at one time, bicauſe the iudges were ſo often changed; whereby it muſt néeds follow, that ſeuerall iudges (hauing ſeuerall minds and wits) muſt for one matter giue inconſtant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other diſcommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleaſed the parlement by the perſuaſion of the king, that a certeine deſined number of ſenators (being perſons of the greateſt knowledge in law) ſhould haue a permanent place at Edenburgh, to decide all matters of controuerſie, the maner & order whereof we haue ſet downe in our former booke, ſaith Leſleus. And I for my part thinke not vnmeet for the more erplaning thereof, to ſet it downe in this place out of the ſame Leſleus.

1533. Leſleus. lib. 9. pag. 437, 438.

Leſleus. lib. 1. pag. 79.

The companie (ſaith he) of theſe men (whom wee call the ſenat of the publike wealth) receiue none but ſuch, whoſe praiſe of vertue and ſharpeneſſe of wit (eſpeciallie in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is ſo apted of the cleargie and ſecular nobilitie (as a man may tearme them) that the one part of the laitie doth anſwer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to bée done by the great beneſit of God, that the religion and ſimplicitie of the cleargie may temper the ſingular wiſedome of the temporaltie, obteined by the experience of worldlie cauſes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient ſimplicitie of the cleargie. Ouer all theſe is one chiefe and head (which is a ſpirituall man) who hath the higheſt place in ſentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancellor of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then thereunto the Scots giue the chiefeſt preheminence in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yéere 1532, ſir Arthur Darcie was ſent to the borders, who being at Berwike, by the counſell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places: wherevpon the Scots aſſembling themſelues to defend their countrie, made towards the Engliſhmen, who retired themſelues to Berwike againe. After this were diuerſe inuaſions made on euerie ſide vpon the borders, and ſhips likewiſe taken by ſea, and yet no warre was proclamed. In September, in the yære 1533, certeine commiſſioners of either realme were at Newcaſtell, to intreat for a redreſſe and recompenſe to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, caſting downe of piles, taking of ſhips, ſlaughters of men, and diuerſe other ſpoiles and iniuries done, as well by the ſea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yéere 1532, vnto the day of the méeting of the ſame commiſſioners; which doings were little leſſe in effect than had béene vſed in time of open warre, although the ſame was not proclamed. Bicauſe therefore that the ſcathes & iniuries fell out to be ſo great on both ſides, that particular redreſſe could not bée had, the order thereof was referred to the pleaſure of both the princes.

1532. Sir Arthur Darcie ſent to the borders.

He maketh a rode into Scotland.

1533.

Further it was agréed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were ſent as commiſſioners about this treatie, William Steward biſhop of Aberden, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and ſir Adam Sterburie knight [or (as ſaith Leſleus li. 9. pa. 439.) Adam Otterburne] the which accompanied with diuerſe other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorablie receiued the 25 of March. After they had béene before the kings preſence, there were certeine commiſſioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agréed vpon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the deceaſe of that prince which firſt chanced to depart this world: and ſo the commiſſioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next inſuing.

1534. Leſle.

Fr. Thin.

A peace concluded.

About the ſame time were ſent into France Dauid Beton abbat of Arbroth, and Iames Erſkin ſecretarie, as ambaſſadors to require the duke of Vandoſmes ſiſter in mariage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Neuertheleſſe (as afterwards ſhall appéere) the king himſelfe paſſing ſecretlie into France in proper perſon, when he had once ſéene the ladie, he liked hir not; & ſo became a ſuter to the French king his eldeſt daughter Magdalen, whome he obteined: wherefore the duke of Vandoſmes ſiſter would neuer after match hir ſelfe with anie other in mariage, but profeſſed hir ſelfe in a houſe of religion, where ſhe remained the reſidue of hir life time. The king of England ſent ambaſſadors into Scotland, the biſhop of Dureſme, ſir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Dureſme,

Ambaſſadors into France.

The king himſelfe paſſeth ſecretlie into France.

reſme, and one doctor Magnus, who were honorablie receiued in the moneth of Julie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambaſſadors at London, confirmed by the king himſelfe, and the charter thereof interchangablie ſealed, with the great ſeales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

The peace concluded with England.

✻ The king in thoſe daies did ſhew ſuch hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wiſeſt and the moſt valiant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for firſt Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fléece, and ſhortlie after the French king clothed him with the order of ſaint Michaell. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to poſteritie) he cauſed the armes of Scotland, honored with theſe thrée orders, to be ſet vp ouer the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of ſaint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdome of Scotland.)

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 439.

1534.

The ſame yeere, the king paſſed through the north parts of his realme, and cauſed iuſtice dulie to be miniſtred in places where he came, againſt offendors. Moreouer, in Edenburgh was great inquiſition made, and puniſhment exerciſed againſt ſuch as were detected to hold opinions againſt the religion then vſed, the king himſelfe aſſiſtant thereto. Maiſter Norman Gorleie that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The ſhiriffe of Linlitgew, and diuerſe other, that were fled for feare of puniſhment, were conuict of hereſie. Diuerſe Engliſhmen that held againſt the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yeere into Scotland, and were receiued.

Juſtice miniſtred.

Engliſh fugitiues receiued into Scotland.

✻ About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the fift, emperor) this Charles ſent Godeſcall Erike (to the end the matter might be handled more ſecretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his meſſage to him from the emperor [ conteining the iniuries done to his aunt Katharine quéene of England, & to hir daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall councell: the ouerthrow of the Lutheran hereſie (to vſe Buchanans word) and for contracting of mariage ] the ſaid ambaſſador did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was ſet downe the offer and choiſe of which of thoſe thrée Maries the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the ſiſter of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, hir huſband ſlaine by the Turke: Marie of Portingale his néece by his ſiſter Leonara: or Marie of England his coſine germane by his aunt Katharine. Wherevnto the king anſwered, that the mariage with England ſhould be moſt profitable, but the ſame was a thing of vncerteine hope, of greater danger & labour, & of longer delaie than his carefulneſſe (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kinred, that mariage by manie reaſons ſhould be moſt beneficiall for him, to take to wife the daughter of Chriſtern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Iſabell ſiſter to the emperor. Wherevnto for denial thereof, Charles did ſhortlie make anſwer (at Madrike) that he was affianced to another.)

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14.

1534.

In the yeere 1535, the pope ſent a meſſenger into Scotland, requiring king James to aſſiſt him againſt the king of England, whome he had decréed an heretike, a ſchiſmatike, a wedlocke breaker, a publike murtherer, and a ſacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be depriued of the ſaid kingdome, the which he would beſtow vpon him, and other catholike princes. In the yeere 1536, the king tooke the ſea with fiue ſhips, without knowledge of the moſt part of the lords of his realme, and ſailed about the Iles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Iles, and by ſtorme was driuen to take land at ſaint Ninians in Galloway, & ſo returned to Striueling, from whence he paſſed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beſide Muſkelburgh, and afterward ſent for diuerſe of his lords, and by their counſell tooke his voiage againe by ſea with fiue ſhips, to paſſe into France, as he was minded to haue done the firſt time: but what cauſed him to alter his purpoſe then, we find not. This ſecond time he imbarked at Kirkaldie the laſt of Auguſt, and with good and proſperous wind he ſhortlie after arriued in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Boid and Fleming, with diuerſe other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murrey, Lennor, and Caſſiles, the lord Erſkin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

1535.

The pope ſendeth into Scotland.

1536.

The kings voiage about the Iles.

He ſaileth into France.

Immediatlie after his arriuall, he rode in ſecret manner diſguiſed vnto Vandoſmes in Picardie, taking with him but one ſeruant named John Tennent, whome he cauſed to take vpon him as he had béene maiſter; and ſo comming to the duke of Vandoſme his place, got ſight of the ladie who ſhuld haue béene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he paſſed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to méet him ſeuen leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in ſuch hartie manner, as if he had bæne his owne ſonne, and with as much honor as might haue béene ſhewed to the greateſt prince in earth. There were iuſtes, tourneis, and other princelie paſtimes practiſed and ſet forth; in which iuſtes and other exerciſes of warlike feates, he ſhewed himſelfe as hardie, cunning and valiant, as anie other perſon within all the realme of France, for the which he wan paſſing great praiſe.

He rideth to Vandoſme.

He is receiued into Paris.

In the meane time, he cauſed his ambaſſadors and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cauſe of his comming was for mariage to be had betwéene him and the ladie Magdalen, eldeſt daughter to the king, whome he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad héereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new aliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willinglie giue him his daughter in mariage. But héerewith he let him vnderſtand, that his daughter was much ſubiect to ſickneſſe, and therfore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleaſure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongeſt daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after maried to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choiſe being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpoſe, which was, to match with the ladie Magdalen, who was in déed a pleſant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

He is a ſuitor for mariage.

Héerevpon the mariage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thouſand crownes of the ſun promiſed with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thouſand franks of penſion, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, beſides manie rich hangings, cupbords of plate, ſumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the ſumme of an other hundred thouſand crownes, with two great ſhips (the one called the ſalamander) and great plentie of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Moreo-

The mariage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

ner,

uer, all his charges and expenses were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwirt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the mariage appointed to be holden the first of Januarie.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent for to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Nostre dame in the citie of Paris, the king of Scotland openlie maried the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king hir father, the king of Nauarre, seuen cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, marquesses, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the mariage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable interteinement.

1539. The mariage contracted.

Finallie, the king and his wife queene Magdalen tooke their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and so rode to Rouen, where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the riuer to Newhauen where they imbarked, being accompanied by the admerall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & so they sailed forth with pleasant wind and prosperous weather, through the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Lieth hauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yeere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were readie to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbeie of Holie rod house.

1537. Lesle.

The king with his queene returneth into Scotland.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and seemelie demeanor, at hir first arriuall wone the loues and hartie good wils of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king hir husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succeed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune enuieng so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time togither: for about the end of June she fell sicke of a vehement feuer, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Julie next insuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rod house, for whose death the king was verie sorowfull, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: [whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first vse of morning garments amongest the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past fortie yeeres, is not verie common, though publike orders and manners do euerie day grow worse and worse.]

Queene Magdalen departeth this life.

Fr. Thin.

In the summer of this yeere, Jone Dowglasse the ladie of Glames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband Dauid Lion, and both of them brought to Edenburgh, where they were accused and conuict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Hir son the lord Glames was also conuict for misprision and concealement of that crime, and therfore forfalting all his lands, was condemned to die: but because he was yong and of tender yeeres, the king pardoned him of life, and commanded him to perpetuall prison, in the which he remained so long as the king liued. [This yeere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan.]

The ladie Glames and hir husband conuict of treason.

1537. Lesl.

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after, John maister of the Forbois, and eldest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had maried a sister of the said ladie Glames, was at Edenburgh likewise indicted and conuict by an assise, by procurement of the earle Huntleie, for the like conspiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aloft vpon the gates of Edenburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edenburgh; but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

The maister of Forbois beheaded.

This yeere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be done in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whome he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof thorough all parts of his realme. * The king appointed an assemblie of the nobles, by whose consent an edict was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minoritie were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceiued that the kings charge and dignitie could not be mainteined with so small reuenues, they aduanced his foure sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Melrosse, Kelso, Coldingham, Holie rod, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) vnto his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.)

Justices appointed to sit in diuerse parts of the realme.

Fr. Thin: Buchan. lib. 14. pag. 447.

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in mariage with some noble princesse, sent into France vnto the earle of Murrey, and Dauid Beton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinall, & they of France had made bishop of Miropreuse] his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a mariage to be had betwirt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutchesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie hir selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Marwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to ioine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that mariage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the vse is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

1538. Lesle.

The king is sutor for mariage to the dutchesse of Longuile.

Fr. Thin.

After this she was conueied to Newhauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbeie of saint Andrewes, being honorablie prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openlie solemnized and confirmed the foresaid mariage with the said ladie in the abbeie church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his queene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the mariage, she conceiued with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therefore generall processions and publike praiers were made thorough all parts of the realme, for the prosperous successe of the same. After that the king had pacified the borders

The mariage solemnized.

borders and all other parts of his realme, by exerciſing of iuſtice, and trauelling about the ſame in his owne perſon through all places (where néed required) ſo that there was as great quietneſſe, reſt, and policie vſed in Scotland, as euer was in anie kings daies before him: yet neuertheleſſe there were certeine diſobedient perſons in the Iles.

Great quietneſſe in Scotland.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, cauſed to prepare a good nauie of ſhips, and in the moneth of Maie went aboord the ſame in the rode of Lieth, hauing with him the earles of Arrane, Huntleie, Argile, and diuerſe other earles, lords, and barons, with whome he ſailed forth by the coaſts of Fife, Angus, Aberden, Murrey firth, Southerland, and Cathneſſe, till he came to Orkenie, where he landing and all his companie with him, were receiued verie honorablie by the biſhop Robert Warwell. Heere they furniſhed themſelues with freſh vittels, and other ſuch things as were neceſſarie; and taking the ſeas againe, ſailed to the Iles of Skie and Lewes, where Mac Clewd of the Lewes, a principall clan of his kin, was brought vnto the king, who ſent forth alſo a companie to Mac Clewd Haugh, who came likewiſe out of his Ile, and preſented himſelfe to the king.

1539.

The king ſaileth northwards to the Iles of Orkenie and others

From thence the king ſailed by the coaſt of Kolle e Kintaile, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerſe of the Maconiles, ſuch as the lord Olagarrie, John Moidart, and others (who alledged themſelues to be of the principall bloud, and lords of the Iles) were brought alſo to the kings preſence. From thence trauelling through the reſidue of the Iles, Maclane and James Maconile of Kinter, being the two principall capteins of the ſmall Iles, came likewiſe to the king who at length landed at Dunbreton, and ſent the capteins and ſhips with priſoners to paſſe the ſame waie he came round about the coaſt, ſo to come to Edenburgh, where the ſame priſoners being arriued, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not ſuffered to depart ſo long as the king liued, whereby there followed great quietneſſe, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout all the Iles, as there was in anie part of the realme; and as good account and paiment made to the kings controller in his excheker for the lands of the ſame Iles perteining to the crowne, as for anie part of the reuenues belonging thereunto within the maine land. [In this yéere (ſaith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lutheraniſme, whereof ſome were burnt; nine recanted, and manie were baniſhed: amongeſt whom, George Buchanan was one, who eſcaped by a rope out of a window of a chamber.]

The out Iles brought to good order.

Fr. Thin.

Whileſt the king was in this voiage, the quæne was deliuered of a ſonne at ſaint Andrewes, whereof the king being aduertiſed at his landing, haſted with all poſſible diligence to the quéene, and ſhortlie after was the child baptiſed, and called James. The archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and the earle of Arrane were godfathers, and the quéene the kings mother was godmother. For the birth of this prince, there were bonnfiers made through all parts of the realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to God for the ſame. After this the quéene, mother to the king, returned vnto Methwen, where after ſhe had remained a certeine time, a ſickneſſe toke hir, of the which ſhortlie after ſhe departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouſe church of ſaint Johns towne, by the tome of king James the firſt. The king himſelfe and manie nobles of the realme were preſent at the funerals, which were kept in moſt ſolemne and pompous manner.

The quæne deliuered of a ſonne.

The quéene mother departed this life.

Certeine perſons burnt for religion.

The ſame yeare were burnt at Edenburgh for hereſie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two blacke friers, and a ſecular man. Alſo two prieſts were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall priſon. The ſame time there was a graie frier in the citie of Glaſcow burnt for the like cauſe, and manie other ſummoned; and becauſe they would not appeare, they were denounced heretikes. About the ſame time, James Beton archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, a man of great age departed this life, and was buried in ſaint Andrews. Before his departure, he had prouided ſucceſſors to all his benefices, firſt to his archbiſhops ſée, and to the abbeie of Arbroth, maiſter Dauid Beton, afterwards cardinall; and to the abbeie of Dunfermeling maiſter George Durie that was archdeacon of ſaint Andrews. Theſe men, without anie gaineſaieng of the king, entered with his good will into the ſame benefices, immediatlie after his deceaſſe. This James Beton builded a great part of the new college of ſaint Andrewes, and left great ſummes of monie and treaſure to go through to make an end of the ſame worke.

1539. Leſle.

The death of James Beton archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews.

This yeare in the moneth of Auguſt ſir James Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then in the towne of Edenburgh, was arreſted by Dauid Wood controller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go to ward within the caſtell of Edenburgh. Which commandement he willinglie obeied, thinking himſelfe ſure inough, as well by reaſon of the good ſeruice he had done to the king, ſpeciallie in reparing the palaces of Striueling and Linletgew; as alſo for that the king had him in ſo high fauor, that he ſtood in no feare of himſelfe at all. Neuertheleſſe, ſhortlie after he was brought forth to iudgement, and conuict in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, of certeine points of treaſon laid againſt him, which he would neuer confeſſe; but that notwithſtanding, he was beheaded in the moneth of September next inſuing [after that he had liberallie confeſſed at the place of execution, that he had neuer in anie iot offended the kings maieſtie, and that this death was yet worthilie inflicted vpon him by the diuine iuſtice; becauſe he had often offended the law of God to pleaſe the prince, thereby to obteine greater countenance with him. Wherefore he admoniſhed all perſons, that (moued by his example) they ſhould rather follow the diuine pleaſure, than vnluſtlie ſéeke the kings fauor, ſince it is better to pleaſe God than man.]

1540.

Sir James Hamilton arreſted.

Sir James Hamilton beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 451.

This ſummer the quéene remaining at Striueling, was deliuered of an other prince, which was baptiſed in the chappell of Striueling, and called Arthur: but within eight daies after, the ſaid prince deceaſſed at Striueling aforeſaid. On the verie ſame daie, prince James the kings eldeſt ſonne being at ſaint Andrews departed this life alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that there was but onlie ſix houres betwixt the time of their departures out of this world; which cauſed no leſſe lamentation through the whole realme, than there was ioy at their births. After this, the quæne went vnto ſaint Johns towne, where ſhe was honorablie receiued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the countrie, and from thence ſhe roade to Aberden, the king then being come vnto hir, where, by the towne and vniuerſitie they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verſes, & plaies, ſet forth in the beſt maner for their paſtime. They remained there the ſpace of fifteéne daies, and were highlie interteined by the biſhop of that place.

The quéene deliuered of another ſon.

The two yoong princes departed this life.

The king and quéene at Aberden.

There were exerciſes and diſputations held in all kind of ſciences in the colleges and ſchooles, with diuerſe orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high praiſe and commendation of the maiſters & ſtudents in that vniuerſitie. From thence the king with the quéene returned to Dundée,

dee, where a coſtlie entrie was prepared for them alſo, and after they had beene right princelie interteined there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth of Maie, ſir John Borthwike, commonlie called capteine Borthwike, ſuſpected, defamed, and accuſed of hereſie, was ſummoned to appeare in ſaint Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerſe other biſhops and prelats there preſent, where (notwithſtanding his abſence) the ſame being proued by ſufficient witneſſe againſt him (as was thought) he was conuicted and declared an heretike. An image was made to reſemble him, and at the market croſſe of the ſaid citie, as a ſigne and memoriall of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare of others, but he himſelfe eſcaped their hands and got into England, where he was receiued.

Capteine Borthwike accuſed of hereſie.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 453.

*The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the king of England, and how he honored himſelfe) tooke in euill part, that the king of England in all generall aſſemblies of the ſtates of Ireland did call himſelfe king of Ireland, when all his predeceſſors before were onelie intituled by the names of lords of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his authoritie did ſeeme to be diminiſhed, when the king of England did write himſelfe king of all Ireland: whereof a portion by manie ages was vnder the rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length K. James did yeeld thereunto; and that the rather, becauſe the king of England vnder this title and authoritie, did not diſpoſſeſſe the heires of the Scot Makeconell; and other his Scots of thoſe lands which they there inioied in that countrie.]

A ſmall portion in deed.

1541.

The king of England ſendeth to the king of Scots.

This yeare the king of England aduertiſed of the meeting of the emperor, the French king, and pope, at the citie of Nice, doubting ſome practiſe to be deuiſed there againſt him, ſent to the king of Scotland the biſhop of ſaint Dauids, & the lord William Howard, deſiring him as his moſt tender kinſman and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Yorke in England, where he would communicat ſuch things with him, as ſhould be for the weale of both the realmes. And therewith the king of England, truſting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled his deſire, cauſed great preparation to be made at Yorke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotland was willing of himſelfe to haue paſſed into England, to haue met and ſeene his vncle; yet after long reaſoning and deliberation of his councell and prelats [eſpeciallie James Beton biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and George Crichtoune biſhop of Aberden (as ſaith Buchanan. lib. 14.] aſſembled for that purpoſe, caſting in their minds (as they tooke it) what danger might fall to him and his realme, if he ſhould paſſe into England, in caſe he ſhould be ſtaied and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king James his predeceſſor was, hauing no ſucceſſion of his bodie.

Fr. Thin.

And againe, for that it was certeinelie knowen, that the principall cauſe, why the king of England required this meeting or interuiew, was to perſuade the king of Scotland to vſe the like order in Scotland, as he had done within his realme of England, in aboliſhing the popes authoritie, making himſelfe ſupreame head of the church, expelling religious perſons out of their houſes, and ſeizing the iewels of their houſes, their lands and rents, and ſuch like information. And if it chanced the king ſhould attempt the like, they ſhould loſe the friendſhip which was betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and French king, that were his great friends and confederats. Hereupon they perſuaded him to ſtaie, and by their aduiſe ſent pleaſant letters & meſſages vnto the ſaid king of England, deſiring him to haue him excuſed, for that he could not come into England at that time, hauing ſuch lets and cauſes of abiding at home, as ſhortlie he ſhould vnderſtand by his ambaſſadors, whom he ment to ſend to him, as well for this matter as other cauſes. And ſhortlie after ſir James Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambaſſador into England, as well to make the kings excuſe for his not comming to meet the king of England at Yorke; as alſo to make complaint vpon certeine inuaſions made by the borderers of England into Scotland, and alſo for the vſing of the debatable ground betwixt the two realmes.

Sir James Leirmouth ambaſſador into England

But the king of England ſore offended that the king of Scots would not ſatiſfie his requeſt, to meet him at Yorke (as before is recited, would admit no excuſe, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scotiſhmen allege, he would not ſuffer the ſame to be vnderſtood, till he had prepared all things in a redineſſe. In the meane time he ſent commiſſioners to meet with the Scots commiſſioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for redreſſe to be made of harmes done vpon the borders, but no good concluſion could be agreed vpon by theſe commiſſioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for reparing of wrongs done by the inuaſions. ¶ But that the truth concerning the cauſes of this war, moued at this preſent by that noble prince king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I haue thought good here to ſet downe the ſame, as they were drawen forth and publiſhed in print to the whole world by the ſaid king in a little pamphlet, vnder this title.

1542.

The king of England meaneth to make warre into Scotland.

## A declaration conteining the iuſt cauſes and conſiderations of this preſent warre with the Scots, wherein alſo appeareth the true and right title that the kings moſt roiall maieſtie hath to his ſouereigntie of Scotland, and thus it beginneth.

A declaration of the iuſt cauſes of the war againſt the king of Scots.

BEing now inforced to the war which we haue alwaies hitherto ſo much abhorred & fled, by our neighbour & nephew the K. of Scots, one who aboue all other for our manifold benefits toward him, hath moſt iuſt cauſe to loue vs, and to reioiſe in our quietneſſe; we haue thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and behauiour in the prouocation of this war, & likewiſe the meanes & waies by vs to eſchew & auoid it, & the iuſt & true occaſions whereby we be now prouoked to proſecute the ſame, and by vtterance and diſulging of that matter, to diſburden ſome part of our inward diſpleaſure and griefe: and the circumſtances knowen, to lament openlie with the world the infidelitie of this time, in which things of ſuch enormitie do burſt out and appeare.

the king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whome we in his youth and tender age preſerued and mainteined from the great danger of others, and by our authoritie and power conducted him ſafelie to the roiall poſſeſſion of his eſtate, he now compelleth & inforceth vs (for preſeruation of our honor & right) to vſe our puiſſance & power againſt him. The like vnkindneſſe hath beene heretofore ſhewed by other in ſemblable caſes againſt Gods law, mans law, & all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the perſons of princes, for the raritie of them, can ſo happen but ſeldome as it hath now come to paſſe. It hath beene verie rarelie & ſeldome ſeene tofore, that a king of Scots hath had in mariage a daughter of England. We cannot nor will not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be ſorie that it tooke no better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue, amitie,

amitie, and perpetuall friendſhip betweene the poſteritie of both: which how ſone it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due puniſhment of God, for his vniuſt inuaſion into this our realme, is and ſhall be a perpetuall teſtimonie of their repꝛoch foꝛ euer. And yet in that pꝛeſent time could not the vnkindneſſe of the father extinguiſh in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his ſonne, being then in the miſerable age of tender youth. But we then foꝛgetting the diſpleaſure that ſhould haue woꝛthilie pꝛouoked vs to inuade that realme, nouriſhed and bꝛought vp our nephue, to atchiue his fathers poſſeſſion and gouernement, wherein he now ſo vnkindlie vſeth and behaueth himſelfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armoꝛ and warre againſt him.

It is ſpeciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe græfe and diſpleaſure, that vnder a colour of faire ſpeach and flattering woꝛds, we be indéed ſo iniuried, contemned and deſpiſed, as we ought not with ſufferance to permit and paſſe ouer. Woꝛds, wꝛitings, letters, meſſages, ambaſſages, excuſes, allegations, could not moꝛe pleaſantlie, moꝛe gentlie, noꝛ moꝛe reuerentlie be deuiſed and ſent, than hath béene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we truſted the tꝛée would bꝛing foꝛth good fruit, that was of the one part of ſo good a ſtocke, and continuallie in appearance put foꝛth ſo faire buds: and theꝛefoꝛe would hardlie beléeue oꝛ giue eare to other, that euer alledged the déeds of the contrarie, being neuertheleſſe the ſame déeds ſo manifeſt, as we muſt néeds haue regarded them, had not we bin ſo loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had ſo manie waies bound to be of the beſt ſoꝛt toward vs.

And theꝛefoꝛe hauing a meſſage ſent vnto vs the yéere paſt, from our ſaid nephue, and a pꝛomiſe made foꝛ the repairing of the ſaid king of Scots vnto vs to Yoꝛke, and after great pꝛeparation on our part made theꝛefoꝛe, the ſame méeting was not onelie diſappointed, but alſo at our being at Yoꝛke in the lieu thereof, an inuaſion made by our ſaid nephue his ſubiects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and deſpite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the méeting to the aduiſe of his councell, and the inuaſion to the lewdneſſe of his ſubiects, and accoꝛding theꝛevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to ſuch ambaſſadoꝛs as repaired hither at Chꝛiſtmas afteꝛward, as if no ſuch cauſe of diſpleaſure had occurred, ſpeciallie conſidering the good woꝛds, ſweet woꝛds, pleaſant woꝛds, exſcuſes pꝛoponed by the ſaid ambaſſadoꝛs, not onelie to excuſe that was paſt, but alſo to perſuade kindneſſe and perfect amitie to inſue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and interteined ſuch rebels as were of the chéefe and pꝛincipall, in ſtirring the inſurrection in the noꝛth againſt vs, with refuſall beforе time, vpon requeſt made to reſtoꝛe the ſame; yet neuertheleſſe, vpon offer made, the ſaid ambaſſadoꝛs to ſend commiſſion to the boꝛderers, to determine debates of the confines in the ſame, with ſo great a pꝛetenſe of amitie, and ſo faire woꝛds as could be in ſpéech deſired, we were content foꝛ the time to foꝛbeare to pꝛeſſe them ouer extreamlie in the matter of rebels. Alleit we neuer remitted the ſame, but deſiring to make triall of our ſaid nephue in ſome coꝛreſpondence of déeds, condeſcended to the ſending of commiſſioners to the boꝛders, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our ſaid nephue the ſemblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commiſſioners, this fruit inſued, that being foꝛ our part challenged, a péece of our ground plainlie vſurped by the Scots, and of no great value, being alſo foꝛ the ſame ſhewed ſuch euidence, as moꝛe ſubſtantiall, moꝛe autentike, plaine and euident, cannot be bꝛought foꝛth foꝛ anie part of ground within our realme: the ſame was neuertheleſſe by them denied, refuſed, and the euidence onelie foꝛ this cauſe reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Engliſhmen: and yet it was ſo ancient, as it could not be counterfeit now, and the value of the ground ſo little, and of ſo ſmall weight, as no man would haue attempted to falſifie foꝛ ſuch a matter. And yet this denial being in this wiſe made vnto our commiſſioners, they neuertheleſſe by our commandement departed as friends from the commiſſioners of Scotland, taking oꝛder as hath bæne accuſtomed, foꝛ good rule vpon the boꝛders in the meane time.

After which their receſſe, the loꝛd Waꝛwell wardẽ of the weſt marches of Scotland, made pꝛoclamation foꝛ good rule; but yet added therwith, that the boꝛderers of Scotland ſhould withdꝛaw their goods from the boꝛderers of England; and incontinent the Scotiſhmen boꝛderers, the fourth of Julie entered into our realme ſuddenlie, and ſpoiled our ſubiects contrarie to our leagues, euen after ſuch extremitie as it had bëene in the time of open warre, whereat we much maruelled, and were compelled theꝛefoꝛe to furniſh our boꝛders with a garriſon foꝛ defenſe of the ſame. Whereupon the king of Scots ſent vnto vs James Leirmouth maiſter of his houſhold, with letters deuiſed in the moſt pleaſant maner, offering redꝛeſſe & reforꝛmation of all attempts. And yet neuertheleſſe, at the entrie of the ſaid Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not loked foꝛ, made a foꝛraie into our boꝛders, to the great annoiance of our ſubiects, & to their extreame detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnſeemelie diſſimulation, we were not a little moued, as reaſon would we ſhould; and yet did we not finallie ſo extreamelie pꝛoſecute and continue our ſaid diſpleaſure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the ſaid Leirmouth, and ſuffered our ſelfe to be ſomewhat altered by his woꝛds and faire pꝛomiſes, tending to the perſuaſion that we euer deſired, to find the king of Scots ſuch a nephue vnto vs, as our pꝛoximitie of bloud (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of theſe faire woꝛds, the déeds of the boꝛderers were as extreame as might be, and our ſubiects ſpoiled: and in a rode made by ſir Robert Bowes foꝛ a reuenge thereof, the ſame ſir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken pꝛiſoners, and yet deteined in Scotland without putting them to fine oꝛ ranſome, as hath bëene euer accuſtomed. And being at the ſame time a ſurſeſance made on both ſides, at the ſute of the ſaid Leirmouth foꝛ a ſeaſon; the Scots ceaſſed not to make ſundꝛe inuaſions into our realme, in ſuch wiſe as we were compelled to foꝛget faire woꝛds, and onelie to conſider the king of Scots déeds, which appeared vnto vs of that ſoꝛt, as they ought not foꝛ our dutie in defenſe of our ſubiects, ne could not in reſpect of our honoꝛ, be paſſed ouer vnreforꝛmed: and theꝛefoꝛe put in a readineſſe our armie, as a due meane whereby we might atteine ſuch a peace, as foꝛ the ſafegard of our ſubiects we be bound to pꝛocure.

After which pꝛeparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceaſſed not to vſe his accuſtomed meane of faire woꝛds, which in our naturall inclination wꝛought exſcuſes their accuſtomed effect, euermoꝛe deſirous to find in the king of Scots ſuch regard & reſpect to be declared in déeds, as the coꝛreſpondence of naturall loue in the nephue to ſuch an vncle, as we haue ſhewed our ſelfe toward him, doth require. Wherefoꝛe vpon new requeſt and ſute made vnto vs, we determined to ſtaie our armie

" mie at Yorke, appointing the duke of Norffolke our
" lieutenant, the Lord priuie ſeale, the biſhop of Dur-
" ham, and the maiſter of our horſſes, there to com-
" men, treat, and conclude with the ambaſſadors of
" Scotland, for an amitie and peace, vpon ſuch condi-
" tions, as by reaſon and equitie were indifferent,
" whereby the warre might be eſchewed, being by ſun-
" drie inuaſions of the Scots then opened & manifeſt.
" In this communication betweene our and their
" commiſſioners, after diuerſe degrées of commiſſion
" ſhewed by the Scots, and finallie one that was by
" our commiſſioners allowed, matters were propo-
" ned for concluſion of amitie, nothing difficill or hard
" of our part, but ſo agréeable to reaſon, as the com-
" miſſioners of Scotland ſaid they doubted not, but
" if it might be brought to paſſe that the king of Scots
" our nephue might haue a méeting with vs, all mat-
" ters ſhould eaſilie be compounded and determined:
" whereupon they left ſpeaking of anie articles of a-
" mitie, and the ambaſſadors of Scotland made much
" outward ioy in communication of meeting. They
" ſhewed themſelues in words, faſhion, and behauior
" much to delight in it, to reioiſe in it, and therewith
" thought it eaſie and facile to be concluded and ac-
" compliſhed, and for their part they toke it then for a
" thing paſſed, a thing concluded, and moſt certeine to
" take effect, and onelie deſired ſix daies to obteine an-
" ſwer from their maiſter, and our armie, from that
" time to ſtaie and go no further: whereunto our com-
" miſſioners then agréed.
" After theſe ſix daies was ſent a commiſſion out
" of Scotland, with power to conclude a méeting pre-
" ciſelie at ſuch a place, as they knew well we ſhould
" not, nor could not in winter obſerue & kéepe. Where-
" with when our commiſſioners were miſcontent,
" the ambaſſadors of Scotland to relieue that diſplea-
" ſure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more
" time, ſhewed forth their inſtructions, wherein liber-
" tie was giuen to the ambaſſadours to exceed their
" commiſſion in the appointment of the place, and to
" conſent to anie other that by our commiſſioners
" ſhould be thought conuenient. Which maner of pro-
" céeding when our commiſſioners refuſed, alledging
" that they would not conclude a méeting with men
" hauing no commiſſion thereunto: the ambaſſadors
" of Scotland vpon pretenſe to ſend for a more am-
" ple and large commiſſion, agréeable to their inſtruc-
" tions for appointment of the place, obteined a de-
" laie of other ſix daies, to ſend for the ample commiſ-
" ſion without reſtraint of place.
" Now after theſe ſix daies they brought forth a
" new commiſſion, made in a good forme, and without
" exception: but therewith alſo they ſhewed new in-
" ſtructions, conteining ſuch a reſtraint as the former
" commiſſion did conteine, ſo as the libertie giuen to
" the commiſſioners in the commiſſion was now at
" the laſt removed and taken awaie by the inſtructi-
" ons, with addition of a ſpeciall charge to the ambaſ-
" ſadors, not to exceed the ſame. And thus, firſt the am-
" baſſadors of Scotland ſeemed to haue a will and de-
" ſire to conclude on a place ſeemelie and conuenient,
" which for want of commiſſion they might not do,
" and at the laſt might haue concluded a méeting by
" vertue of their commiſſion; and then for feare of the
" commandement in their ſecond inſtructions they
" durſt not. And ſo they ſhewed their firſt inſtructions
" partlie to excuſe their king, who ſhould ſéeme ſecret-
" lie to will more than in the commiſſion he did open-
" lie profeſſe.
" Then with an ample commiſſion from the king,
" they ſhewed their ſecret inſtructions for defenſe of
" themſelues, why they proceeded not according to
" their commiſſion, not caring how much they char-
" ged therein the king, whoſe fault they diſcloſed to diſ-
charge themſelues, truſting that by the benefit of
the winter approching, and the time loſt in their com- "
munication, their maiſter ſhould be defended a- "
gainſt our power for this yéere, without doing for "
their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they "
be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time
our ſubiects being taken priſoners in Scotland, "
could not be delinered vpon any ranſome, contrarie
to all cuſtome and vſage of the borderers in the time "
of peace and warre: and in this meane time ſtaied a "
great part of out armie alreadie preſſed, and in our "
wages to go forward.
In this time ambaſſadors (as ye haue heard) aſ- "
ſembled to talke of an amitie, but concluded none. "
The treating of amitie was put ouer by communi- "
cation of a méeting. The communication of méeting "
was ſo handled by alteration of commiſſion and in- "
ſtructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine
deuiſe onelie inuented for a delaie, which hath giuen "
vs light, whervpon more certeinly to iudge the king "
of Scots inward affection toward vs: whoſe deeds "
and words well weied and conſidered, do vs plain- "
lie to vnderſtand, how he hath continuallie labored
to abuſe vs with ſweet and pleaſant words, and to ſa- "
tiſfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with "
his vnkind and diſpleaſant deeds. In his words he
profeſſeth an indiſſoluble amitie, he allegeth kinred, "
he acknowledgeth benefits; onlie the fault is, that he "
ſpeaketh another language to all the world in deeds, "
and thereby ſo toucheth vs in honor and denegation "
of iuſtice, as we be inforced and compelled to vſe the
ſword, which God hath put in our hands as an ex- "
treme remedie, whereby to obteine both quietneſſe
for our ſubiects, and alſo that is due to vs by right,
pacts, and leagues. "
We haue patientlie ſuffered manie deluſions, "
and notablie the laſt yéere, when we made prepara- "
tion at Yorke for his repaire to vs. But ſhould we "
ſuffer our people and ſubiects to be ſo oft ſpoiled "
without remedie? This is done by the Scots, what- "
ſoeuer their words be. Should we ſuffer our rebels
to be deteined contrarie to the leagues without re- "
medie? This is alſo done by them, whatſoeuer their "
words be. Should we ſuffer our land to be vſurped
contrarie to our moſt plaine euidence, onelie vpon a "
will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This "
is done by them whatſoeuer their words be. All theſe "
be ouer preſumptuouſlie done againſt vs, and giue
ſuch ſignification of their arrogancie, as it is neceſ- "
ſarie for vs to oppreſſe it in the beginning, leaſt they "
ſhould gather further courage, to the greater diſplea- "
ſure of vs and our poſteritie hereafter. And yet in the
intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie "
perceiued the lacke of ſuch affection as proximitie of "
bloud ſhould require; we would rather haue remit- "
ted theſe iniuries in reſpect of proximitie of bloud, to
our nephue, than we did tofore his fathers inuaſion. "
But weieng that we be ſo ſuerlie aſcerteined of "
the lacke thereof, and that our bloud is there frozen
with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer "
prince more violentlie compelled to war, than we be "
by the vnkind dealing, vniuſt behauior, & vnprince- "
lie demeanor of him, that yet in nature is our ne-
phue, & in his acts and deeds declareth himſelfe not to "
be moued therwith, nor to haue ſuch earneſt regard "
to the obſeruation of his pacts & leagues, nor ſuch re- "
ſpect to the interteinment of the adminiſtration of
iuſtice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conſeruation of "
equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be ſorie
for, & vſe now our force and puiſſance againſt him, "
not for reuengement of our priuate diſpleaſure (be- "
ing ſo often deliuered as we haue béene) but for re- "
couerie of our right, the preſeruation of our ſubiects "
from iniuries, and the obſeruation of ſuch leagues "
as

"as haue paſſed betweene vs, firmelie truſting, that
" almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will aſſiſt
" & aid our iuſt proceedings herein, to the furtherance
" and aduancement of the right, which we doubt not
" ſhall euer preuaile againſt wrong, falſhod, deceipt,
" and diſſimulation.

Hitherto appeareth how this preſent warre hath
" not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our ſu-
" perioritie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies
" knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progeni-
" tors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath
" béene prouoked and occaſioned vpon preſent mat-
" ter of diſpleaſure, preſent iniurie, preſent wrong mi-
" niſtred by the nephue to the vncle moſt vnnatural-
" lie, and ſupported contrarie to the deſerts of our be-
" nefits moſt vnkindlie, if we had minded the poſſeſſi-
" on of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to at-
" teine the ſame, there was neuer king of this realme
" had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our ne-
" phue, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath
" more iuſt title, more euident title, more certeine
" title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue
" to Scotland.

" This title is not deuiſed by pretenſe of mariage,
" nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by inuen-
" tion of argument, but lineallie deſcended from the
" beginning of that eſtate eſtabliſhed by our proge-
" tors, and recogniſed ſucceſſiuelie of the kings of
" Scotland, by deeds, words, acts, and writings conti-
" nuallie almoſt without interruption, or at the leaſt
" intermiſſion, till the reigne of our progenitor king
" Henrie the firſt, in whoſe time the Scots abuſed the
" ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and bold-
" neſſe, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proxi-
" mitie of bloud betwene vs, we haue béene ſlacke to
" require of them, being alſo of our ſelfe inclined to
" peace, as we haue euer bæne alwaies glad, rather
" without preiudice to omit to demand our right if it
" might conſerue peace, than by demanding thereof
" to be séene to moue warre, ſpeciallie againſt our
" neighbour, againſt our nephue, againſt him whome
" we haue preſerued from danger, and in ſuch a time
" as it were expedient for all chriſtendome to be in v-
" nitie and peace, whereby to be more able to reſiſt the
" common enimie the Turke.

" But for what conſiderations we haue omitted
" to ſpeake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheleſſe
" true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknow-
" ledged the kings of England ſuperior lords of the
" realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and feal-
" tie for the ſame. This appereth firſt in hiſtories writ-
" ten by ſuch, as for confirmation of the truth in me-
" morie haue trulie noted and ſignified the ſame. Se-
" condlie, it appeareth by inſtruments of homage
" made by the kings of Scots, and diuerſe notable
" perſonages of Scotland, at diuerſe & ſundrie times
" ſealed with their ſeales, and remaining in our trea-
" ſurie. Thirdlie, it appeareth by regiſters and re-
" cords iudiciallie and autenticallie made, yet preſer-
" ued for confirmation of the ſame. So as the mat-
" ter of title béeing moſt plaine, is furniſhed alſo
" with all maner of euidences for declaration there-
" of.

" Firſt, as concerning hiſtories, which be called
" witneſſes of times, the light of truth, and the life of
" memorie, and finallie the conuenient way & meane
" whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to
" mens knowledge, they ſhew as plainlie this matter
" as could be wiſhed or required, with ſuch a conſent
" of writers as could not ſo agree vpon an vntruth,
" conteining a declaration of ſuch matter as hath
" moſt euident probabilitie and apparance. For as it
" is probable and likelie, that for the better adminiſtra-
" tion of iuſtice amongeſt rude people, two or more of
one eſtate might be rulers in one countrie, vnited
as this Ile is: ſo it is probable and likelie, that in "
the beginning it was ordered for auoiding diſſen- "
tion, that there ſhould be one ſuperiour, in right of "
whom the ſaid eſtates ſhould depend. "

According whereunto we read, how Brute, of "
whome the realme then called Britaine toke firſt "
that name (being before that time inhabited with gi- "
ants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had three "
ſonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who deter- "
mining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean ſea "
to be after gouerned by them three, appointed Alba- "
nact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber "
the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is cal- "
led England: vnto whom (as being the eldeſt ſonne) "
the other two brethren ſhould doo homage, recogni- "
ſing and knowledging him as their ſuperior. Now "
conſider, if Brute conquered all this Iland, as the "
hiſtorie ſaith he did, and then in his owne time made "
this order of ſuperioritie as afore; how can there be a "
title deuiſed of a more plaine beginning, a more iuſt "
beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the or- "
der of this Iland, at that time ſpeciallie, when the "
people were rude? Which cannot without continuall "
ſtrife and variance conteine two or three rulers in "
all points equall without any maner of ſuperioritie, "
the inward conſcience and remorſe of which ſuperio- "
ritie ſhould in ſome part dull and diminiſh the per- "
uerſe courage of reſiſtance and rebellion. "

The firſt diuiſion of this Ile, we find written after "
this ſort, without cauſe of ſuſpicion why they ſhould "
write amiſſe. And according hereunto we find alſo "
in hiſtorie ſet forth by diuerſe, how for tranſgreſſion "
againſt this ſuperioritie, our predeceſſors haue cha- "
ſtiſed the kings of Scots, and ſome depoſed, and put "
other in their places. We will here omit to ſpeake "
of the rudeneſſe of the antiquitie in particularitie, "
which they cared not diſtinctlie to commit to writing. "
But ſome authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongſt "
other, diligentlie ſearching what he might trulie "
write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer "
and beſides that which he writeth of the natures, ma- "
ners, and conditions of the Scots, which who ſo liſt to "
read, ſhall find to haue béene the verie ſame in times "
paſt, that we find them now at this preſent: he cal- "
leth Scotland, part of England, which is agréeable to "
the diuiſion aforeſaid, being in déed as in the land "
continuall without ſeparation of the ſea, ſo alſo by "
homage and fealtie vnited vnto the ſame; as by par- "
ticular declarations ſhall moſt manifeſtlie appére, "
by the teſtimonie of ſuch as haue left writing for "
proofe and confirmation thereof. "

In which matter, paſſing the death of king Hum- "
ber, the acts of Dunwald king of this realme of "
England, the diuiſion of Beline and Bren two bre- "
thren, the victories of king Arthur; we ſhall begin at "
the yéere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is ſix hun- "
dred fortie two yeeres paſt, a time of ſufficient anci- "
entie, from which we ſhall make ſpeciall declaration "
and euident proofe of the execution of our right and "
title of ſuperioritie euermore continued and preſer- "
ued hitherto. Edward the firſt, before the conqueſt, "
ſonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his do- "
minion and obedience the king of Scots. And héere "
is to be noted, that this matter was ſo notorious and "
manifeſt, as Marian a Scot, writing that ſtorie in "
thoſe daies, graunteth, confeſſeth, & teſtifieth the ſame: "
and this dominion continued in that ſtate three and "
twentie yéeres. "

At which time Athelſtane ſucceéded in the crowne "
of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scot- "
land, he made one Conſtantine king of that partie, "
to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder "
him, adding this princelie word, that it was more "

honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yéeres after that, which was the yéere of our Lord 947, king Edred our progenitor Athelſtanes brother, take homage of Iriſe then king of Scots. Thirtie yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predeceſſor take homage of Kinald king of Scots. Yeere was a little trouble in England by the death of ſaint Edward king and martyr, deſtroied by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yéers after the homage doone by Kinald to king Edgar, that is to ſay, in the yéere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to Knute our predeceſſor.

After this homage doone, the Scots vttered ſome péece of their naturall diſpoſition: whereupon, by warre made by our progenitor ſaint Edward the confeſſor, twentie nine yéeres after homage doone, that is to ſay, the yéere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquiſhed, and the realme giuen to Malcolme his ſonne, by our ſaid progenitor ſaint Edward: to whome the ſaid Malcolme made homage and fealtie, within eleuen yeeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conqueſt, vntill he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scots. And therefore in the ſaid yéere, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1068, the ſaid Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the ſaid William Conqueror, as his ſuperior by conqueſt king of England. Twentie fiue yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1092, the ſaid Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, ſonne to the ſaid William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offenſes and demerits depoſed, and his ſonne ſubſtitute in his place, who likewiſe failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined in that eſtate (by the ſaid William Rufus) Edgar, brother to the laſt Malcolme, and ſonne to the firſt, who did homage and fealtie accordinglie.

Seuen yéeres after, that was in the yéere of our Lord 1097, the ſaid Edgar K. of Scots did homage vnto Henrie the firſt our progenitor. Thirtie ſeauen yéeres after that, Dauid king of Scots did homage to Mathild the empreſſe, as daughter and heire to Henrie the firſt. Wherefore, being after required by Stephan, then obteining poſſeſſion of the realme, to make his homage; he refuſed ſo to do, becauſe he had before made it to the ſaid Mathild, and thereupon forbare. After which Dauids death, which inſued ſhortlie after, the ſonne of the ſaid Dauid made homage to the ſaid king Stephan. Fourteene yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord, a thouſand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the ſeconds ſonne, with a reſeruation of their dutie to Henrie the ſecond his father. Twentie fiue yéeres after, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & reſiſtance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the ſecond then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots knowledged finallie his error, and made his peace and compoſition, confirmed with his great ſeale, and the ſeales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fifteene yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 1190, the ſaid William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the firſt. Fourteene yeeres after that, the ſaid William did homage to our progenitor king Iohn, vpon a hill beſides Lincolne, making his oth vpon the croſſe of Hubert then archbiſhop of Canturburie, being there preſent, a marueilous multitude aſſembled for that purpoſe. Twentie ſix yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots maried Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, at which time the ſaid Alexander did his homage to our ſaid progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie ſix yéers. And therfore betweene the homage made by the ſaid Alexander king of Scots, and the homage doone by Alexander, ſonne to the ſaid king of Scots, to Edward the firſt at his coronation at Weſtminſter, there was about fiftie yéers: at which time the ſaid Alexander king of Scots repaired to the ſaid feaſt of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforeſaid. Within twentie eight yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1282, Iohn Baliol king of Scots made his homage and fealtie to the ſaid king Edward the firſt our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruſe to vſurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to mooue ſedition therefore againſt them of the houſe of Baliol, which made for a ſeaſon ſome interruption in the ſaid homage; but yet no intermiſſion without the termes of memorie: for within fortie foure yéeres after, which was the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward Baliol after a great victorie had in Scotland againſt the other faction, and inioieng the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. And twentie yéeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruſe, who was euer in the contrarie faction, did neuertheleſſe in the title of the crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in poſſeſſion, make homage to our ſaid progenitor Edward the third.

Within nine yeeres after this, Edward the third, to chaſtiſe the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre againſt them: when after great victories, Edward Baliol, hauing the iuſt and right title to the realme of Scotland, ſurrendred clearlie the ſame to our ſaid progenitor, at the towne of Roxburgh in Scotland, where our ſaid progenitor accepted the ſame, and then cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time interteined it, and inioied it, as verie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on the one part by confiſcation acquited, and on the other part by free will ſurrendred vnto him. And then after the death of our ſaid progenitor Edward the third, began ſeditions and inſurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the ſecond, which was augmented by the alteration of the ſtate of the ſaid Richard, and the reuolution of the ſame to Henrie the fourth: ſo as the Scots had ſome leaſure to plaie their pagines, and follow their accuſtomed manner. And yet Henrie the fift, for recouerie of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that iourneie.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being deſcended to the houſe of the Stewards, of which our nephue directlie commeth: Iames Steward king of Scots, in the yéere of our Lord 1423, made homage to Henrie the ſixt at Windſore, which homage was diſtant from the time of the other homage made by Dauid Bruſe, three ſcore yéeres and more, but farre within the freſh memorie of man. All which homages and fealties as they appeare by ſtorie to haue beene made and doone at times and ſeaſons as afore, ſo do there remaine inſtruments made thereupon, and ſealed with the ſeales of the kings of Scotland, reſtifieng the ſame. And yet doth it appeare by ſtorie, how the Scots practiſed to ſteale out of our treaſurie diuerſe of theſe inſtruments, which neuertheleſſe were afterward recouered againe.

And to the intent ye may know of what forme and tenure the ſaid inſtruments be, heere is inſerted the

"the effect in word and ſentence as they be made,
"which we dow, to meet with the cauillation and contri-
"ued euaſion of the Scots, alleging the homage to
"haue bæne made for the earledome of Huntington,
"which is as true as the allegation of him that is
"burnt in the hand, to ſay he was cut with a ſickle.
"And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

## The forme of the homage.

"I John K. king of Scots ſhall be
"true and faithfull vnto you lord
"Edward by the grace of God K.
"of England, the noble & ſuperiour
"lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as vn-
"to you I make my fidelitie of the ſame
"kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold &
"claime to hold of you. And I ſhall beare
"to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim,
"and worldlie honor, againſt all men; and
"faithfullie I ſhall knowledge, and ſhall dow
"to you ſeruice due to you of the kingdome
"of Scotland afore ſaid: as God ſo helpe
"and theſe holie euangeliſts.

"Now for the third part, touching records and regi-
"ſters, we haue them ſo formall, ſo autenticall, ſo ſe-
"rioſlie handled, and with ſuch circumſtances decla-
"ring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great
"corroboration of that hath bene in ſtories written
"& reported in this matter. For among other things
"we haue the ſolemne act and iudiciall proceſſe of our
"progenitor Edward the firſt, in diſcuſſion of the title
"of Scotland, when the ſame was challenged by 12
"competitors (that is to ſaie) Florentius comes
"Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Mer-
"chia, Willielmus de Veſci, Willielmus de Roſſe,
"Robertus de Pinkeni, Nicholaus de Soules, Pa-
"tricius Galightlie, Rogerus de Mundeuile, Joan-
"nes de Comin, D. Joannes de Haſtings, Joannes
"de Balliolo, Robertus de Bruſe, Ericius rex Norwe-
"gie.

"Finallie, after a great conſultation and ma-
"ture deliberation, with diſcuſſion of the allegations
"proponed on all parts, ſentence was giuen for the ti-
"tle of Balioll, according whereunto he inioied the
"realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the ho-
"mage before that time obſerued by the K. of Scots,
"it appeareth in thoſe records, how when thoſe compe-
"titors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our
"progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for diſcuſſion of the
"ſame, inſomuch as the authoritie of the iudgement
"to be giuen depended thereupon; it was then or-
"dered that the whole parlement of Scotland, ſpirituall
"& temporall, & of all degrees aſſembled for that pur-
"poſe, and conſidering vpon what ground & founda-
"tion the kings of Scotland had in times paſt made
"the ſaid homages and recognition of ſuperioritie, the
"ſaid parlement finding the ſame good & true, ſhould
"(if they ſo deemed it) yéeld and giue place, and by ex-
"preſſe conſent recogniſe the ſame.

"At which parlement was alleged vnto them, as
"appeareth in the ſame records, not onelie theſe acts
"of the princes before thoſe daies, and before rehear-
"ſed: but alſo beſides the teſtimonie of ſtories, the
"writings and letters of forren princes at that time
"reciting and rehearſing the ſame. Whereupon the
"ſaid parlement did there agree to this our ſuperiori-
"tie, and inſuing their determination did particular-
"lie and ſeuerallie make homage & fealtie with pro-
"clamation, that whoſoeuer withdrew himſelfe from
"doing his duetie therein, ſhould be reputed as a re-
"bell. And ſo all made homage and fealtie to our pro-
"genitor Edward the firſt. And the realme of Scot-
land was in the time of the diſcuſſion of the title ru-
led by gardians deputed by him. All caſtels and
holds were ſurrendred to him, as to the ſuperiour
lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fées,
promotions paſſed in that time from the méere gift
of our ſaid progenitor, as in the right of this crowne
of England. Shiriffes named and appointed, writs,
and precepts made, obeied, and executed.

Finallie, all that we dow now in the duchie of Lan-
caſter, the ſame did our progenitor for the time of
the contention for that title in the realme of Scot-
land, by the conſent of an agréement of all eſtates
of the realme aſſembled and conſulted with for that
purpoſe. At which time the biſhops of ſaint Andrews
and Glaſcow were not (as they now be) archbiſhops;
but recogniſed the archbiſhop of Yorke, which exten-
ded ouer all that countrie. Now if the Scots will
take exception to the homage of their princes as
made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what
will they ſay, or can they for ſhame allege againſt
their owne parlement, not of ſome but of all confir-
med, & teſtified by their writings and ſeales; where-
unto nothing inforced them but right and reaſon, be-
ing paſſed in peace and quiet without armor & com-
pulſion? If they ſay they did it not, they ſpeake like
themſelues; if they ſay they did it, then dow they now
like themſelues, to withdraw their dutie, not ſo much
to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth vnto you the beginning of the
right of ſuperioritie, with a perpetuall continuance,
without intermiſſion within memorie. Certeine o-
miſſions and forbearings vpon the grounds and oc-
caſions before ſpecified we denie not, whereby they
haue manie times ſought and taken their opportuni-
ties to withdraw the doing of their duetie in know-
ledge of our ſuperioritie ouer them; which to auoid,
they haue not cared what they ſaid or alleged, though
it were neuer ſo vntrue, lieng alwaies in wait when
they might annoie this realme, not without their
owne great danger & perill, & alſo extreame detri-
ment. But as they detracted the doing of their du-
tie, ſo God granted vnto this realme force to com-
pell them thereunto within memorie, and notwith-
ſtanding anie their interruption by reſiſtance, which
vnto the time of our progenitor Henrie the firſt ne-
uer endured ſo long as it made intermiſſion within
time of mind, whereby the poſſeſſion might ſéeme to
be empaired. From the time of Henrie the firſt, vnto
the ſeuenth yeare of our reigne, our realme hath
béene for a ſeaſon lacerat and torne by diuerſitie of
titles, till our time; and ſince alſo by warre outward-
lie vered and troubled. The ſtorie is ſo lamentable
for ſome part therof, as were too tedious to rehearſe.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the firſt,
our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who af-
ter great trauels to atteine quietnes in his realme,
finallie in the time of preparation of warre againſt
Scotland died. Richard the third, then vſurped for a
ſmall time in yeares, whome the king our father by
the ſtrength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battell, and
moſt iuſtlie atteined the poſſeſſion of this relme, who
neuertheleſſe, after the great tempeſtuous ſtormes,
finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet
and reſt, ceaſſed and forbare to require of the Scots
to dow their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that
time to aſſaie to tame their nature by pleaſant con-
iunction & conuerſation of affinitie, than to charge
them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when
opportunitie ſerued not by force & feare to conſtreine
and compell them. And thus paſſed ouer the reigne
of our father without demand of this homage. And
being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we
were one and twentie yeares letted by our nephue
his minoritie, being then more carefull how to bring
him

him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receiue of him homage, when he had full poſſeſſion of the ſame.

Wherefore being now paſſed, ſince the laſt homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the firſt, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was done at Windſor by James Steward, then king of Scots, as before 56 of theſe yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof ingendred alſo ſome buſineſſe in the time of the king our father; which was three and thirtie yeares: and in our time one and twentie yeares hath paſſed in the minoritie of our nephue. So as finallie, the Scots reſorting to their onelie defenſe of diſcontinuance of poſſeſſion, can onelie allege iuſtlie but 13 yeares of ſilence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times ſince the homage done by James Steward, ſuch as the ſilence in them (had they béene neuer ſo long) could not haue ingendred preiudice to the loſſe of anie right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in ſtrife for that eſtate, whereunto the homage was due? What ſhould Richard the third ſearch for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leaſure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eſchew if they might, ſéeing his realme not clearelie then purged from ill ſéed of ſedition, ſparkled and ſcattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

Law and reaſon ſerueth, that the paſſing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpoſe is not allegeable in preſcription for the loſſe of anie right. And the minoritie of the king of Scots hath indured twentie one yéeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole preſcription of the Scots, if the matter were preſcriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirteene yéere, which thirteene yéere without excuſe we haue ceaſſed and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewiſe ceaſſed to offer and render the ſame: for which cauſe neuertheleſſe we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie ſuch matter now, being rather deſirous to reioiſe and take comfort in the friendſhip of our nephue as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of diſpleaſure, whereby to alienate ſuch naturall inclination of loue as he ſhould haue towards vs: but ſuch be the works of God ſuperior ouer all, to ſuffer occaſions to be miniſtred, whereby due ſuperioritie may be knowne, demanded, and required, to the intent that according thereunto all things gouerned in due order héere, we may to his pleaſure paſſe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to do in ſuch reſt, peace, and tranquillitie, as ſhall be meet and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the king of England had ſet forth this declaration of the cauſes that moued him to make warre againſt Scotland, he prepared to proſecute the ſame both by ſea and land, and hauing rigged and furniſhed diuerſe ſhips of warre, he ſent the ſame forth to the ſea, that they might take ſuch Scotiſh ſhips as were to returne from their voiages made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandize, with which the Engliſh ſhips incountred, toke 28 of the principall ſhips of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandize and rich wares, which they brought with them into the Engliſh ports.

Scotiſh ſhips taken.

The king of Scotland aduertiſed therof, ſent with all ſpéed an herald, deſiring reſtitution of his ſhips, as he thought ſtood with reaſon, ſéeing no war was proclamed: but the king of England thought it no reaſon to depart with them ſo ſone, till other articles of agréement might be concluded, and therefore refuſed not onelie to deliuer their ſhips, but alſo ſent ſir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to inuade Scotland, who according to his commiſſion, with thrée thouſand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to ſpoile certeine ſmall townes: whereupon the fraie being raiſed in the countrie, George Gordon the earle of Huntleie, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of ſuch ſudden inuaſions, immediatlie gathered a number of borderers, and ſet vpon the Engliſhmen, and put them all to flight; ſir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, with diuers other, to the number of ſir hundred, were taken priſoners; and the ſaid ſir Robert Bowes and other the principall landed men were kept ſtill in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Halden Rig in the Mers, vpon ſaint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentie fourth of Auguſt.

Sir Robert Bowes inuadeth the borders.

The earle of Huntleie giueth an ouerthrow to the Engliſhmen. 1542. Leſle.

After this, the king of England ſent the duke of Norffolke with the earles of Shrewesburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thouſand men, as the Scots eſtéemed them, though they were not manie aboue twentie thouſand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentith of October, and burnt certeine townes vpon the ſide of the water of Twéed: but the earle of Huntleie, hauing with him ten thouſand of the borderers and other, ſo waited vpon them, giuing them now and then ſkirmiſhes and alarms, that they came not paſt two miles from the water of Twéed within the Scotiſh bounds at that ſeaſon.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertiſed héereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Sowtrais hedge, where they muſtered, and were numbred to be thirtie ſix thouſand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Engliſhmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the yéere and prouiſion of vittels had ſerued, the Scots would yet haue béene better aduiſed, before they had ioined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there ſo long as vittels might be had and recouered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without ſome loſſe of men, horſſes, and ſpoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntleie and others toke from the Engliſhmen in that their retire, ſpeciallie as they paſſed ouer the riuer of Twéed.

After the Engliſhmen were thus departed and withdrawne home forth of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Engliſhmen within his countrie, thought good that his whole armie ſhould paſſe forward and inuade England, himſelfe to go therewith in proper perſon. And héerein he requeſted the conſent of his nobilitie, who after long reaſoning, and good aduiſement taken in the matter, gaue anſwer [by the earle of Murrey] to the king in this ſort, that they could not thinke it good that they ſhould paſſe within England, and to ſeeke battell, the king himſelfe being with them, conſidering that his two ſons were latelie deceaſſed, ſo that he had no ſucceſſion of his bodie: for in caſe that they loſt the field, as in chance of battell is moſt vncerteine, then the king of England hauing great ſubſtance, might therwith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore

Therefore they thought it ſufficient to defend their owne bounds, and to conſtreine the enimie for feare to leaue the inuaſion thereof, as preſentlie they had done; and declared that they were determined to haue giuen battell to their enimies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they ſhould haue obteined the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage preſſed him to inuade; yet the approued wit of his nobles and councellors cauſed him to follow their aduiſe, and ſo returned with his armie backe againe, the firſt of November, the armie of England being firſt diſcharged, and the duke of Norffolke in his returne towards London.

The king breaketh vp his armie.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himſelfe in perſon to the weſt marches of his realme, where the lord Marwell was warden, whome togither with the earles of Caſſiles, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to inuade the Engliſh marches on that ſide, taking with them the power of the borders, and ſent alſo with them Oliuer Sincler [the brother of Roſſeline Comarch] and the reſidue of the gentlemen of his houſhold. Theſe earles and lords entering into England on ſaint Katharines euen, being the foure and twentith of November, began to burne certeine townes vpon the water of Eſke. But as ſone as the ſcrie was raiſed in the countrie, the lord Wharton warden of the weſt marches of England, ſuddenlie raiſed the power of the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they ſhewed themſelues in ſight vnto the Scotiſh armie.

The king goeth to the weſt borders. 1541. Leſl.

Oliuer Sincler.

The lord wharton.

The Scotiſh lords perceiuing the Engliſhmen gathered, aſſembled themſelues togither, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliuer Sincler was holden vp on two mens ſhoulders, where he ſhewed forth the kings commiſſion, inſtituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howſoeuer that was read, the earles and lords there preſent, thought themſelues imbaſed too much, to haue ſuch a meane gentleman aduanced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder ſuch a capteine, but willinglie ſuffered themſelues to be ouercome, and ſo were taken by the Engliſhmen, not ſhewing anie countenance of defenſe to the contrarie, and without ſlaughter of anie one perſon on either ſide.

The enuie of the lords againſt Oliuer Sincler.

The Scots diſcomfited by the Engliſhmen.

This rode was called Solowaie Moſſe, at the which were taken priſoners men of name, theſe perſons following: the earle of Caſſiles and Glencarne, the lord Marwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Someruile, the lord Olifant, Oliuer Sincler, the lord of Craggie, and ſundrie other gentlemen, the which were led priſoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlauerocke vpon the borders not farre from Solowaie Moſſe, when this misfortune fell vpon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouſlie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refuſall made by his nobles, aſſembled with him in campe at Falla vpon his requeſt to inuade England. Herewith ſuch an impreſſion entered his mind, that he thought with himſelfe that all his whole nobilitie had conſpired againſt him, and therevpon toke ſuch a vehement and high diſpleaſure, increaſed with a melancholious thought, that he departed ſuddenlie from thence to Edenburgh, and after remoued to Falkeland, where he remained as a man deſolate of comfort, being ſore vexed in ſpirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of perſon to haue acceſſe to him, his ſecret & familiar ſeruants onelie excepted.

The griefe of the king for the ouerthrow of his men.

Now, as he was thus diſquieted, newes were brought him that the queene his wife was brought to bed of a faire yong princeſſe the ſeuenth day of December, the which newes he liked verie euill; and added the griefe thereof to his former diſpleaſantneſſe, inſomuch that he perceiued the end of his life to approch, and withall ſaid, that he foreſaw great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotland, for the purſuit which the king of England was like to make therevpon againſt the ſame, to the end he might bring it vnder his ſubiection, either by mariage, or by ſome other meane. It was reported that he was diſquieted with ſome vnkindlie medicine: but howſoeuer the matter was, he yelded vp his ſpirit to almightie God, and departed this world the fourteenth of December, in the yere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie three yere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

The birth of the Scotiſh queene.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conueied into Falkeland vnto Edenburgh in moſt honorable wiſe; the cardinall, the earles of Arrane, Argile, Rothes, Marſhall, and diuerſe other noblemen being preſent, and with all funerall pompe (as was requiſite) it was buried in the abbeie church of Holie rod houſe, beſide the bodie of queene Magdalen, daughter to the king of France, his firſt wife. There was great lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well beloued among his ſubiects. * He was of ſweet countenance and courteous ſpech, graiſlie eied, hauing a diuine mind in all whatſoeuer, neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certeintie, auoiding dangers with graue counſels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreſeeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in ſuch ſort that hee was neuer vnprouided againſt the danger of anie thing, or was drawne from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obſcuritie therein: whereby he might incurre the note either of a raſh, fearefull, or ſlow perſon.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 460.

All which ſingular commendations ſeemed to flow out of this ſpring, that he did not by heat of youth (raſhlie) but with great deliberation (ſoundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth. For as he did chieflie labor that his table might not exceed for gluttonie, nor be ouerſparing for miſerie: ſo if his apparell were decent, he eſteemed not the ſhew of womaniſh attire after the courtlie faſhion. He was ſo farre from pride, that he alwaies ſhewed himſelfe offended with the vſes thereof. He was an obſeruer of iuſtice, a defender of the law, and a ſharpe ſhield for the innocent and poore: for which cauſe he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he ſet at libertie the poore oppreſſed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repreſſed the rich from ſpoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine ſeueritie, but yet ſuch, as in the ſame there appeared a wonderfull gentlenes of his naturall diſpoſition, bicauſe he ſeldome put anie of them to death, but did either by priſon or mulct puniſh the offenſe. For he was wont to ſay, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to keepe the law ſound, and for the example of others: and to keepe downe the boldneſſe of ſuch as dwelt about the borders. With theſe conditions he left the realme plentifullie furniſhed with riches, and his owne treaſurie not emptie, but abundantly ſtored with gold, ſiluer and other furniture: for which cauſe it ſhould not ſeeme ſtrange, that his death was greatlie lamented of his ſubiects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome alſo Buchanan lib. 14 writeth, that his vices did almoſt equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature,

for the libertie of althings had then diſſolued the publike diſcipline, which could not be ſtaied but by great ſeueritie of correction. And this made him more couetous of monie, bicauſe that he was kept extreame hard when he was vnder the gouernment of others. Whereby, when he came to bée at libertie, he was anew to furniſh all his courts with houſhold ſtuffe, finding his houſes emptie, and all things conueied awaie: for his tutors had conſumed the kinglie patrimonie vpon thoſe whome he willinglie would not to haue receiued it. Beſides, for his exceſſe of women the fault grew by ſuch as were his tutors, who gaue him libertie therto, ſuppoſing therby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatlie take his death grieuouſlie, bicauſe he had fined manie, impriſoned more, and cauſed no ſmall few (for auoiding his diſpleaſure) to flie into England, and rather to commit themſelues to the enimie than to his anger.)

*Queene Marie.*

1542.

The lord Leningſton.

Dauid Beton cardinall.

His forging of a will.

The proteſtants eſpied the cardinals craftie tugling.

1543 Leſle. Fr. Thin.

The eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the fift of that name, Marie his onelie daughter and heire began hir reigne ouer the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yéere of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight ouer the Engliſhmen. She was not paſſing ſeuen daies old when hir father departing this life, left vnto hir his kingdome, hir mother lieng in childbed in the caſtell of Lithquo, of which place the lord Leuingſton being capteine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and frée conſent.

Moreouer, immediatlie after the kings death (bicauſe he deceaſſed without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the gouernement either of the realme, or cuſtodie of the yong queene his daughter) Dauid Beton, cardinall and archbiſhop of S. Andrews, the ſpeciall miniſter & factor of the French cauſes, to the aduancement and continuance thereof, inuented and forged [by Henrie Balfure] a will and teſtament of the late king now departed, in which (amongſt other things) he eſtabliſhed himſelfe chiefe regent, adioining with him the earles of Murrey, baſe brother to the king deceaſſed, Huntlete and Argile, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then abſent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his couſine, being there preſent in Scotland,

Thoſe that profeſſed the reformed religion, béeing then called proteſtants, to whome the ſaid cardinall was euer a cruell enimie and ſharpe ſcourge, eſpied forth his vniuſt dealing in this behalfe, and trufting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the ſaid earle of Arrane, to haue ſome libertie to imbrace the goſpell, ſet him againſt the cardinall: ſo that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he remoued the cardinall and his adherents from the vſurped rome and authoritie, and therewith was the ſaid earle of Arrane proclamed gouernor and protector of the realme. [And therevpon ſhewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and vſeth the kings treaſure, and calleth the officers of the treaſurie to account, whereof he reteineth ſome, and changeth others at his pleaſure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and rome, as next in bloud to the yong queene, as deſcended from a ſiſter of K. James the third, maried to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reaſon of which mariage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the ſame yeere at Edenburgh, it was agréed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertiſed of the death of the king of Scots, conſidered with good aduiſe, that now there was offered a moſt readie meane and iuſt occaſion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloudſhed, by the mariage of his ſonne prince Edward, being then little paſt ſix yéeres of age, with the yong quéene of Scotland.

The king of England talketh with the lords of Scotland priſoners for a mariage betwixt his ſon and their queene.

He therefore being reſolued fullie to bring the ſame to paſſe, either by quiet meanes or by force, and ſending for the erles of Caſſiles, and Glencarne, the lords Marwell, and Fleming, and other priſoners that had bene taken at Soloway moſſe, cauſed them to be conueied vnto Hampton court, where the ſeuen and twentith of December they being right curteouſlie interteined, he made vnto them an ouerture of his purpoſe and whole intent, proponing the whole matter vnto them, requeſting them for their parts, to helpe (with their conſents) that a contract of mariage might be made betwéene his ſonne the prince, and their yong queene; promiſing to them libertie without ranſome, beſides other pleaſures and benefits, if they would dw their indeuor to perſuade the gouernor, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agréeable herevnto.

1543. Buch.

The Scotiſh earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promiſed to dw their diligence to perſuade the reſt of the nobilitie in Scotland at their comming home: wherevpon they were licenced to depart, and ſo comming to Newcaſtell, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had receiued forth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chiefeſt of theſe lords, for performance of their promiſes. Likewiſe the king of England ſent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother ſir George Dowglas with his letters to the gouernor, requeſting effectuouſlie, that they might be reſtored to their rowmes, lands and poſſeſſions in that realme.

Duke of Norffolke Buchanan.

The earle of Angus ſent home into Scotland.

1543. Leſle. 1542.

These lords arriuing at Edenburgh, about the midſt of Januarie, declared to the gouernor their meſſage and propoſition made by the king of England, with ſuch efficacie, that the gouernor being perſuaded thereto by their words, ſent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edenburgh, to a conuention there, to be holden the ſeuen and twentith of that preſent moneth: where they concluded that a parlement ſhould be kept in March next inſuing. And doubting leſt the cardinall (being there preſent) ſhould go about to perſuade the nobilitie not to conſent to their deſires, they cauſed him to be put in ward within the caſtell of Dalketh: the lord Seton béeing appointed to haue the cuſtodie of him. About the ſame time, ſir Robert Bowes, and all other the Engliſhmen that were priſoners, and had béene taken at Halding rig on ſaint Bartholomews day (as before ye haue heard) were ſent home by the gouernor into England, and ſir Rafe Sadler was ſent ambaſſadour from king Henrie vnto the ſaid gouernor, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the ſaid parlement, to perſuade the lords to agree vnto the king his maſters monitions, trauelling ſo diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus ſent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to ſend ambaſſadors into England, for the better ſatisfaction of king Henries deſires.

A conuention of the Scotiſh nobilitie.

The cardinall committed to ward.

Halding rig.

Sir Rafe Sadler.

Ambaſſadors ſent into England.

And ſo the earle of Glencarne, ſir George Dowglas, ſir William Hamilton, ſir James Leirmouth, and the ſecretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England vnto the king, remained there till the latter end of Julie. In which meane time, ſuch couenants, contracts, and promiſes were had and concluded, paſſed and ſealed interchangeablie, as ſtood with the pleaſure and good liking of king Henrie, ſo as the

mariage

The mariage confirmed.

mariage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeeres, by authoritie of the aforeſaid parlement. Herewith alſo the lord gouernor ſhewed himſelfe to imbrace the reformed religion, cauſing one frier Guilliam to preach againſt images, and fruitleſſe ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old teſtament, ſhould be had in Engliſh, & vniuerſallie publiſht through the realme of Scotland.

Alſo he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but alſo ordeined that the queene mother ſhould remaine in Lithgow with the yong queene hir daughter, vnder ſome manner of ſafe cuſtodie, and the cardinall to be remoued vnto his owne caſtell of ſaint Andrewes, with warders about him to ſee him ſafelie kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was reſtored to vnhoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglaſſe, and the lord Glames, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the conſent of the three eſtates, were wholie reſtored to all their goods, and deliuered from the ſentence of baniſhment.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 465.

John Hamilton abbat of Paſſelew, brother of the gouernor, returning out of France (where he had imploied himſelfe to ſtudie) did (with certeine learned men, as Dauid Paniter, and others, whom he had in his companie) viſit the king of England, of whome they were moſt courteouſlie interteined. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treaſuror of the kingdome, which office he diſcharged with great commendation, ſo long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counſell for ordering of the kingdome, but alſo ſhewed himſelfe a valiant and induſtrious man in the warres againſt the Engliſh, for defenſe of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was baniſhed, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honorablie welcommed, as a perſon much deſired of his friends and kinred.)

The French king miſliketh of the match with England. Matthew earle of Lennor.

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French king ſore miſliking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting leaſt the old former bond of aliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be vtterlie diſſolued and ſhaken off, he ſent for Matthew Steward earle of Lennor, then abroad in his ſeruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his comming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the deceaſſe of the late king of Scots, the intruſion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumſtances from point to point as he knew; and further diſcourſed with him what wrong he had to be ſet aſide, and diſplaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to recouer the ſame, offering not onelie to aſſiſt him with men, monie, and munition, but alſo to ioine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remoue Arrane and others from it.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

The earle of Lennor herevpon with commiſſion and inſtructions deliuered to him by the French king, had alſo letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherin the ſaid king requeſted them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to aſſiſt the earle of Lennor in all things, as ſhould be thought expedient. * Now, before the earle of Lennor returned out of France, the cardinall had vſed manie perſuaſions againſt the Engliſh, as well that the Scots ſet at libertie by the king, ſhould breake their faith with him, as alſo to draw them to the French faction, and rather to ſuffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vſe vnto them, than by keeping promiſe to the Engliſh, to conueie the yong queene vnto them.

Wherevpon, when the greater part of thoſe nobles (whome the matter touched, could eaſilie find anie color for the excuſe of their fault) had conſented to the cardinals perſuaſion, onelie one amongeſt the reſt would not yeeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedie earle of Caſſiles, who could not be drawen from that conſtancie (in obſeruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie proteſt, that he would returne to priſon, and by no feare laid before him commit ſuch a fault, as that he would redeeme his life with the bloud of his two brothers: for which cauſe he went forthwith to London, although euerie man ſpake againſt it. Wherevpon, the king of England did ſingularlie commend the conſtancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did ſet him at libertie with his two brethren, and ſent him home honorablie rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great vproares by means of the queenes and cardinals factions, whereof the laſt drew all (ſuch as he could) to ſupport the French league, they ſent ambaſſadors into France, to requeſt the French king to ſend home Matthew Steward earle of Lennor, as one that was not onelie emulous againſt Hamilton, but alſo his deadlie enimie for the ſlaughter of his father at Linnucho: which yong Steward (beſide his beautie and comelineſſe of bodie, in the verie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulneſſe, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloued of the people; the worthineſſe of that familie brought almoſt to an end, and that the ſame was of great power, and linked in mariage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, deſirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue alſo, there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without iſſue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue eſtabliſhed by parlement: beſides which likewiſe, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie ſtirre vp his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended againſt deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for theſe one and twentie yeeres and more, during the queenes minoritie, and to the rule and power ouer his enimies, whereby he might vſe reuenge vpon them: but alſo they promiſed him to marrie the queene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwiſe than well to the yong queene) that he ſhould obteine the crowne, whereby he ſhould both be king, and the next lawfull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceaſſed, ſince the gouernor was a baſtard, and could not onelie by law not looke or hope for the kingdome, but alſo not ſo much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the perſuaſions of the French before mentioned. Wherevpon, the yong man (whoſe mind was credulous, being tickled and intiſed with theſe hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle of Lennor paſſeth into Scotland.

The earle therefore fullie inſtructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, toke his leaue, and with all ſpeed taking the ſea, directed his courſe into Scotland, where (after his arriuall) he came to Edenburgh, in which towne all the lords being aſſembled togither with the gouernor, he declared to them the effect of his commiſſion from the French king, his requeſt to them, & good affection to mainteine them againſt England, if in caſe they would continue the old league with him, and not ſeeke to make anie new aliance with the king of England.

But

But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to ſatiſfie the king of Englands deſires, he would not tarrie for a reſolute anſwer, but by the counſell of the earle of Argile, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he ſuddenlie departed forth of Edenburgh toward the weſt countrie, highlie diſpleaſed (as ſhould ſeeme) with the gouernor, and taking Lithgow in his way, he conferred with the quéene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuiſing how to aſſemble the noble men of the French ſide, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: becauſe it was ſuppoſed that he ment to conueie hir into England.

The earle of Lennox conferreth with the quéene Dowager.

About the ſame time, through practiſe of the abbat of Paſleie, brother to the gouernor, and others, the caſtell of Edenburgh was got out of the hands of ſir Peter Creichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto James Hamilton lard of Stanehouſe. But the erle of Lennor, with the aſſiſtance of the earles of Huntleie, Montroſſe, Mentiſe, Argile, and others of the French faction in Auguſt following, conueied the yong quéene with hir mother from Lithgew vnto Striueling. The cardinall alſo was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his kéepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Héerewith was a day appointed and proclamed for the coronation of the yong quéene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Caſſiles, the lords Parwell, Someruile, and diuerſe others, called the Engliſh lords, remaining ſtill at Edenburgh, aduertiſed the king of England of all the drifts of Lennor, and other of that faction, requiring his aduiſe and counſell how to deale for diſappointing of their purpoſes, that ſought to continue the amitie ſtill with France, to the préiudice of peace with England.

1543. Leſle.

The caſtell of Edenburgh recouered to the gouernors vſe.

The yong quéene conueied to Striueling.

The king of Englands aduertiſed héereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scotiſh lords, as alſo from ſir Rafe Sadler, his maieſties ambaſſador there, doubted greatlie leaſt theſe lords, in whoſe hands the quéene then was, in reſpect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, ſhould conueie hir ouer into France: wherevpon he requeſted the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his ſide, ſo to deale, that ſhe might be ſent into England, there to remaine, till the mariage might be conſummate betwixt hir and his ſonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time ſuch lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to ſée to hir bringing vp, as ſhould be thought expedient. To conclude, his maieſtie not onelie ſent his princelie comfort by waie of counſell and good aduiſe, but alſo according to their deſire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

The king of Englands doubt.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thouſand men from the weſt marches, and the lord Euers with other two thouſand from the eaſt borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioine themſelues with the gouernor, and his friends, to aſſiſt them againſt their aduerſaries. But as they were in a readineſſe to march, through the ſecret labor of the cardinall, wiſhing the aduancement of the earle of Arrane his kinſman (whome he thought he ſhould well inough frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater ſtomach, the matter was ſo handled, what by the cardinall and the earle of Huntleie of the one part, and the quéene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane reuolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and ioined himſelfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reaſon whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him

The lord wharton. The lord Euers.

The earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

in the eſtate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennor, as their purpoſe was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

Shortlie after, the yong quéene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe perſon, & next in blood to the quéene, and the earle of Lennor to beare the ſcepter. After the coronation, a parlement was called and holden at Edenburgh, at the which, in preſence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambaſſadors, monſieur la Broſſe, and monſieur Menage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernor. And for the ſure preſeruation (as they pretended) of the yong queene, it was agréed by the gouernor and the eſtates, that ſhe ſhuld remaine with the old quéene hir mother in Sterling caſtell, during hir minoritie, and certeine rents of that ſeigniorie were aſſigned for maintenance of ſuch traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Leuingſton, Erſkin, and Fleming [or (as ſaith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Areſkin, John Lindſeie, & William Leuiſton] were appointed to abide continuallie with hir, for the better ſafegard of hir perſon.

The coronation of quéene Marie.

A parlement.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the cuſtodie of the quéene.

Fr. Thin.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as ſéemed to ſtand with the pleaſure of the cardinall. Wherevpon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how vncourteouſlie he was vſed, to haue his aduerſarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French ſide, and himſelfe reiected, he firſt ſent to the French king, informing him thoroughlie of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promiſes made to him when he departed from him; alſo the conſtantneſſe of his ſeruice, the hazard he had put himſelfe in for his ſake: and notwithſtanding how he was yet vnkindlie dealt with, that through truſt of his promiſed aid and aſſiſtance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and ſubiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfullie diſappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recouered, and to haue béene mainteined therein by his ſupport.

The earle of Lennor his diſpleaſure.

In conſideration whereof, he renounced his ſeruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the ſame anie more at his hands. Héerewith Lennor ioining himſelfe with the earles of Angus, Caſſiles, and Glencarne, the lords Parwell, and Someruile, the ſhiriffe of Aire, the lard of Drumlanrig, and other of that ſide, called the Engliſh lords, ſet himſelfe againſt the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, ſo that the reſidue of this yeere was ſpent in ciuill diſſention betweene them. And héere is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane reuolted to the French part, there was arriued in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the weſt coaſt, fiue ſhips, which the French king had ſent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Steward of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monſieur de la Broſſe, & monſieur Menage, the French kings ambaſſadors.

He renounceth his ſeruice to the French king.

Ciuill diſſention in Scotland.

French ſhips arriuing in the riuer of Cloide.

There came with them alſo the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewiſe heard before. They had brought aboord in theſe ſhips fiftie thouſand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thouſand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he firſt reſolued to turne to the Engliſh part, with the aduiſe of his confederats, ſeized vpon thoſe ſhips, got the fiftie thouſand crownes, and the moſt part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the caſtell of Dunbreton, reteining it to his owne vſe, where it was ſent to haue béene imploid to the maintenance of the French faction, againſt the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his ſide.

The earle of Lennor ſeized vpon the French ſhips.

The

The earle of Lennox raiſeth an armie.

The earle of Lennox therefore, raiſing a power of men of warre with the aſſiſtance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Leith againſt the gouernor that was then in Edenburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntleie, Murrey, and Argile, the matter was taken vp, and an appointment accorded: ſo that ſir George Dowglaſſe was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus, the maiſter of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Caſſaghole for his brother the earle of Caſſiles, to remaine in ſafe képing where it pleaſed the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennox came vnto Edenburgh to the gouernor, but within ſir daies after, they went both to Lithquho, from whence the earle of Lennox ſecretlie departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glaſcow, fortified the caſtell.

An appointment taken. Pledges deliuered.

The earle of Lennox commeth to the gouernor. He departed from him againe. He fortifieth Glaſcow.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Leſle.

✻ When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glaſcow, he (aſſembling ſuch power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, eſpeciallie of the lord Boid) went vnto Glaſcow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enimies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennox had withdrawen himſelfe vnto Dumbreton, to gather a greater aſſemblie, ſhortlie after to returne to Glaſcow. The earle of Glencarne, with Tilbarne, Houſtone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhaſſile, and other barons and nobles of the Lennox, Kamfrie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, eccleſiaſticall perſons of all orders, and the other ſort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine thereof (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the euent of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennox) more in haſte than good ſpéed. Wherevpon the gouernor (perceiuing himſelfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to ſound to the alarmes. Wherevpon the battels ioined, the hoſts began to fight violentlie, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great ſlaughter) they long time fought with vncerteine victorie.

But in the end (what with the force of his armie, and the incouragement of the capteine) the full conqueſt fell to the gouernor, who put his enimies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennox there were manie ſlaine, partlie of the nobles (as the ſonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Monnipennie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common ſort (as the citizens of Glaſcow, and manie eccleſiaſticall perſons.) Beſides all which, there had manie more periſhed, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a ſigne of retreit, & with much ſpéed ſaued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few miſſing, except Cambuſkech (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor purſuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glaſcow, where he vſed (by the perſuaſion of the lord Boid) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deſerts) although that he depriued ſome (of the chiefeſt condition amongeſt them) from all the vſe and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennox remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the caſtell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had eſcaped the battell, who ſometime after did reſt (being feared with the ouerthrow) from anie further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennox, do afreſh ſtirre him to take weapon againſt the gouernor: wherevpon he doth reſtrengthen the towne and ſteeple of Glaſcow, determining to gather a new ſupplie, and once more to caſt the dice of war. But the gouernor (minding to preuent all his indeuors by wiſe counſell) did (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glaſcow, all the nobilitie of the ſouth parts, and (bringing forth the hired ſouldiors) commanded the great péeces to be planted againſt the enimie. Wherevpon (entering the towne) he beſieged the caſtell and ſteeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a ſlaughter of ſome of them) inforced the other to yéeld their forts. After that the caſtell was thus come into the gouernors hands, he hanged eightéene of the chiefeſt and beſt loued vnto Lennox, and permitted the reſt to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennox (vnderſtanding that his affaires began to wauer, and to obteine ſuch euill ſucceſſe) doth ſend the earle of Angus and the lord Marwell to the gouernor, to intreat of peace betweéne him and the earle of Lennox, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the truſt repoſed in them.]

But the gouernor cauſed them both to be ſecretlie conueied from the councell by the backeſide of the blacke friers of Glaſcow, vnto the caſtell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was ſent to Blackeneſſe. The lord Marwell was kept ſtill in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maiſter of Glencarne in Edenburgh caſtell. Theſe perſons thus impriſoned ſtood in great doubt of their liues (as ſome ſuppoſed:) but as diuerſe other did ſuſpect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for anie euill that was meant towards them. Howſoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennox by the aduiſe of his friends ſent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Biſhop, vnto the king of England with offer of his ſeruice, and requeſt to haue in mariage the ladie Margaret Dowglaſſe daughter to the Earle of Angus, and néece to the ſaid king.

The earle of Angus and the lord Marwell committed to ward.

Mens opinions for the impriſoning of the earle of Angus.

1544.

The earle of Lennox ſendeth to the king of England.

✻ Herevnto the king granted. For the performance whereof (and the diſpatch of other things) he ſent the lord Wharton and diuerſe others. And on the earles part, the biſhop of Caithnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agréement. The quéene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counſell, power, and monie; becauſe they perceiued that he repented ſuch friendſhip with England as he had taken in hand by the counſell of Angus and of others. In the meane time there was a parlement aſſembled at Striueling, in which by common conſent, the earle of Lennox was condemned of treaſon; wherefore the ſentence of baniſhment was executed againſt him, and all his goods with his patrimonie were confiſcat to the quéene. Whileſt the French king was aſcerteined that Lennox had forſaken his faction, & committed himſelfe to the king of England, he ſuddenlie committed to priſon John Steward lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennox, and depriued the ſaid John Steward of all ſuch honors and offices as he poſſeſſed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scotiſh lands in France, being either ſuch as had gard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes: for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 470.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the biſhop of Scotland into the citie of Glaſcow: during whoſe abode there, great contention aroſe betwéene the cardinall and the archbiſhop of Glaſcow, who ſhould in that citie be of greateſt authoritie and honor. Which in th'end came to this iſſue, that both families fell togither by the eares, which of them ſhould go before

foꝛe with his croſſe boꝛne vpꝛight. Foꝛ the cardinall archbiſhop of ſaint Andꝛews and pꝛimat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbiſhop of Glaſcow ſhould not haue his croſſe boꝛne in his owne church, ſo long as the cardinall was pꝛeſent. Which the ſeruants of the archbiſhop of Glaſcow tooke in ſuch diſdaine, that they plucked downe the cardinals croſſe and thꝛew it to the ground. Whereupon, the gouernoꝛ (vnderſtanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from woꝛds to ſwoꝛds) made haſt to appeaſe this factious commotion, & cauſed the Patriarch therwith to be bꝛought to Edenburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honoꝛablie enterteined and feaſted of the quéene, the gouernoꝛ, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courteſie.

Amongeſt theſe of the nobilitie, the earle of Murrey had the Patriarch on a day to a banket, in which this Murrey did ſhew an honoꝛable thing not accuſtomed amongeſt others. Foꝛ where he abounded in ſtoꝛe of ſiluer veſſels, yet he commanded his ſeruants to furniſh a great cupboꝛd with chriſtall glaſſes bꝛought from Uenice, & that in the midſt of dinner he ſhould ouerturne the cupboꝛd as it were vnwillinglie. Which the ſeruant at the time appointed did perfoꝛme. The noiſe of bꝛeaking of which glaſſes did ſuddenlie fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch ſeeing the hurt, was ſomewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man afreſh to furniſh the ſame cupboꝛd with as manie and fairer veſſels of glaſſe than the foꝛmer were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. Foꝛ the Patriarch affirmed that the glaſſes of Muranoe and Uenice did not anie way excell theſe. Truelie this earle of Murrey was honoꝛable, wiſe, iuſt, and famous amongeſt manie pꝛinces foꝛ his manifold vertues, & manie ambaſſages moſt happilie perfoꝛmed amongeſt them. Who ſhoꝛtlie after this, departing the court, died of the ſtone at his caſtle in Turnwaie.

This Patriarch ſhewed to the gouernoꝛ (beſides other pꝛiuileges that he had from the ſée of Rome) his great authoꝛitie, in that he was legat from the popes ſide, amongeſt the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he pꝛocured to be tranſferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch alſo in the name of the pope, did pꝛomiſe much helpe, and monie to be ſent to Scotland againſt England. Foꝛ he ſtudied by all means he could, to hinder the mariage of thoſe two kingdoms: becauſe he ſuſpected thereby, that ſome alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthꝛow of churches and monaſteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honoꝛablie enterteined in all places, ſo he ſpared not to recount to the French king and other pꝛinces (whome he viſited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he alſo imparted to the biſhop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the ſenat of Uenice; not without ſingular pꝛaiſe and honoꝛ to the Scotiſh nation.]

They that were ſent, ſo ſolicited the earles cauſe, that in the end the king was perſuaded that Lennoꝛ ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be ſecond perſon in the ſame. And herewith, in conſideration how vniuſtlie not onelie his maieſtie had béene dealt with, but alſo how vnthankefullie and diſcourteouſlie Lennoꝛ had béene vſed, both at the hands of the French king, and alſo of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankefullie receiued his gentle offer of ſeruice, & alſo pꝛomiſed to aid him in his title and all other lawfull cauſes: and herewith pꝛepared an armie to paſſe into Scotland by ſea, appointing the earle of Hertfoꝛd, and the loꝛd Liſle to haue the conduction of the ſame, who ſhipping at Tinmouth with their people, arriued in the Foꝛth vnder Werdie caſtell, a mile & a halfe aboue Leith the third of Maie, the whole naute conteining aboue the number of two hundꝛed ſhips. Here at Newhauen, a quarter of a mile from the ſaid caſtell, they landed their armie of ten thouſand men of warre, with gꝛeat artillerie, and all kind of munition.

*The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennoꝛ.*

*The Engliſh armie landeth by Leith.*

The loꝛd gouernoꝛ being at that pꝛeſent within the towne of Edenburgh, hearing of their arriuall, went foꝛth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Bothwell, and others, purpoſing to ſtop their landing: but perceiuing the puiſſance of the aduerſaries to be ſuch, as they could not reſiſt the ſame, they returned to Edenburgh againe, and ſent maiſter Adam Otten boꝛne pꝛouoſt of Edenburgh, and two of the baſtiks to the earle of Hertfoꝛd, to vnderſtand the cauſe of his comming; and withall offered, that if there were anie iniuries oꝛ wꝛongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commiſſioners to talke with ſuch as by him ſhould be authoꝛiſed thereto, foꝛ the full anſwering thereof, & to that effect he would gladlie receiue them into the towne of Edenburgh.

*The pꝛouoſt of Edenburgh ſent to the earle of Hertfoꝛd.*

The earle of Hertfoꝛd anſwered that he had no commiſſion to talke of anie ſuch matter; but rather to take reuenge of the vniuſt dealing and bꝛeach of pꝛomiſe on thoſe that had falſified their faith. And therefoꝛe minding to burne the towne of Edenburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all all thoſe that were within the ſame to come foꝛth, and ſubmit themſelues befoꝛe him the kings lieutenant, to ſtand vnto the kings will and pleaſure, oꝛ elſe he would not faile to pꝛoceed in execution thereof. The pꝛouoſt anſwered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accompliſh his requeſt and deſire in that behalfe; and therevpon returned to the towne.

*The earles anſwer.*

After the gouernoꝛ had heard what anſwer was made to the pꝛouoſt, he cauſed the caſtell to be furniſhed with all things neceſſarie foꝛ defenſe, and departed ſtraightwaies to Striueling. The Engliſh armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the nert day toward Edenburgh, paſſing vp the Cannogat ſtréet to enter at the nether bow, where they found ſome reſiſtance made by the Scots, ſo that diuerſe were ſlaine on both parts. Towards night, the Engliſhmen, after they had continued long in ſkirmiſhing that day with the Scotiſhmen, retired to Leith. The nert day the whole armie with the great artillerie came foꝛward towards the towne, and bꝛeaking open the Cannogat, they entred the towne by the ſame, bꝛinging their oꝛdinance within ſight of the caſtell, purpoſing to plant the ſame in batteris againſt it; but the capteine of the caſtell cauſed the artillerie within to ſhot off at them in ſo great abundance, & ſo good meaſure, that they ſlue diuerſe Engliſhmen, and diſmounted one of their péeces, ſo that in the end they were conſtreined to dꝛaw backe their oꝛdinance & retired; but yet in the meane time they ſet fire on the towne, and burnt the moſt part of all the houſes in the ſame. They burnt alſo the Cannogat ſtreet, and the abbeie of Holie rood houſe. The gouernoꝛ at that pꝛeſent releaſed out of pꝛiſon the earle of Angus, the loꝛd Marwell, the maiſter of Glencarne, ſir Geoꝛge Dowglas, and others.

*Edenburgh entred by foꝛce.*

*Sée moꝛe hereof in England.*

*Edenburgh burnt.*

*Pꝛiſoners ſet at libertie.*

In this meane time alſo there came from the boꝛders by land foure thouſand of Engliſh hoꝛſemen, vnder the conduction of the loꝛd William Euers, and his ſonne ſir Rafe Euers; who ioining with the armie at Leith, ſcoꝛed the countrie on euerie

rie side of Edenburgh. Finallie, after the English armie had lien in Leith a certeine space, they burnt that towne also, and sent their ships awaie fraught with pillage and spoiles (got as well in that towne, as in Edenburgh, and abroad in the countrie) backe towards England. And therwith the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, and others, returned by land through the countrie vnto Berwike, as in the English historie more at large appeareth. Whilest the English armie was thus occupied in that part of Scotland, the erle of Lennor with an armie of men which he had raised, was readie to come on the backs of the gouernor and his adherents, if they had assembled their forces and come forward to haue giuen the Englishmen battell. For all this season the ciuill contentions still continued, and sundrie conflicts and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties.

Leith burnt.

The earle of Lennor.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 474. 1544.

* The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and the Iles, did now in these turmoiles begin to shew some tokens of their inconstancie. For they (which paied yéerelie tribute in the time of James the fift, kept the peace, liued within the bounds of law, and well obeied the gouernor) did now (after they saw all things on a flame) begin againe to spoile and destroie their neighbors, in the same vttering the humor of their naturall disposition. Wherevpon the gouernor (to restreine their boldnesse) called vnto him George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and the earle of Argile, whereof he made the one gouernor of the north parts of Scotland, of the Orchades, and Shitland; and to the other, he committed the rule of Argile, and the Iles Hebrides. Wherevpon Huntleie with all spéed gathered an armie from the north parts, and determined to bridle the Glancamerons, the Gencronelles, the Mudiardes, & the Kindiardes, with force and authoritie. The capteins or heads of which families, were Ewin Allanson, Ronald Mackoneilglas, and John Mudiard, who did possesse the lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expelled them by force from the same.

But when they first vnderstood that Huntleie had incamped néere vnto them, they fled euerie one home to their owne possessions: which being defended partly by the west sea, and partly included about with the mounteins, stopped Huntleie, so that hée might not haue anie passage vnto them: by meanes whereof (these dissentors being banished) the lords Grant and Louet were restored to their right inheritance. But it fell out contrarilie for Louet, who going to take his owne into his hands, fell into danger of his enimies. For at that time both the companies were disposed into such order, that neither partie could absteine from fight. Wherevpon they first discharge their bodies one against another, and their arrowes spent, they after flie to their swords, with which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which part the victorie gaue place. In which there was so great slaughter on both parts, that till the next morning in viewing the dead bodies, the victors were not knowne. Amongest whome of the part of the Glencamerons and Mudiardes there were manie slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and brought vp in France) with three hundred of the bloud and surname of the Fraisers (for Louet was the head and leader of that familie) the hurt séemed to be the greater on their part. For there was a rumor spred, that there was not one of the familie of the Fraisers left aliue that was of mans state. But it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they left their wiues with child when they went to the fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised and restored. Huntleie (greatlie grieuing that the Fraisers had receiued this grieuous wound) gathered a power togither, and with armes so pursued those factious people, that he tooke and beheaded Ewin Allanson, and Ronald, with diuerse others, and put the rest in prison. The earle of Argile discharged the office committed to him as well as Huntleie did and with more happie successe, for all the Iland men humblie submitted themselues vnto him, and deliuered pledges to liue quietlie hereafter.)

Buchanan. lib. 15.

Buchanan saith that this battell as it was beléeued, was procured by Huntleie to destroie the Fraisers.

About this time the earle of Lennor, accompanied with Alexander the maister of Glencarne, otherwise called lord of Kilmawse, Walter Graham brother to the earle of Montrosse, sir John Wogthwike knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, tooke the sea to passe into England, and arriued at Westchester about Midsummer: & passing from thence to the court, he was ioifullie receiued. And immediatlie therevpon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him and the ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter & heire to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife queene of Scots, sister to king Henrie the eight, at what time there was assured to him by way of inheritance, lands to the value of seuen hundred marks of yeerelie rent of assise, in consideration of this mariage with the kings néece, and in recompense of lands lost by him in France, to the which he was inheritor after the decease of Robert Steward lord Obenie, one of the foure marshals of France.

The earle of Lennox goeth into England

He marieth the ladie Margaret Dowglas.

Lord Obenie.

Moreouer, king Henrie being now vpon his iournie towards Bullongne, aswell for the auoiance of his highnesse enimies in Scotland, as for recouerie of the said earles right in that realme, appointed the said erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of August, accompanied with sir Rise Mansfield, sir Peter Mewtas knights, maister Thomas Audleie, maister Thomas Brookes, old maister Winter comptroller of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William Winter that now is, and sundrie other capteins, hauing vnder their charge two hundred hackbutters, two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hundred armed pikes, beside the mariners belonging to those ships that were appointed to go forth on this iournie, being in number about twelue or fourtéene saile, belonging to Bristow, and other of the west parts.

The earle of Lennox returneth into Scotland.

Upon their arriuall on the coast of Scotland, they burnt the Ile of Arrane, and raced the gouernors castell there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and tooke the castell of Rosetc standing therein (from whence the Stewards kings of Scotland had their originall) the capteine they had awaie prisoner with them into England. Here also they tooke two French ships laden with wines, and this done they entered the Firth of Clide, thinking to find none but their friends in the castell of Dunbreton. But true it is, that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, with the capteine thereof called Houlson, to kéepe it in the name and to the behoofe of the erle of Lennor, were in his absence perswaded thorough practise of the queene Dowager, not only to renounce their promised faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell; but also to intrap and wind him within their danger to take him prisoner.

The Ile of Bute taken.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter, that they had got him on land onelie with three hundred men: and so farre forth they were growne in talke, that the erle of Lennor being entered into the castell with a few other with him, the monie was laid downe on the bord, to be paid to the capteine for his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of Lennor, & such as were with him, perceiuing some treasonable

The earle of Lennox in danger to be betraied and taken.

treasonable practise in hand, got forth of the house againe vnto their companie below, leauing the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

For if they had staied that night, they had béene intrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawne thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbreton, shortlie after that the earle of Lennox was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riuer of Clide, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships, by reason of the narrowneſſe of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displaied, hailsed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoieng the earls of Lennox his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, toke aduise togither at the Ile of Bute what they were best to do.

The earle sore moued to haue béene thus repelled from Dunbreton, and stomaching the matter sore, to be so discountenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood toke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seuen hundred men was readie to incounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great store of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure score of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of three men onelie on the English side.

The earle of Lennox landeth at Dinnune.

This done, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approched, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, nor other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipbord in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, namelie of those that aduanced themselues most forward. About foure or fiue daies after, the earle of Lennox with fiue hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day togither, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennox with his souldiers retired to his ships without incounter.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennox landeth againe in Argile.

After this they inuaded the Ile of Kinter, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, toke and caried awaie great booties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Kile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Galloway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennox, suing to him for assurance. In these exploites the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbat, and seuen score men of the head of Lennox, that spake both Irish, English, & the Scotish tongs, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed swords, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much auailable seruice in the streicts, the marishes, and mountaine countries.

Kinter inuaded.

Walter Macferlane.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15.

* During these things, they which had gouernment of Scotish affairs (as the quéene Dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a councell, in which they decréed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armor, should be readie to follow the gouernor whither soeuer he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shortlie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Coldingham, standing in armor a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horsses. The nert day the gouernor, either to accuse his tendernesse susteined in the last daies labor of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Berwike) suddenlie (vnknowne to the other nobilitie) did flie to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue béene betraied to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, bicause the secreter it was (and the reason vnknowne) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should returne the nert way home, and leaue the artillerie at random. But others (who were more carefull, and would séeme lesse fearefull) do agrée to stuffe the péeces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onelie Archembald Dowglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked déed to a wicked flight. Who when he could not staie any man, either by threat, intreatie, or authoritie, he exclamed with a lowd voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a secure and rich life with such dishonor. Wherefore you my friends consider what you will do, for either I " will bring awaie this artillerie, or I will not returne " home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the " last end both of my life and glorie. When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare vnto them) were moued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart, wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Dowglasse with such companie as he had (placed in good order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the horssemen of his enimies in vaine hastening after them behind at their backes. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie performed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and aduanced the minds of the English, who gloriouslie applied the dastardnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

To conclude, after the earle of Lennox and his companie had atchiued these enterprises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Mewtas knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scotish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his procédings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles iornie, which the king toke in verie good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennox was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bristow.

Sir Peter Mewtas.

About the middest of Februarie, sir Rafe Eure commonlie called Euers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots; and comming first vnto Jedworth, lodged there that night. And therwithall vnderstanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbeie of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the nert morning he was got forth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and

1545.
Sir Rafe Euers inuadeth Scotland.

and left their beds and all their houſhold furniture which they had in ſtore there with them, not hauing time to conueie it awaie at their departure, their warning was ſo ſhort. Sir Rafe Euers at his comming thither, finding them fled and gone, ſpoiled the towne and abbeie, vtterlie defacing the tombes and monuments of the earles of Dowglas, greatlie to the diſpleaſure of the earle of Angus, and thoſe of his linage.

He defaceth the monuments of the Dowglaſſes.

✻After this (the comming of the Engliſh being looked for the next yéere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, becauſe they were hopeleſſe to atteine anie ſuccor from the gouernor, which vſed the aduiſe of the clergie, but chieflie of the cardinall. Whereupon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partlie with his priuat loſſes, for he had great poſſeſſions in the marches, and in Tiuiot, and partlie to ſée his anceſtors monuments defaced) came to the gouernor, and fullie laid before him the greatneſſe of the danger wherein the realme did ſtand, perſuading him to incounter and reſiſt the ſame. At what time alſo (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forſaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Dowglas ſhewed that the ſame happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would implote their liues, liuings, and goods, for the defenſe of the common-wealth. For he contemning their counſell, onlie leaned to the ſpiritualtie, who were cowards in warre, and ſeditious in peace.

Fr. Thin. Buch. lib. 15

Out of this founteine (ſaith he) a ſuſpicion (that
" you dare not truſt one another) is growne betweene
" you and them, which is the onelie cauſe why things
" are no better performed. But if you determine (in
" great affaires) to take the aduiſe of them (who will
" not refuſe to ſpend their bloud therein) I doubt not
" but that we ſhall be able to execute as great mat-
" ters as euer our anceſtors did: but if we ſhall (by
" our ſlouth) permit the enimie to take all things from
" vs, then of neceſſitie will follow, that either they ſhall
" ſhortlie baniſh vs, or bring vs into perpetuall ſer-
" uitude: the inconueniences of anie of which cannot
" well be ſpoken. As touching our ſelues I know that
" thou art ſuſpected to be a coward, and I a traitor,
" which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canſt
" not auoid it) prepare to cleare the ſame, not with
" painted ſpeaches, but with bloudie weapons.)

Whereupon the gouernor and the ſaid earle (ſore aggréeued to be thus foiled at the Engliſhmens hands) aſſembled togither [vnder the leading of Norman Leſle ſon of the earle of Rothſeie] all ſuch forces as they might recouer, ſo that they had quicklie got them about fiftéene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the leaſt were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Engliſhmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Pannier hugh, or Brunehouſe, where both the parties alighting on foot, ment to trie the quarell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the aſſured Scots, to the number of ſeuen or eight hundred reuolted vnto the part of their countrimen, by reaſon whereof, after a right ſharpe and fierce conflict, the Engliſhmen in the end were conſtreined to flie, whome the Scots right egerlie purſued, ſlue ſir Rafe Euers, the lord Ogle, ſir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & ſouldiors to the number of eight hundred. They toke alſo about two thouſand priſoners, with certeine péeces of artillerie and other munition.

Fr. Thin.

1544. Leſle. Buchanan.

Sir Rafe Euers & others ſlaine.

This victorie fell to the Scots the ſeuentéenth day of February, the report whereof was right diſpleaſant to the Engliſh nation, but ſpeciallie the loſſe of that worthie gentleman ſir Rafe Euers was greatlie bemoned, and that euen of the king himſelfe, for the noble proweſſe and great lotaltie which at all times had béene found in him. His ſeruice had beene ſuch in theſe wars againſt Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots within twentie miles ſpace of the Engliſh borders, vnto the obeiſance of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confuſion, as before ye haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his ſingular ſeruice in the field, I omit here to ſpeake, becauſe he was imploied otherwiſe, beſides Scotland: wherefore I remit the readers to the twentith yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.]

His ſeruice againſt the Scots.

Abr. Fl.

✻The occaſion of the Engliſh ouerthrow (as ſaith Leſleus) and the Scots victorie, were chieflie by theſe meanes. Firſt they fought vpon equall ground, and with vnequall helpes. For the Scots with the ſunne on their backs (being declined toward ſetting) came forth of a narrow & marith place, and ſet vpon the Engliſh (at the ſide of an hill which was betweene them) hauing the ſun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But thoſe that fought in the firſt battell, whereunto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scotiſh march-men, who in great number hauing red croſſes (the note of the Engliſh) ran vp and downe hither and thither to ſée the euent thereof.)

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10. pag. 478.

About the ſame time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Cornore biſhop of Roſſe departed this life, to whome ſucceeded Dauid Pantane, ſecretarie to the gouernor and prior of ſaint Marie Ile. In April, William Steward biſhop of Aberden likewiſe deceaſſed, and maiſter William Gordon chancellor of Murrete, vncle to George erle of Huntleie, was by the cardinals ſute promoted to that ſée, greatlie to the diſpleaſure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred an other thereto. For this and other cauſes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Dowglaſſes.

Death of biſhops.

✻About that time, the king of England by praiſe & preies perſuaded the Flemings to take ſirteene of our ſhips harbored in the hauen, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie coſtlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But ſith the Flemings did not the ſame maliciouſlie for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the Engliſh, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they ſhewed none other token of eninitie to the Flemings, but that they forbad them to fiſh on their coaſts, and did ſometime intercept their ſhips, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

Fr. Thin. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 479.

This yéere alſo, Montgomerie, otherwiſe called monſieur de Lorges, knight of the order of ſaint Michaell, was ſent by the French king with foure thouſand Frenchmen into Scotland to aſſiſt the Scots againſt England. He landed at Dunbreton, & came in good order to Edenburgh the thirteenth of May: he brought with him from the French king the order of ſaint Michaell, to inueſt therewith the lord gouernor, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, and Argile. Herwith alſo was an armie of Scots raiſed, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approched the borders, where they laie for a ſeaſon: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts comming downe, toke ſuch direction for the ſafe keeping of the Engliſh borders, that after the Scots had laine there in campe a certeine ſpace without atchiuing anie great enterpriſe, though ſome notable exploit was looked for to haue béene attempted by them at that preſent, they brake vp their armie & went home.

1545. Buch.

Monſieur de Lorges ſent into Scotland.

Knights of ſaint Michaels order.

An armie of Scots lieth on the borders.

Fr.Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 480.

* This castell of Dunbreton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Whereupon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes wherof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortlie obteine the castell. The king of England reioising of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnesse into Scotland, which should forthwith be receiued into the castell. Wherefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbreton togither with the cardinall, and the earles Huntleie, and Argile, laieng present siege to the same, which was stronglie done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntleie, it was so agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inexpugnable) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honorablie intreated the capteine for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnesse, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishoprike, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

The sixtænth of September, three or foure hundred Scots, with Marwell, Lochinuart, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seuen score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Marwell eldest son to the lord Marwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side; although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parlement holden at Linlithquho, begun there the twentie eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Matthew earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Atheltree, were forfalted, and all their lands and goods giuen awaie and annered to the crowne.

Frenchmen and Scots ouerthrowne.

The lord Marwels son taken prisoner

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Iles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell toke such effect, that the Iland men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partlie for that they were in a manner sworne enimies to the earle of Argile, and his familie; and partlie for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of aliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Heere vpon, they elected amongest them a lord of the Iles, the nert of bloud: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yearelie, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The earle of Lennor procureth them of the Iles to serue the king of England.

The lord of the Iles elected, being one of the Maconeils.

The first proofe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, vnder colour of conference for matters touching the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his aliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrappe the earles of Argile and Huntleie. And although they escaped verie narrowlie, the lord Louet an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, togither with seuen hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one yong boy of that linage to succeed in that lords lands [which is before more fullie handeled out of Lesleus.]

Clane Reginald sleeth the lord Louet.

Fr.Thin.

After this, the lord of the Iles, with six thousand men imbarked in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Cassiles, then a great enimie to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and slue manie of the enimies. After which enterprise so atchiued, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Ormond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to ioine with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argiles countries, & consequentlie the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made readie for that iorneie, the new lord of the Iles deceassed, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennor, stood the king of England in foure hundred pounds sterling.

The lord of the Iles inuadeth Carrike.

He commeth into Ireland.

He departeth this life.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. We shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken vp, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled togither, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillerie, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, past vp by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Mers, and Tiuidale, the abbeies of Kelso, Melrosse, Driborne, and Jedworth, with townes & villages, to the number of fiue score.

But eight thousand, as some say.

The earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotland.

Howbeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest neere to the same, and returned backe without anie incounter: for after the Scotish armie was broken vp, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, sore indamaged the Scotish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scotish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

* Much about this time, or rather before, Robert Marwell the sonne of Robert (a yong man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthie the memorie, but that in the beginning of the nert winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinall leadeth the gouernor about the neere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating flesh on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundee called Toadune (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vsed the late new testament of Luthers translation. Thither came also Patrike Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, togither with the erle of Rothseie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifieng of the o-

Fr.Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

sher

ther tumults. But the cardinall (ſuppoſing it ſmall ſafetie to receiue at one time two ſuch noble and factious perſons addicted to the reſtored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when thoſe two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) vnderſtood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they preſentlie followed him. Who being come in ſight, did ſtrike ſuch feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to ſunder themſelues, and ſeuerallie to enter the citie: which they did. Wherevpon the next day they were both committed to priſon. But Rothſeie being ſhortlie deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared moſt) was kept longer in that reſtraint. But before they parted thence, it ſéemed good to the cardinall to abate the ſtrength of Ruthwen capteine of the towne. For which cauſe, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and beſtoweth the ſame vpon Kinſane Comarch, neighbor and kinſman to Greie. For this Ruthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the reſtored religion: as likewiſe was Greie, who after the ſame ſort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reaſon whereof, the cardinall ſuppoſed, that if he might ſet them (by this meanes) together by the eares (ſith manie of both parts would ioine for defenſe of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie ſide had the worſe (as both muſt be diminiſhed) that then he had by ſo much abated the power of one of his enimies. Vpon which occaſion the gouernement of Perth (which had by manie deſcents remained in the familie of the Ruthwens) might be thus tranſlated to Kinſane. Thus the new capteine was ſent with a power to ſubdue the citizens by force, if they would not willinglie obeie: as it ſéemed that they would not; becauſe they tooke it with ſome griefe, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in chooſing of their gouernor) taken from them. The beſieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had wholie taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Taie. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer againſt the towne) did inuade the open ſide of the ſaid Perth.

But becauſe the ſwelling of the ſea did not anſwer their deuiſe, they came not in time to doo anie thing therein. Greie aſſalting it by the bridge (which Ruthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houſes, would ſéeme to leaue vngarded) when he ſaw no armed men ſtirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was ſo ſharplie ſet vpon by Ruthwen, and his companie (ſuddenlie and vnlooked for breaking out of the houſes vpon them) that euerie one haſtened to ſpie ſome place by which he might flie awaie. But the multitude confuſed and driuen into a ſtreict, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongeſt the other, did hinder the firſt that they could not flie: in which vnorderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and three ſcore were killed with the ſword.

The cardinall (although againſt his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Ruthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the ſlaughter made of his aduerſaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus ſufficientlie progreſſed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fouretéenth of December to ſaint Andrews, to the end (if it were poſſible) to bind the gouernor more firmelie vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors ſonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembred the eagernelle of the Scotiſh nobilitie, the ſtrength of his enimies, and the inconſtancie of the gouernor) he greatlie feared, leaſt the ſaid gouernor ſhould with like lightneſſe be drawen to aſſiſt his enimies, as he had béene led to take his part.] During the time whileſt they were at S. Andrews, the cardinall cauſed in the Lent ſeaſon all the biſhops & prelats of the realme to aſſemble at the towne of ſaint Andrews, where a learned man, named maiſter George Wiſchart, that had béene in the ſchooles of Germanie, was accuſed of hereſie, which he had (as was alleged againſt him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundée, Brechin, and diuerſe other parts of Scotland, ſince his returne home. This matter was ſo vrged againſt him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of ſaint Andrews during the time of that conuention or aſſemblie. George Wiſchart a learned man burnt.

✻When theſe things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatlie truſted to his riches; yet becauſe he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what ſpéeches the common people had of him) determined to increaſe his power with new deuiſes. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldeſt daughter (as ſaith Buchanan) to the earle of Crawfords ſonne. Which mariage was ſolemnized with great preparation, almoſt anſwerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderſtanding by his ſpies, that the Engliſh did prepare to inuade the Scotiſh borders on the ſea (and ſpeciallie did threaten thoſe of Fife therewith) returned to ſaint Andrews, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and ſuch as dwelled about the ſea coaſts, to aſſemble togither to prouide in common for the defenſe thereof, and to prepare remedie for that haſtened euill. For the eaſier and better performance whereof, he had determined, togither with the lords of that countrie, to haue ſailed himſelfe about the coaſts, and to haue defended ſuch places as were moſt conuenient. Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 15.

Amongeſt others that came vnto him, there was a noble yong gentleman called Norman Leſle, ſonne to the earle of Rothſeie, whereof we haue ſpoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times employed his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to ſome contention with the ſaid cardinall for a priuat cauſe, which for a time did eſtrange both their minds the one from the other. This ſame contention did Norman (being thereto induced with manie faire promiſes) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of ſuch liberall promiſes) they began to grow from common ſpéech to brallings, and from thence to bitter tawnts & reproches, not fit to be vſed by anie of them both. Wherevpon they departed with the gréeued minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatning that being ouertaken by deceipt, he would reuenge it: they both returned diſcontented to their owne people. Wherevpon Norman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they eaſilie agréed all to conſpire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the ſame might be leſſe ſuſpected, they departed in ſunder afterward. This Norman accompanied onelie with fiue of his owne traine, entred the towne of ſaint Andrews, and went into his accuſtomed Inne and lodging; truſting that by ſuch ſmall traine he might cunninglie diſſemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of thoſe which had conſented to this conſpiracie; which cloſed in ſecret corners, ſome in one place, and ſome in an other, did onelie expect the ſigne which was to be giuen vn-

to them to execute this deuiſe. With which ſmall companie this Norman feared not to aduenture the death of the cardinall in the ſame towne, furniſhed in euerie place with the ſeruants and friends of the cardinall.]

Whereupon the thirtéenth of Maie, the cardinall being within his caſtell of ſaint Andrews, certeine of his owne friends (as he tooke them) that is to ſay, the ſaid Norman, lord Leſlete, William Kirkandie, the yong lord of Grange, and Kirkmichell with ſirtéene choſen men, entered the caſtell verie ſecretlie in the morning, tooke the porter, and all the cardinals ſeruants, thruſting them out of the place by a poſterne gate. And that done, paſſing to his chamber where he laie in bed, as he got vp, and was opening his chamber doore, they ſlue him, and ſeized vpon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortreſſe was plentifullie furniſhed, and likewiſe with rich hangings, houſhold ſtuffe of all ſorts, apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches, great ſtore of gold and ſiluer plate, beſide no ſmall quantitie of treaſure in readie coine.

The cardinall of ſaint Andrews murthered.

Sir James Leirmouth, prouoſt of ſaint Andrews, aſſembled all the people of that towne for the reſcue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conſpirators were entred the caſtell; but they ſhewed the dead bodie of the cardinall ouer the wals, as a ſpectacle to the people, and ſo they made no further attempt, ſith they ſaw no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that preſent. The cauſe that moued the conſpirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in reuenge of the burning of maiſter George Wiſchart, fearing to be ſerued with the ſame ſawce, and in the end to be made to drinke of the ſame cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counſell of ſome great men of the realme, that had conceiued ſome deadlie hatred againſt him.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10 pag. 481.

✻ But Leſleus alſo, writing of the cauſes of his death ſaith, that they were diuerſe: as the ſeuerall tormentors ſeuerallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuſe. For Norman & John did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no ſmall iniurie, becauſe that the cardinall had not recompenſed him for the loſſe he ſuſteined; when the cardinall had reſtored to Colwine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counſell baniſhed by the king) the caſtell and poſſeſſions of Eaſter wemes; which the king had after giuen to the ſaid Norman. The lord Grange affirmed that he reuenged himſelfe, becauſe he was remoued by the cardinals aduiſe from the office of the treaſurorſhip; which (being granted by the king to him) he had diſcharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himſelfe. And Kirkmichell did alſo ſay that he was diſpoſſeſſed by the cardinall of ſome other (I cannot tell what) poſſeſſions. All which cauſes were but teſtes which they ſpread againſt the wind and report of ſo wicked and ſhamefull a deed. For vpon the fact, Norman being vexed with remorſe of conſcience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of ſuch, that (either by bloud or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties: but did alſo, to ſhun the danger thereof, paſſe into France, and there by valour (in the ſeruice of Henrie the ſecond king of France) endeuored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had caſt vpon his familie. All which notwithſtanding, both he and others (ſome after one ſort, and ſome after an other) were worthilie puniſhed for their wickednes.]

The ſame euening that the cardinall was ſlaine, the old lord of Grange, maiſter Henrie Balnauis, one of the councell of the realme, and ſundrie gentlemen of the ſurname of the Meluins, John Knocs and others, to the number of ſeuen ſcore perſons, entred the caſtell to their ſupport, taking vpon them to keepe it againſt the gouernor and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernor, conſidering that his deere couſine the cardinall was thus made awaie, aſſembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and others, by whoſe aduiſe he called a parlement, and forfalted them that had ſlaine the cardinall, and kept the caſtell of ſaint Andrews.

1546. The ſlaiers of the cardinall forfalted.

Herewith alſo he raiſed a power, and beſieged the ſame caſtell, planting diuerſe péeces of great artillerie againſt it. But it was ſo ſtronglie furniſhed with all maner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduerſaries without could aduance againſt them. Wherevpon, after that the ſiege had continued the ſpace of three moneths, the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldeſt ſonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murthered, and ſo kept by them that did the murther, till now they agréed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege.

The caſtell of ſaint Andrews beſieged.

The ſiege raiſed.

They deliuered alſo the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within the caſtell, euer ſince the day in which they ſlue him. [The gouernor did name the abbat of Paſlew his brother to the biſhoprike of ſaint Andrews, and gaue the abbeie of Arbroth (being before granted to James Beton kinſman to the ſlaine cardinall) to George Dowglaſſe baſtard ſonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occaſions of great troubles in the realme.] In the yeare next inſuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Edward, the firſt of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortlie after, that is to ſay, the laſt of March, Francis the French king deceaſſed, and his ſonne Henrie, the ſecond of that name ſucceeded him; who at the deſire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strozze prior of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to paſſe into Scotland, to helpe to win the caſtell of ſaint Andrews.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 483.

1547. The king of England deceaſſed.

The death of the French king.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie paſſed to the weſt borders to beſiege the caſtell of Langham, the which was kept at that preſent by Michaell Wharton, hauing then with him but ſixteene Engliſhmen, who neuertheleſſe abid three or foure daies ſiege, and ſeuen canon ſhots, and ſo yéelded the houſe to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, firſt by the Scots, euen as the Engliſhmen could haue wiſhed. Moreouer, at the ſame time, the erle of Rothous then returned out of Denmarke was acquit by an aſſiſe (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accuſation wherewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murthered the cardinall.

Whileſt the gouernor was thus paſſed with his armie to the weſt borders, he was aduertiſed that the prior of Capoa was arriued, and [againſt the wils of ſuch as were againſt it] entred into the towne of ſaint Andrews: wherevpon the gouernor, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, haſted thither to aſſiſt the prior, and ſo the ſiege was ſtronglie laid about the caſtell there. The prior cauſed certeine péeces of artillerie to be drawen vp, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the caſtell; ſo that thoſe péeces ſhot plump into the caſtell, that none durſt ſhew themſelues on the wals, or abroad in the yard within the caſtell. He cauſed alſo certeine canons to be drawen with engins,

Fr. Thin.

The caſtell of ſaint Andrews beſieged by the French.

gins, néere to the verie wals of the caſtell, which battered the ſame in ſuch ſort, as the ditches were néere hand filled with the rubbiſh and ſtones of the wals that fell downe.

Moreouer, the gallies at an high water approched on the riuer ſide ſo nære to the caſtell, that with ſhot of canons and other artillerie, they ſore annoied them within, and ſlue diuerſe. The defendants perceiuing themſelues thus beſieged on all ſides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token vpon a ſpeares point, to ſignifie that they deſired parlee, which was granted, and certeine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quéene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to render the caſtell, ſo they might depart, and haue their liues ſaued with bag and baggage.

The caſtell of S. Andrews yelded.

But this would not be granted, the gouernor vtterlie refuſing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the French king ſhould thinke it good, elſe to ſtand to his pleaſure. The ſpoile of the caſtell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who vpon the ſurrender entring the ſame, left nothing behind him that might ſerue them to anie vſe in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied awaie into France priſoners at the French kings diſcretion. Diuerſe of them were committed to ſundrie priſons on the coaſt of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the priſoners we ſet at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redæmed by their friends for certeine ſummes of monie.

The prior of Capoa.

Thus was the caſtell of ſaint Andrews rendred the nine and twentith of Julie, fourtéene daies after the arriuall there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great valiancie, well knowen afore that time, was ſo renewed, as his praiſe for his ſpéedie diſpatch and good ſucceſſe therein was much aduanced. Shortlie after, the duke of Summerſet, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hertford, vncle by the mother vnto the yong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his perſon, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and ſubiects, minding the aduancement of the yong king his nephue, thought good with all ſpéed to procure the conſummation of the mariage, betwixt him, and the yong quéene of Scots.

The duke of Summerſet protector of England.

But perceiuing that the ſame could not be brought to paſſe without force, he ſéemed loth to let paſſe the opportunitie of time then offered (as he tooke it) to ſerue his purpoſe; and therevpon by aduiſe of councell leuied an armie with all expedition, and came to Berwike, about the latter end of Auguſt, and in the beginning of September entred Scotland with the ſame armie, conteining ſeauentéene or eightéene thouſand men, which was diuided into three principall wards, the vant-gard led by the valiant earle of Warwike, the battell by the duke of Summerſet himſelfe, and the rere-ward by the lord Dacres of the north.

He entreth Scotland with an armie

The order of the Engliſh armie.

There were certeine wings and troopes of men of armes, demilances, and light horſſemen, and alſo of harquebuſiers, that attended vpon theſe three wards, garded with diuerſe péeces of great artillerie. The lord Greie of Wilton high marſhall of the armie had the generall conduction of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Francis Brian, lieutenant of the light horſſemen, with eight hundred of them was appointed to the vant-gard. Sir Peter Mewtas capteine of fiue hundred hagbutters, and ſir Francis Fleming maiſter of the ordinance, with a thouſand light horſſemen, were appointed to the battell. And ſir Richard Manners, with ſir hundred light horſſemen, attended vpon the rere-ward.

In this order marching through the Mers, and Louthian, they came at length vnto a place called Buckling Braies, nære to the Forth ſide, in which riuer the Engliſh fleet was arriued, and laie before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay nérer to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertiſed of the comming of this armie of England thus to inuade Scotland, with all diligence ſent abroad ſolemne ſummons for the leuieng of a new armie forth of all parts of the realme; ſuppoſing thereby to be ſufficientlie furniſhed and inabled for the incounter; happen when it ſhould; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewiſe opinioned, and both hoping, or grædilie gaping after the glorie of victorie.

The Engliſh fleet.

The gouernor raiſeth an armie.

* For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accuſtomed to be vſed in the greateſt dangers of the countrie: which was, that he ſent out meſſengers through all the realme, who carieng a fierie croſſe in their hands, ſhould make ſigne (and declare) aſwell to the laitie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue ſixtéene yeares old, and vnder ſixtie, ſhould preſentlie (with their armor) repaire to Muſſilborow, and there be readie to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordinglie came to Muſſilborow (within leſſe than two miles of the place where the Engliſh armie came to incampe, lieng at Preſton) & placed themſelues at Innerneſſe ouer againſt their enimies.]

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 485.

Here we haue to vnderſtand, that the Scots light horſſemen oftentimes would come pricking almoſt within their ſtaues length of the Engliſhmen as they marched, whooping and ſhouting, to the end they might traine them forth from their ſtrength, and with railing words would ſtill be in hand to prouoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerſet, doubting the goodneſſe of the Scotiſh prickers, gaue ſecret commandement, that no offer of ſkirmiſh by the Scotiſh horſmen ſhould be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to beare ſuch bold preſumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he tooke it) ouer raſhlie, and more than ſtood with their owne ſuertie, made ſute to the duke of Summerſet, that if they continued in ſuch brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to ſet them further off.

The goodneſs of the Scotiſh horſmen feared of the Engliſhmen. The lord Greie deſireth to incounter the Scotiſh horſſemen.

The duke at the firſt by no meanes would aſſent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his deſire proceeded more of a lolitie of courage, than of anie knowledge of the enimie, and ſéemed to defend the goodneſſe of the Scotiſh horſſemen: but when the lord Greie perſiſted in his ſute, and the earle of Warwike aſſiſted his requeſt, the duke in the end yéelded thereto. Herevpon when the lord Hume with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaie the ninth of September) came forth to offer the ſkirmiſh after their wonted maner, the lord Greie taking with him certeine bands of horſſemen, both men of armes, demilances, and alſo light horſmen, diuided them in troopes, appointing the Spaniſh and Italian hagbutters on horſſebacke to kéepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermoſt troope of the Engliſh horſſemen.

He alſo gaue order to the leaders of euerie troope, that to which ſoeuer the enimie ſhould once offer, in anie wiſe, that no anſwer by ſkirmiſh were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accuſtomed plaie and proffer of charge, that troope that it was offered vnto, preſentlie vpon the enimies wheeling about ſhould throughlie giue it them; and that ſo giuen, the nert troope preſentlie to giue it in the face: and ſo (as occaſion required) both thoſe troopes wholie togither to helpe other without breaking. The Scots comming forward, pricking and whouping after their old wont, the Engliſhmen forbare a great while, till at the laſt, foure or fiue hun-

Order giuen by the lord Greie.

dzed of them came ſcattered vpon the ſpurre, with a maruellous ſhout within a ſtones length of the fozmoſt troope.

Nicholas Gaineſfozd.

These thinking then to haue wheéled about, maiſter Nicholas Gaineſfozd, the leader of that troope, and lieutenant of the lozd Greies band of his men of armes of Bullongne, cried; A charge, which as ſpéedily on the Engliſh part as vnlooked foz of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in ſpoz, the Scots were dziuen to gallop awaie ſo faſt as their hozſes might beare them, loſing of their companies that were taken and ſlaine, to the number of eight hundzed and mozе (as ſome haue wzitten) [at what time the lozd Hume (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his hozſe, was grieuouſlie wounded, and caried to Edenburgh, and his eldeſt ſonne was taken pziſoner] but yet, as diuerſe of the Engliſhmen aduentured too farre in following the chaſe, they were diſtreſſed, and ſundzie of them taken pziſoners, among the which were ſome of their capteins, as ſir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Golwer, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of ſeuerall bands of light hozſemen. ¶ Thus much foz this Fridaies ſkirmiſh, wherein the chiefeſt foze of the Scotiſh hozſemen was defeated, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt.

The Scots hozſlemen put to flight.

Fr. Thin.

English capteins taken.

Fr. Thn. Buchan. lib. 15.

* The Engliſh armie remaining ſtill at Pzeſton, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (ſuppoſing that they ſaw a greater number than in truth there was) aſſembled in the meane time to conſult of the eſtate of their affaires. And therevpon ſent letters to the Scots, deſiring that if they might obteine anie thing by iuſtice, that they ſhould rather end the warre with couenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That

"the Engliſh did greatlie intreat the Scots, firſt to "remember that both armies were chziſtian men, to "and of whome (vnleſſe they vtterlie forget their pzo"feſſion) there ſhould nothing be mozе welcome noz "deſired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing mozе "deteſtable than warre and vniuſt foze. Beſides this, "that the cauſe of this pzeſent warre did not grow of "couetouſneſſe, hatred oz enuie, but from the deſire of "perpetuall peace, which could not be better oz mozе "firmelie eſtabliſhed by any means, but by the league "of matrimonie (being pzomiſed and confirmed by "the publike conſent and pledge of the nobilitie) with "thoſe conditions which were mozе beneficiall foz the "Scots than the Engliſh, being ſuch as did not call "them into ſeruitude, but into a feloweſhip and liberall "imparting of all their fozтunes each to other. Foz ſo "much mozе ſhould that mariage be commodious to "the Scots than to the Engliſh, by how much the "hope of pzofit, and the feare of iniuries ſhould bée "greater from the ſtronger to the weaker.

"Wherefoze they ſhould chiefliе conſider (and in "this kind) this to be their greateſt reaſon, that ſince "that their quéene was of neceſſitie to be giuen in ma"riage by the Scots, and that the ſame neceſſitie was "not to be auoided; and the modcration therein verie "hard: that the onelie power to chooſe hir a huſband "was left vnto the publike councell oz parlement. "And if they would chooſe (to their quéene) a huſband "foz the publike pzofit and dignitie: of whome could "they better take chooſe, than of a king their neigh"boz, bozne in the ſame Iland, néere of bloud, inſtruc"ted in the ſame lawes, bzought vp in the ſame ma"ners and language; not their ſuperioz onelie in ri"ches, but almoſt alſo in all commodities and oznа"ments of erternall things, and ſuch a perſon which "did bzing with him peace, concozd, amitie, and the foz"getting of all old iniuries? But if they call to them "anie other (differing from them in language, ma"ners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them thinke with themſelues, what and how manie diſcommodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counſels they ſhall indanger themſelues: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, being farre better to be taught it by the miſfoztunes of others, than to féele the ſmart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefoze (as touching themſelues) if they ſhall not perceiue the Scotiſh nation to be eſtranged from this amitie and concozd, they would mitigate ſomwhat of their fozmer pzomiſes (which by law they might chalenge) and be contented that the maiden quæne ſhould be bzought vp amongſt them, and bée alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature ſhould inable hir fit foz mariage, and vntill ſuch time as ſhe might chooſe hir a huſband by the aduiſe of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the ſame might be perfozmed) that both the nations ſhould abſteine from warre: and that alſo the quéene (during that time) ſhould neither be conueied into anie ſtrange nation: noz that they ſhould conclude anie pact oz couenant with the French, oz anie other fozreine pzince touching hir mariage. The which if the Scots would moſt holilie and handfaſtlie pzomiſe, the Engliſh would fozthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the Engliſh had committed anie hurt oz ſpoile (ſince they came into the countrie) they would recompenſe the ſame by the iudgement of good men.

These letters thus ſent, the gouernoz did impart vnto a few, and of thoſe eſpeciallie to Iohn his bzother biſhop of ſaint Andzews (taken vnto him in place & authozitie of the ſlaine cardinall.) Theſe two aduanced with great hope of victozie, were the cauſe that theſe letters were ſuppzeſſed, bicauſe they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowns abzoad, the moſt part would willinglie incline to the ſame quiet aduiſe. Wherefoze they pzocured a falſe rumoz to be ſpzead thzough the hoſt, that the Engliſh men were come thither with determination to take awaie the quéene by foze, and by ſtrength of armes to bzing the whole kingdome into their ſubiection. Foz the gouernoz being faint ſpirited by nature, had choſen vnto him foure ſuch other councellozs (like vnto himſelfe) in the affairs of warre, by whoſe command & becke all things were perfozmed. Of which number were his thzee kinſmen, Iohn archbiſhop of ſaint Andzews, the abbat of Dunfermling, Geoзge Durie, with Archembald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Rigs, a lawier, rather famous foz his groſſe bodie and fooliſh conditions, than anie knowledge in militarie affaires. Theſe foure had ſo puffed vp the gouernoz (inconſtant by his owne nature, and changing his counſell by the wind of euerie rumoz) that he would with ſtopped eares heare all other mens opinions. In the meane time, his friends hauing ſpzead a feined tale (thzough the Scotiſh hoſt) by him deuiſed, the Scots ran in all haſt to their weapons, whoſe vnaduiſed ſpéed was in the end the cauſe of their vnfoztunate pzocéedings, as after ſhall appeare.)

For being true (as the Scots haue repoзted) that the gouernoz, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell within their owne realme, but rather to lie ſtill and defend their ground, if the Engliſhmen ſhould come fozward to giue them battell there. The Engliſhmen aduertiſed thereof, the mozrow after this great ſkirmiſh, raiſed their field verie earlie, purpoſing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to ſhot into the Scotiſh campe, whereby they ſhould foзce the Scots to diſlodge from their ground of aduantage. The gouernoz and the Scotiſh lozds, beholding their enimies thus marching fozward, thought beſt

The Scots meant not to haue giuen battell.

The purpoſe of the Engliſhmen.

to

to ſtaie their enterpriſe, and therefore ſuddenlie, notwithſtanding their former determination, ruſhing forth of their campe, paſſed forward to incounter their enimies.

The ordering of the Scotiſh battels.

They were diuided into three battels; Archembald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the reſt of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Engliſhmen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forwards with great haſt, ſtaied for their comming: but the Scots were ſo raſh and haſtie, paſſing firſt through the water in their armour, and ſo vp towards the hill, that continuing their march with ſuch ſpeed, as they ſeemed rather to trot, than to keepe anie ordinarie marching paſe, before they could come to ioine with the Engliſhmen, they were almoſt out of breath.

The Engliſh horſſemen beaten backe.

Howbeit, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the Engliſh horſſemen, and ſo rigorouſlie reincountred them, that ſlaieng and beating downe no ſmall number both of men and horſſes, they put the reſt to flight; ſo that no ſmall part of them retired backe in ſuch diſorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherwith ſuch feare entered among the Engliſhmen, that (as hath béene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Warwike had not béene ſhewed at that preſent, according to the wonted valure of his often approued proweſſe, whereby he cauſed them to ſtaie, and relie themſelues againe.

The valiantneſſe of the earle of warwike.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots aduanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two pineſſes of the Engliſh fléet, which from the ſea ſhot ſo terriblie at the Scotiſh armie, that the ſame was not onelie ſore galled and indamaged thereby, but alſo ſtaied, that they could not come eaſilie forward. And héerewith the Engliſh vant-gard incouraged with the comfortable words and behauior of the earle of Warwike, and other the capteins, made towards the Scotiſh vant-gard againe: the which not able of it ſelfe to reſiſt, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Whereupon, the multitude fearing, by reaſon they ſaw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had béene loſt, gaue backe, and tooke them to flight; whome the Engliſhmen followed amaine, ſlaieng the Scotiſhmen downe on heaps in paſſing great numbers. Manie were alſo drowned in the water of Undereſke, through the which they tooke their flight.

The gallie and two pinneſſes.

The earle of Huntleie and the rere-gard ſtood ſtill with their enſignes and banners, till the chaſe was paſt by them: but at length were driuen to make awaie as well as the reſt, and the earle himſelfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led priſoner to the lord protector. Diuerſe other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken priſoners. There were ſlaine no ſmall number of perſonages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maiſter of Erſkin, the maiſter of Graham, the maiſter of Meſſine, the maiſter of Ogiluie, the maiſter of Leuingſton, the maiſter of Roſſe [the maiſter of Argendale and Meſſane] the lard of Lochinwar, the lard of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken priſoners diuerſe noble men, the lord Zeſtrie, the earle of Huntleie chancellor of the realme, and others, as ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The earle of Huntleie taken priſoner.

Men of name of Scots ſlaine. Fr. Thin.

The next day, the Engliſh armie remoued to Leith, where the priſoners were put into a church, diuerſe of them being ſore wounded. But the earle of Huntleie, entering bond for them that they ſhould well and truelie paie their ranſomes, agréed vpon betwixt them and their takers, or elſe to come and preſent themſelues priſoners in England by a certeine day, they were ſuffered to depart. * The calamitie of which bloudie day, there were not a few which did impute vnlikelie to happen to the Scots, becauſe they did arrogantlie reiect ſuch honorable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obteined the victorie) to haue vſed more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the Engliſh, either becauſe they would (as I my ſelfe coniecture) reuenge old quarels, or elſe haue vſed extremitie againſt ſuch as ſecretlie miſliked this conflict with the Engliſh.)

The earle of Huntleie entereth bond for his countriemen. Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 487. Buchan. lib. 15.

The gouernor eſcaping from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quéene regent was, togither with hir daughter the yong quéene. Héere, by the counſell and aduiſe of the earle of Angus [Argile, Rotheſen, and Caſſiles] and diuerſe other lords that were alſo withdrawne thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Menteith, where they remained in the abbeie of Inch Mahome [deliuering the yong quéene to hir mother, Erſkine and Leuingſtone to be kept there] till the Engliſh armie was departed out of the realme, and then they remoued againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of priſon at Edenburgh] the Engliſh nanie wan the Ile of ſaint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did ſundrie other exploits by ſea, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it may appéere.

The quéene remoued from Striueling. Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 487. Fr. Thin. Fr. Thin. The Ile of ſaint Colmes Inch won by Engliſhmen.

Moreouer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the gouernor had before kept in priſon, and was the night after the battell ſet at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerſet, with diuerſe other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whileſt he laie at Leith, offering themſelues to be at the king of Englands commandement, and ſo were aſſured from receiuing hurt or damage by the Engliſh power. The duke of Summerſet hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a peece of it, and demanding the caſtell of Edenburgh, but could not obteine it, departed thence the eighteenth of December homewards the nert waie, ouer the mounteins of Soutreie, comming the third day before the caſtell of Hume, where they did ſo much by countenancing to win that fortreſſe, that within three or foure daies after their comming thither, it was ſurrendred.

The earle of Bothwell.

1547.

The Engliſh armie returneth homewards.

Hume caſtell rendred to the Engliſhmen.

This caſtell being woone, & a garriſon left therein to kéepe it, they remoued to Rockeſburgh, where within the compaſſe of the ruinous wals of an old caſtell, they built a fort; & after returning into England, left a conuenient garriſon to kéepe it. They got alſo about the ſame time a ſtrong fortreſſe, called Faſt caſtell, ſtanding néere to the ſea ſide, and placed a garriſon within it. And moreouer, in this meane time, their fléet by ſea wan the caſtell of Broughtie crag, and put in like manner a garriſon within it to kéepe the ſame (as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it may further appéere) and in what ſort alſo all the chiefeſt lords and gentlemen of the Mers and Tiuidale came in, and ſubmitted themſelues to the duke of Summerſet, vpon aſſurance had and giuen.

Faſt caſtell woone by them. Broughtie crag woone.

Furthermore, whileſt the duke of Summerſet with his armie did thus inuade Scotland on the eaſt part, it was ordeined by the ſaid duke, and other of the councell to the king of England, that Matthew earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Wharton, then warden of the weſt marches of England, ſhould with a power inuade Scotland on the weſt ſide, to the end that there ſhould not anie of the weſt borders nor countries come to aſſiſt the gouernor againſt the duke of Summerſets armie, but be driuen to remaine at home to defend their owne countrie. Herevpon, there was an armie lenied, to the number of

fiue thouſand footmen, and eight hundred light horſſemen, with which power the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September, incamped the firſt night vpon the water of Elke, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the caſtell of Wilke, a fortreſſe of good ſtrength, the wals being foureteene foot thicke.

The caſtell of Wilke yelded

Captеine of this caſtell was one John Steward, brother to the lard thereof, who vpon the approch of the earle of Lennox, yelded the houſe to him, without anie ſhew of reſiſtance. Whereupon, Fergus Graham, brother to Richie Graham of Eriſke, was appointed with a garriſon of ſouldiors to keepe that caſtell to the vſe of the yoong king of England, and was afterwards confirmed captеine there with fiftie light horſſemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerſet, & the councell; ſo that during the warrs, he remained there to the great annoiance of the Scots, enimies to England, and preſeruation of the countrie thereabouts to the king of Englands vſe.

On the twentith of September, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, incamped neere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approching nearer to the ſame, gaue ſummons vnto the captеine thereof, called Lion, of the houſe of Glams, who with an hundred Scots [whereof Warwell and Johnſtone, and Colſpull (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. pa. 489. being parcell] kept the church and ſteeple of Annand, being peeces of themſelues verie ſtrong and mightilie reinforced with earth: they within therefore refuſed to yeeld, and valiantlie defended themſelues. The greateſt peeces of artillerie, which the Engliſhmen had there at that time, were certеine double and ſingle falcons, wherewith they beat one lie the battlements, till they might with certеine engines approch hard to the wals, and vndermine the ſame, ſo as the roſe of the church was ſhaken downe, and a great number of them within the church ſlaine and cruſhed to death. Such as eſcaped fled into the ſteeple.

Fr. Thin.

The church of Annand vndermined.

Two of the Engliſhmen that wrought about the mines, were ſlaine: but at length, the captеine moued by perſuaſion of the earle of Lennox, to whome he claimed to be of kin, rendered the ſteeple to him, with himſelfe, and 96 Scots ſouldiors, with condition to haue their liues onelie ſaued, and the captеine to remaine priſoner, and to go into England. Immediatlie vpon their comming forth of the ſteeple, fire was giuen vnto the traines of powder in the mines, and ſo both the church & ſteeple were blowen vp into the aire, & raced downe to the ground. This done, they burnt the towne (after they had ſacked it) and left not one ſtone ſtanding vpon an other, for that the ſame towne had euer beene a verie noiſome neighbour to England.

The ſteeple yelded.

The church and ſteeple of Annand blowen vp with powder.

The Engliſhmen had conceiued ſuch ſpite towards this towne, that if they ſaw but a peece of timber remaining vnburnt, they would cut the ſame in peeces with their bils. The countrie herewith was ſtricken in ſuch feare, that the next day all the Bilpatrikes and the Jardeins, the lards of Kirkmichell, Applegirth, Cloſburne, Dalwomendes, Mubie, and the Jrewings, the Beis, the Rigs, the Purreies, and all the clanes and ſurnames of the nether part of Annerdale, came in, and receiued an oth of obeiſance, as ſubiects to the king of England, deliuering pledges for their aſſured loialtie. The reſidue that would not come in and ſubmit themſelues, had their houſes burnt, their goods and cattell fetched away by the Engliſh light horſſemen, that were ſent abroad into the countrie for that purpoſe.

The Scots that came to aſſure themſelues.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England with their priſoners, booties, and ſpoiles, receiuing great thanks and commendations by gentle letters on the fiue & twentith of September, from the duke of Summerſet, then lieng at Rockeſburgh, about fortifieng of that place. The gouernor perceiuing thus that without the aſſiſtance of France he ſhould not be able to reſiſt the Engliſhmen, hauing now got ſuch fot hold within the realme of Scotland, required the queene Dowager, and monſieur Doiſell, liger ambaſſador for the French king, to perſuade with him by letters, to ſend an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The gouernors ſute to the queene Dowager, and to the French ambaſſadors.

The queene and monſieur Doiſell, perceiuing a readie waie prepared to bring that to paſſe which they moſt deſired (which was, to haue the queene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings aduiſe) they vndertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the gouernors deſire, if he with the ſtates of the realme would agree that the queene might be ſent into France, and a contract made for hir beſtowing in marriage, as ſtood with the French kings pleaſure. The gouernor condeſcending hereunto, aſſembled the ſtates, and by their aduiſes, paſſed certеine couenants to the effect aforeſaid, & ſent the ſame in writing by certеine meſſengers into France.

The queene Dowager promiſeth aid out of France with condition.

The French king gladlie accepting this meſſage, prepared a nauie of ſhips and gallies to tranſport an armie into Scotland the next ſummer. In the meane time, the gouernor laied ſiege to Wzoughtie crag, and the duke of Summerſet, as well for meanes to cauſe the Scots to retire that ſiege, as alſo for the annoiance of Clideſdale, apperteining to the gouernor and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obeiſance of the king of England, appointed the earle of Lennox to make a new inuaſion into Scotland, and to vſe for triall of their fidelities the helpe of two thouſand Scottiſh light horſſemen, that were alreadie aſſured & ſworne to ſerue the king of England in all ſuch exploits in which they ſhould be imploied.

The gouernor ſendeth into France for aid.

Wzoughtie crag beſieged by the gouernor.

The earle of Lennox deſirous to aduance the king of Englands affaires, and hauing receiued letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promiſe of his aſſiſtance, and likewiſe of his father in law the earle of Angus, the lard of Dunlanrig, and thoſe lards and gentlemen of the countries of Kile, Cunningham, Kentren, and Lennox, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Henrie Wharton, ſecond ſon to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horſſemen, of the garriſons in Scotland, and comming firſt to Dunfreis, where the generall aſſemblie was appointed of the two thouſand aſſured Scottiſh light horſſemen, when the muſters ſhould be taken, he found ſcarſe three hundred, and thoſe for the more part of the broken countries of Annandale, Eſwidale, Eſdale, and Liddeſdale.

The earle of Lennox entereth into Scotland.

The earle of Glencarne came thither in deed, but vnder a counterfet ſhew of good meaning, where in truth he ment nothing but craft to diſcouer all the earle of Lennox his purpoſes: who perceiuing his double dealing, and finding no ſuch forces readie to aſſiſt him, as he looked for, and moreouer, miſtruſting the lewdnes of the maiſter of Warwell, & the gentlemen of Liddeſdale, meaning (as he tooke it) to intrap him, and deliuer him to the queene Dowager, and the lord gouernor, ſtood in ſome perplexitie what way ſhould be the beſt for him to follow, thinking it not to ſtand with his honor to returne, without atchiuing ſome enterpriſe.

The earle of Glencarne his double dealing.

How the Scots were miſtruſted.

The earle of Lennox in doubt what to do.

The earle of Glencarne hath ſhewed to him two letters written by the lard of Dunlanrig, ſignifieng, that if the earle of Lennox came, accompanied onelie

The lard of Dunlanrig.

onelie with Scotiſhmen, he would both ſerue him and honor him in the beſt wiſe he might: but if he brought thoſe Engliſhmen in his companie, he would not onelie refuſe to aid him, but alſo raiſe all the power he might make, either by his friends or otherwiſe, to reſiſt him, and proffer him a repulſe. The earle thus perceiuing that he was in danger to be betraied among them, and that there were all the deuiſes practiſed that might be to ſtaie thoſe that ſhould come to the deuotion of the king of England, diſſembled the matter with Glencarne, and other that were ſuborned to betraie him; pretending to them, that he would follow the courſe of their deuiſes.

The earle of Lennox diſſembleth with diſſemblers.

1547. Buch. But in the meane time he got togither the Engliſh capteins that were appointed to attend him, and alſo ſuch Scotiſhmen as he knew he might truſt. And meaning to ſcourge Drumlanrig, & to cut him ſhort, for that he was the chiefe inſtrument to ſtaie all the Scotiſhmen in thoſe parties from entering friendſhip with the Engliſhmen: he gaue ſecret warning to all the capteins & leaders about nine of the clocke at night, that they ſhould be readie with their men to mount on horſbacke at the ſound of the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Glencarne, the maiſter of Marwell, the lards of Cloſburne, Kirkmichell, and others the gentlemen of Nideſdale and Annandale.

Horſſemen ſent forth to ſcourge Drumlanrig.

He ſent forth ſir hundred choſen horſſemen vpon ſound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, vnder the leading of Henrie Wharton, and other the capteins of the garriſons, who in the dawning of the next morrow, arriued neere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appointed foure hundred of their horſſemen to paſſe to the forraie, who raiſed fire, and burnt two miles in length, both townes and villages on ech ſide, euen hard to the gates of Drumlanrig, ſpoiling the houſes of goods and riches, worth to the value of two thouſand marks, got three thouſand ſhéepe, two thouſand herd of great cattell, beſide nine ſcore horſſes and mares.

They harrie the countrie about Drumlanrig.

The Annandalers laden with ſpoile and cattell, being in number foure hundred men, departed with their preie homewards. The lard of Drumlanrig, lieng all this while in ambuſh with ſeuen hundred men, forbare to breake out to giue anie charge vpon his enimies, doubting leaſt the earle of Lennox had kept a ſtale behind: but now after he perceiued that the moſt part of the enimies were departed, and that the reſidue of the gentlemen & capteins of the Engliſh horſſemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreis, being not paſt ſix ſcore men, he fiercelie followed after them with his power, in hope not onelie to ouerthrow and diſtres them, but alſo to take the earle of Lennox at Dunfreis.

Drumlanrig purſueth the Engliſhmen.

Maiſter Henrie Wharton and thoſe ſix ſcore horſſemen, retiring beyond the water of Nith, and perceiuing that Drumlanrig and his men entered the water raſhlie to purſue them, returned, and gaue ſuch a deſperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his companie were ſcattered and put to flight: yet Drumlanrig himſelfe, although there were ſome ſpeares broken vpon him, through the goodneſſe of his horſſe eſcaped. Two gentlemen of his ſurname and traine, that were in no ſmall eſtimation with him, were ſlaine, and ſix ſcore priſoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terror of this ouerthrow, and the bruit of the earle of Lennox his entrie thus made into Scotland, cauſed the gouernor to leuie his ſiege from Broughtie crag, and with ſpeed to come from thence, the better to defend his countries of Clideſdale, and Dowglaſdale. Sir Andrew Dudleie, capteine of Broughtie crag, bare himſelfe verie valiantlie, in defending the caſtell during this ſiege, ſo that the Scots certes loſt diuerſe hardie perſonages: and among other, Galwen Hamilton, the gouernors kinſman, was ſlaine at the ſame ſiege.

He is put to flight.

The ſiege of Broughtie crag raiſed.

Moreouer, the prior of Whiterne by his letters and meſſengers, offered himſelfe to obeie the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and hauen townes of Wigton and Kirkcowbre, the knights of Loghinwar and Garleis, the lard and tutor of Bombie, the lard of Cardines, & all the gentlemen of Annandale, Nideſdale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, being foure ſcore miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foreſaid prior, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Garleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennox) within two daies after the diſcomfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oth to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leauing the countrie in good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Nideſdale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

The prior of whiterne.

And after that the forenamed perſons had remained for a ſpace at Caerleill, they deliuered pledges, but eſpeciallie for Iohn Marwell, & returned home to their countrie, as aſſured men & ſubiects to the K. of England. In this meane while, the gouernor hauing held ſiege before the caſtell of Broughtie crag, by the ſpace of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduiſe of the principall lords about him, he cauſed maiſter James Haliburton, tutor of thoſe parties, to raiſe certeine companies of horſſemen, and appointed him with capteine Leirmouth (whome he left in Dundée with certeine footmen) to defend the countrie againſt the Engliſhmen, if they iſſued forth of Broughtie crag, to atchiue anie enterpriſe anie where néere thereabouts.

The Scots deliuer pledges.

James Holiburton.

Capteine Leirmouth.

The duke of Summerſet by aduiſe of the reſidue of the councell in England, minding to bridle the Scots that refuſed to come in & ſubmit themſelues to the king of England, toke order [with the lord of Wilton, who (as ſaith Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 491.) remained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Aprill, vntill the tenth kalends of June] for the building of one fort at Lauder, and an other at Hadington, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it may appeare. And further it was appointed alſo, that about the end of Februarie, the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton, with ſeuen hundred Engliſh horſſemen, beſide the aſſured Scots horſſemen, and about foure or fiue thouſand Engliſh footmen, ſhould by the weſt borders inuade Scotland: they according to their commiſſion ſet forward, and the firſt night came to Louchmaben, and there lodged.

1547. Leſle. Fr. Thin. Forts built.

1548.

The earle of Lennox and the L. wharton inuade Scotland.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whileſt they remained there, the earle of Angus being come to Drumlanrig, by meſſengers entred ſome talke with his ſonne in law the earle of Lennox. But ſith it was perceiued that this was done, rather to intrap the earle of Lennox, or rather at the leaſt wiſe to driue time, vpon conſultation had with the maiſter of Marwell, the lard of Cloeſborne, and others the gentlemen aſſured of Nideſdale and Annandale; it was concluded, that the townes of Morton, Duſdere, and others, néere adioining togither in thoſe parts, ſhould be burnt; to the end that the earle of Angus might ſo be drawen to the field, and caught by ſome one meane or other.

The diſſimulation of the earle of Angus.

About midnight therefore, the forraie being ſet forth, vnder the leading of maiſter Henrie Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred light horſſemen, the maiſter of Marwell, now lord Herries, and the reſidue of the aſſured men being amongeſt them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of Lennox,

Maiſter Henrie wharton.

Lennor, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And where the earle of Angus was drawen to the caſtell of Drumlanrig, vnder pretenſe to commune with his ſonne the earle of Lennor (but meaning to intrap him) if it were poſſible, he was ſo inuironed by the Engliſh footmen yer he could haue ſufficient warning, that he was forced to flée onelie with flue perſons in his companie. But now the Engliſh horſſemen being come to Duſdere, eight & fortie miles within the realme of Scotland, hauing paſſed ſundrie great riuers, they ſet that towne on fire.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Duſdere ſet on fire.

But the maiſter of Marwell, with the other Scotiſh gentlemen and light horſſemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the Engliſh horſſemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the deſtruction of the Engliſhmen afore hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come vnto Drumlanrig with a choſen power of men for that purpoſe. There were alſo vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scotiſh footmen, with ſpeares and lanceſtaues to aſſiſt the earle of Angus and his complices againſt the Engliſhmen. The lard of Drumlanrig with a number of choſen horſſemen was aduanced forward in ſight of the Engliſhmen, as they were buſie in firing the towne of Duſdere.

The aſſured Scots therefore, thinking the enterpriſe to be ſuerlie inough conueid for their contriued purpoſe, openlie vpon the field neere to Duſdere, hoiſing vp a blacke penſill vpon a ſpeares point for a token, reuolted wholie, and ioined themſelues to the lard of Drumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thruſt in betwixt the Engliſh horſſemen & footmen, to the great perill of diſtreſſing aſwell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, neere to the old caſtell of Dauſwinton, ſometime the houſe of the Cumins, they bruted it abroad, that the Engliſh horſſemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The reuolting of the aſſured Scots.

A falſe rumor ſpred.

The earle of Lennor, beholding the maner of his aduerſaries, lighted on foot from his horſſe, willing the lord Wharton to dow the like; for this day (ſaid he) I will die a true Engliſhman. At length the Engliſh horſſemen fetching a compaſſe in retiring backe from Duſdere, came neere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no leſſe but that their horſſemen had beene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horſſemen thus comming in, and perceiuing how the matter ſtood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that ſtood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue driuen them through ſhrinking backe into anie diſorder.

But ſuch was the violence of the ſhocke giuen at that inſtant, with great manhood (vndoubtedlie) by the Engliſh horſſemen, that the Scots were therewith put out of arraie, ſcattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Drumlanrig being taken priſoner, corrupted his taker, and ſo got away. The maiſter of Marwell eſcaped in great danger of life, for he had ſundrie ſpeares broken on him in the chaſe as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beſide ſundrie that were drowned in the water of Nith. Amongeſt the priſoners were theſe men of name; the abbat of new abbeie, Chriſtie Irrewing of Bonſhaw, a brother of the lord of Hempſfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfreis was rifled and ſpoiled, as the earle of Lennor and the Engliſhmen returned thither, and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet ſuſpended and ſtaied, till the councels pleaſure might be knowen in that behalfe.

The Scots put to flight.

Dunfreis ſpoiled.

There were at the firſt euill news ſpread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this iornie, how the earle of Lennor and the Engliſh armie was ouerthrowen, ſo that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derbie, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers ſhould repaire to the weſt borders to garniſh the ſame for defenſe againſt the enimies: but vpon the true report how the matter had paſſed, made by maiſter Henrie Wharton, and one Biſhop a Scotiſhman, ſent in poſt for that purpoſe, that appointment was ſtaied; and maiſter Wharton was at that time made knight, and the ſaid Biſhop richlie rewarded for bringing ſo good news. Herewith were letters directed downe from the councell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certeine pledges, that is to ſaie, the maiſter of Marwels pledge, being one of his neereſt kinſmen of the houſe of the Herries, alſo the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfreis, the vicar of Carlauerocke, and diuerſe other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Lawder and Hadington built, the caſtels of Peſter and Dawkith woone, all the mils burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edenburgh, and other exploits atchiued by the Engliſhmen, as in the hiſtorie of England is more at large expreſſed.

Pledges executed.

But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, cauſed the ſame to draw downe to Breſt in Britaine, where the ſhips and gallies were rigged and made readie to paſſe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were theſe, which had charge chieflie to command in the ſame: monſieur de Deſſe lieutenant generall, monſieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, the counte Reingraue coronell of the Almains, monſieur de Pallerate, monſieur Doiſell, Pietro Strozzie coronell of the Italians, monſieur Etauges capteine of the horſſemen, ſir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capteine of the gallies, and monſieur Duno commiſſarie of the artillerie: with diuerſe other worthie perſonages, and men of approued valiancie. Theſe capteins with their powers being imbarked at Breſt, ſailed alongſt by the eaſt ſeas, and at length about the middeſt of June came into the rode before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. [A little before whoſe arriuall into France (as ſaith Leſleus. libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle Bironne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counſell to the Scots anſwerable to the time, which was (to pleaſe their eares therwith) that there ſhould a greater armie ſhortlie come out of France, to ſuccor their extremities.]

1548. Buch.
1547. Leſle.

A neuie prepared at Breſt in Britaine.

The chiefe capteins of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Afterwards, with the aduiſe of the gouernor, and other of the Scotiſh lords, the French power went to beſiege Hadington, and comming thither, incamped themſelues in places of aduantage about the towne, caſt trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within ſtreictlie beſieged on each hand, vſing all the waies they could deuiſe to conſtreine the Engliſhmen to yéeld. They forbare yet to giue a generall aſſault, becauſe they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the loſſe of ſo manie men as might haue béene ſlaine and maimed thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to ſupplie it when they would.

Hadington beſieged.

Why the Frenchmen forbare to giue an aſſault.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a ſeaſon, and had made the breaches ſo reaſonable,

ſonable, that with ſmall paine they might haue entered by the ſame, if the force of the defendants had not ſufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good wils in them ſo to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this ſiege, they within ſtood in great neceſſitie of things behouefull for the defenſe of the towne. Wherevpon ſir Henrie Wharton with a band of light horſſemen of the weſt borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certeine number of men with powder, and other neceſſaries, greatlie to the reliefe of the beſieged, & no leſſe diſpleaſure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterpriſe till it was done in the night ſeaſon, by the good and fortunate conduction of them that had the conueiance thereof.

But after this, there came a power of Engliſh horſſmen to the number of little leſſe than two thouſand demilances, light horſſmen, & harquebuſſiers on horſſbacke, vnder the leading of ſir Robert Bowes, ſir Thomas Palmer, ſir Henrie Wharton, capteine Gambo a Spaniard, and others; the which aduenturing ouer raſhlie within danger of the whole French power, were ouerthrowne and chaſed: ſir Robert Bowes, & ſir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other capteins, gentlemen and ſouldiers being taken priſoners, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine. Yet after this ouerthrow of thoſe horſſemen, the French remoued their ſiege from the places where they had firſt planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an armie ſent forth of England vnder the conduct of the erle of Shrewſburie, the lord Greie, and others, they were conſtreined to retire from thence, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie ye may find more largelie expreſſed, to the which for the further report of the euents chancing during that ſiege, I referre the reader.

The Engliſh horſſemen ouerthrowne.

The earle of Shrewſburie remoueth the ſiege from Hadington.

But this is to be remembred, that whileſt the ſiege remained at Hadington, by a conuention or aſſemblie of the lords it was decreed, that the queene ſhuld be ſent into France. And therevpon monſieur de Villegaignon, with foure gallies departing from Leith, made ſemblance as though he would haue ſailed into France: but hauing paſſed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his courſe on the left hand to paſſe alongſt the ſhore northward by the Germane ſeas, that compaſſing the land on the eaſt ſide, hee might paſſe about by the Iles of Orkeneie, and ſo by the weſt Iles, till he came to Dunbreton where the yong queene laie. This iournie he fortunatelie atchiued, the ſame neuer before (to mans remembrance) being made or attempted with gallies.

Sir Nicholas de Villegaignon.

The French gallies compaſſe about the realme of Scotland by Dungeſbie head.

1547. Leſle.

At his arriuall & conuenient landing at Dunbreton, he found all things readie prouided, neceſſarie for the imbarking of the queene, that he might conuey hir into France, for the accompliſhment whereof he had taken that iournie in hand. Herevpon ſhe being brought aboord into the kings owne gallie, wherin monſieur de Brezze was alſo appointed to be aboord with hir, as he that had beene ſent with expreſſe commandement to ſee hir conueied into France, [with the lords (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. 494) of Areſkine, and Leuingſton, the ladie Fleming, with certeine noble maidens named after the yong queene, as Marie Leuingſton, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who togither with Villegaignon ſhewed ſuch diligence in atchiuing that enterpriſe, that finallie they arriued with proſperous wind and weather in the hauen of Breſt in Britaine with that yong queene, being as then betwixt fiue and ſix yeeres of age.

Monſieur de Brezze.

Fr. Thin.

The yong queene of Scots conueied into France.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 494.

* From thence being accompanied with the nobilitie of that prouince, ſhe kept hir right courſe to the kings palace of S. Germins in the towne of Lai-

on, where ſhe was receiued with great preparation, & there taried the comming thither of the king, at that time pacifieng the ſeditions and turmoiles in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, hee gladded all men with his preſence, and prouided that there was a large houſhold, as well of the noble men and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the yong queene, which he ſtill increaſed (as the queene grew more in yeeres) vntill ſuch time as ſhe might be maried.)

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there. After that the ſiege of Hadington was raiſed by the Engliſh armie (as before ye haue heard) the Frenchmen therevpon retired themſelues vnto Muſkelburgh; and chooſing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept themſelues within the ſame. And herewith there came to them fifteene thouſand Scotiſhmen to aſſiſt them, ſo that when the Engliſhmen came forwards to aſſaile them, they found them ſo ſtronglie imbattelled, that (whether their commiſſion did not ſo farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they forbare to ſet vpon them in that ground of ſo great diſaduantage for the aſſailants, and ſo returned backe to Hadington, and after homewards, hauing furniſhed the towne with new ſupplies of men, munition, and vittels ſufficient.

The Frenchmen incampe at Muſkelburgh.

See more hereof in England.

Here is to be noted, that the Engliſh fleet entering into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the armie by land, as occaſions might haue beene offered. But the lord admerall perceiuing no likelihood of battell by land, tooke vpon him to atchiue ſome other enterpriſes, and firſt comming to Brent Iland, ſet certeine ſhips on fire there, of the chiefeſt in the riuer; and ſaluting the towne of Leith as he paſſed by with canon ſhot, he determined to land ſome of his men on the north ſide of the Forth, to make ſome ſpoile within the countrie of Fife. But Iohn Erſkin lard of Dun, as then ſomewhat diſeaſed, and returned home from the campe, cauſed ſuch dailie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enterpriſe could not be ſo ſecretlie conueied by the Engliſhmen, but that the ſame was perceiued, and ſo preuented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with loſſe: and happie was he that might firſt get againe to ſhipboord.

The lord admerall of England.

The lard of Dun.

The Engliſh men repelled at ſaint Menets.

* For Iames Steward, brother to the queene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in haſt with the common people of ſaint Andrews, and ſome other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whome the neighbors about did alſo ioine themſelues, vnderſtanding the cauſe of that aſſemblie. The Engliſh being now come on land, about twelue hundred, ſtood in warlike ſort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they diſcharged out of their ſhips) did eaſilie cauſe the rude multitude to flie awaie. But this Iames Steward (by litle and litle ſuppreſſing the feare of ſuch as fled) did (with ſuch violence) ruſh vpon his enimies, that forthwith he ouerthrew them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the ſea with great ſlaughter, when alſo manie of them (as they fled to their ſhips) were drowned, beſides three hundred that were ſlaine, and one hundred taken.)

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

The earle of Shrewſburie being come backe from Hadington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen for the building of a fort there, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie further may appeare. And in the meane time monſieur de Deſſe, remaining in campe at Muſkelburgh, hearing that the Engliſh armie was remoued homewards, & how diuerſe new bands of horſſmen and footmen being left in Hadington, were readie to come forth to ſkirmiſh abroad vpon ſight of the enimie; he tooke aduiſe, to trie if he might

draw

draw them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monſieur Dandelot, and the Reingraue appointed to chose forth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with three hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a few horsemen were drawne forth to draw the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enimies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and streight had the French in chase; who retiring, mainteined the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Desse saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake forth, who togither with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enimies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euen hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and aboue an hundred taken prisoners.

The Englishmen put to the worsse at a skirmish neere to Hadington.

After this, monsieur de Desse raised from Muskelburgh, and comming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capteins imbarking themselues in the gallie that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a foist and a brigandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companie.

Leith fortified.

A gallie taken

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron remained coronell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furniture on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approued skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arriuall of the English naule & armie to the succors of them in Hadington, monsieur de Wallerie vice admerall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wilton afflicted the countries of Tindale and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partlie touched in the historie of England.

Capteine Bach.

Monsieur de Wallerie vice admerall of France.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edenburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarelling with two or three Scotishmen; and falling togither by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the fraie, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Whereupon arose a great tumult and stirre among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namelie James Hamilton lard of Stanhouse, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edenburgh, with his sonne; and maister William Steward one of the queens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contrined commotion against them, assembled togither in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capteins that shewed their diligent endeuors therin, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

A fraie betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edenburgh.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edenburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Desse, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the brute thereof gaue forth (for it was rather increased ye may be sure than diminished) vndertooke an enterprise in hand to win the towne of Hadington by a camisado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capteins and souldiers then within the towne, yee may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seuen score (some say three hundred) slaine in the base court.

The Frenchmen giue a camisado to Hadington, & are beaten backe.

But now, forsomuch as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, sithence the lord gouernor raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortlie after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a time, and before the same was expired, there came new succors to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constreined to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yeare, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Desse with his Frenchmen was comming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argile. Vlpian Ful.

He raiseth his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Reingraue with two bands of his Almains, and monsieur de Etanges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who comming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staieng till monsieur de Desse was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue beene caught yer they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lanceknights that were there with them (part of Conrad Phennings bands) issued forth, and drone them to retire, not without danger to haue beene distressed, if the Reingraue had not vsed the greater policie in retiring the troope. To be short, monsieur de Desse, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countrie on that side, left seuen ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edenburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countrie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

The Reingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

* While these things were in doing, the gouernor of Scotland sent the lord Carneigeie knight (and senator) ambassador to the protector of England, which should for ransome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntleie being prisoner: which if he could not obteine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Whereunto the protector answered, that he would not set the earle free, vntill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraw himselfe by anie means from the custodie of Rafe Wane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntleie was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Morthet, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle doth there looke for his wiues comming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir. For he

Fr. Thin. 1543. Lelleus lib. 10. pag. 498.

he had agréed with George Kar, that he ſhould one night priuilie bring to him thither, two of the ſwifteſt horſſes that he could get to flie awaie vpon them. According wherevnto Kar was readie out of the borders of Scotland with ſuch horſes as he knew would ſerue the turne, whereof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The erle prepareth a ſupper for his kéepers, wherevnto they were ſolemnelie inuited, and to plaie at cards with him to paſſe awaie the tedíouſnes of the night. At length (as though he had plaied inough at cards) he left off, but earneſtlie deſired his kéepers that they ſhould continue on their game. During which, the earle (going vnto the windowe, and looking out) did by a ſecret ſigne (for he could not well diſcerne anie thing, it was ſo extreame darke quer all the element) eaſilie vnderſtand that all things were readie for his iournie. The earle then doubtfull (being ſometime in good hope, and ſometime in feare) thought vpon manie things, which he muttered to himſelfe: and at length vnaduiſedlie (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burſt out in theſe ſpæches; Oh ſorrow, all theſe things be a hinderance vnto me, the ſharpeneſſe of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an vnknowne way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God proſper the iourneie. His kéepers hearing him ſpeake to himſelfe, aſked him what thoſe ſecret ſpæches might ſignifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guiltie of his fault) anſwered, that thoſe words were vſed as a prouerbe amongſt the Scots: and firſt had their beginning by the old earle Morton, vttering the ſame in the middle of the night when he lay in dieng. Wherevpon (to the end that his kéepers ſhould not haue anie ſuſpicion of his determined flight) he ſitteth downe againe to cards.

After which ſuddenlie he roſe from them, as vrged by lowſeneſſe of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occaſion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his ſeruant) leapeth forth, found the horſſes readie furniſhed for himſelfe and his man, got on them, & with ſpæedie iournie did flie to the borders of Scotland. When he was paſſed ouer the riuer of Tweed, and had a little refreſhed himſelfe from the labor of his iournie in the houſe of Kar, he went the ſame night (being Chriſtmas éeue) to Edenburgh, where he was ioifullie & honorablie receiued of the quéene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuerſall gladneſſe of the whole multitude of the towne. As ſoone as his kéepers perceiued that he was gone, they ſpéedilie run to horſſe, and (doubtfull which way to follow) they ſéeke him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the erle put them out of all doubt for obteining him. Whoſe flight was not onelie a fréedome to himſelfe, but alſo to manie other noble priſoners, who (vpon the aſſurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, reſtored vnto him the chancellorſhip, and the rule of manie other prouinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cauſe when he had remained a while at Edenburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where ſpéedilie and eaſilie he appeaſed all the tumults of thoſe people.)

Hume caſtell recouered by the Scots.

On ſaint Stephans day at night, the caſtell of Hume was ſcaled, and woone out of the Engliſhmens hands. One of the ſurname of the Humes, a man of threeſcore yeers of age, was the firſt that entered on the wall, ſleieng one of the watchmen that kept his walke on that ſide. * Not long after, when the capteine of Falkecaſtell had commanded the husbandmen adioining, to bring thither (at a certeine day) great ſtore of vittels, the yoong men there about having that occaſion, aſſembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horſes, and laieng them on their ſhoulders, were receiued (after they had paſſed the bridge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the caſtle, where (laieng downe that which they brought) they ſuddenlie (by a ſigne giuen) ſet vpon the kéepers of the gates, ſlue them, and (before the other Engliſhmen could be aſſembled) poſſeſſed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the caſtell, and then receiuing the reſt of their companie into the ſame (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and inioied the caſtell for their countrimen.)

About the ſame time, the Reinſgraue returned into France, leauing his fiue enſignes of Almains behind him, vnder the charge of capteine Retonze, a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monſieur de Etauges was taken in a ſkirmiſh at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the Engliſh hiſtorie: & about the ſame time, there landed at Dunbreton foure bands of ſouldiers, Prouancois and Gaſcoignes, bringing monie with them to paie the ſouldiers their wages, behind as then for the ſpace of three moneths. Sir James Wilford alſo was taken about the ſame time by the Frenchmen, in a ſkirmiſh at Dunbar (as I haue alſo noted in the hiſtorie of England.) Not long after, monſieur de Deſſe was appointed by the quæne Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth, to preuent that the Engliſhmen ſhould not fortifie there, whereof ſhe ſtood in ſome doubt.

1546. The Reinſgraue returneth into France. Monſieur de Etauges taken priſoner by the Engliſhmen. Sir James Wilford taken

Immediatlie vpon his comming thither, the lard of Fernihurſt requeſted him to helpe to recouer his caſtell of Fernihurſt out of the Engliſhmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monſieur de Deſſe taking with him monſieur de Diſell, and monſieur de la Chapelle de Biton, haſted thither with the chiefeſt part of his armie, ſending before certeine capteins with their bands to ſurueie the houſe; who at their comming thither, vſed ſuch diligence in following the offered occaſion, that they both repelled their enimies that came forth to giue them the ſkirmiſh; and purſuing them with great rigor, wan the lims of the houſe vpon them, forcing the capteine and ſouldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them ſo ſhort therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of ſuch largenes, as a man might eaſilie enter by the ſame.

The caſtell of Fernihurſt woone by the Frenchmen.

Herewith a great number of Scots hauing broken open the gate of the baſe court, where the Frenchmen were buſie to aſſault the dungeon, burſt in on heapes, vpon deſire to be reuenged vpon the Engliſhmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they ſaid) had done them manie great diſpleaſures. The capteine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scotiſhmens hands he ſhould die for it, he preſented himſelfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and yeelded himſelfe to monſieur de Duſſac, and la Mouthe Rouge, who minding to vſe him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the preſe: but ſuddenlie a Scot comming behind him, whoſe wife (as was reported) he had rauiſhed, ſmote off his head ſo iuſt from the ſhoulders, that it leapt foure or fiue yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots ſéemed to ſhew againſt other Engliſhmen, taken héere at Fernihurſt: but they excuſed the matter by the euill dealings of the Engliſhmen towards them before that time.

The crueltie of the Scots.

Monſieur de Deſſe returning to Jedworth, aided by the furtherance and counſell of the Scots, ceaſſed not in occaſions of aduantage to attempt new enterpriſes againſt the Engliſhmen, as time and opportunitie ſerued: and among other exploits, the caſtell of Cornewall (an old houſe built after the ancient

The caſtell of Cornewall woone.

maner

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15. 1549. Leſle.

maner of fortifieng) was taken by the Frenchmen, and ſpoiled of all things worth the bearing awaie.

Capteine Cobios. Alſo capteine Cobios a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horſſemen Scots ſeruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand againſt a number of Engliſh horſſemen, whome he charged ſo on the ſudden, as he ſaw them out of order, that he eaſilie diſcomfited them, and toke more priſoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had perſons in his companie to aſſaile them.

A road made by monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron. Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was ſent forth by monſieur de Deſſe, with the companie of horſſemen that belonged to monſieur de Etauges then priſoner, and flue hundred footmen beſide Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprize he atchiued in burning townes and villages, and returned without anie great loſſe ſuſteined at that time.

Another made by monſieur de Deſſe. Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monſieur de Deſſe diſlodged from thence, & taking with him foure field péces, and all his men of war, entered into England, toke the caſtell of Fourd and burnt it, with ten ſmall villages in the countrie thereabouts, ſituat within halfe a mile ech of other.

Fourd caſtell woone. There was one tower yet parcell of that caſtell of Fourd, which was kept by Thomas Kar, ſo that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to ſtaie long about it, remouing that night ouer the water, & incamped there within the Scotiſh ground.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed theſe enterprizes, they were coaſted by certeine light horſſemen; but neuertheleſſe the Frenchmen returned in ſafetie to Jedworth, hauing ſore indamaged the Engliſh borderers by that road: inſomuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thouſand crownes. The Engliſhmen ſore greéued, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, ſhould in ſuch wiſe addreſſe one enterprize after an other againſt them, ſo greatlie to their annoiance, aſſembled a power togither at Rorburgh, purpoſing to haue aſſailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

Monſieur de Deſſe fléeth out of Jedworth for feare of the Engliſhmen. But monſieur de Deſſe hauing warning thereof, departed from thence firſt to Melroſſe, and after further off within the countrie, fearing to be conſtreined to giue battell. Which he could not haue done without manifeſt loſſe of his féeble armie, hauing not paſt fifteéne hundred footmen, and flue hundred horſſemen able to haue done ſeruice: for ſuch was the miſerie, which they had in manner continuallie ſuſteined through want of victels, and other neceſſarie helps during the time of their incamping at Jedworth, that what through ſickneſſe and hurts receiued in aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes, no ſmall number of them were dead, and manie other ſo féeble, that they were not able to aid themſelues; inſomuch that now being got out of danger, they thought themſelues haplie eſcaped.

The miſerable ſtate of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortlie after, in the beginning of the ſummer, the Engliſhmen armed flue and twentie ſaile of men of warre, the which arriuing at the Baſſe, néere to the mouth of the Forth, aſſailed by faire and pleaſant words to haue perſuaded the kéepers of the caſtell, there ſtanding on the height of a great rocke, to haue yéelded the place into their hands. But perceiuing their perſuaſions would not be regarded, they toke their courſe vp into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ſhips of Frenchmen and Scots, ſeized vpon them as a wiſhed preie: and the morrow next inſuing, at the verie breake of day, they came before Leith, and ſaluting the towne with canon ſhot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which meane while they landed their people at Inſkith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the place could be put in anie ſtrength, the ſhips departed from thence backe towards the ſea, and left in the Iland foure enſignes of Engliſhmen, and one enſigne of Italians, to defend the pioners and the Iland againſt the Scots and Frenchmen, if they ſhould attempt to aſſaile them.

Inſkith fortified by the Engliſhmen.

After the Engliſh nauie was thus departed, monſieur de Deſſe, and the queene mother being at Edenburgh, determined with all diligence to imploie all ſuch forces as they might make about the recouering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Engliſhmen ſhould be brought to anie perfection. Herevpon, monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron, imbarked in the gallie of monſieur de Villegaignon, rowed forth to view the maner of the Engliſhmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in ſuch effectuall wiſe, that approching within harquebuſe ſhot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the ſtate and whole circumſtances of their buildings, but alſo of the perfect number of their enſignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that ſerued vnder the ſame.

La Chapelle de Biron.

At that preſent alſo, monſieur de Thermes latelie before arriued at Dunbreton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horſſemen after the manner of France, and one thouſand footmen, was come to the queéne, buſie now to further this enterprize. She had got togither within Leith hauen all the botes that belonged to all the créekes & hauens of the Forth: ſo that on thurſdaie after Trinitie ſundaie, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpoſe, in the morning by the breake of day the queéne was come to Leith, to ſée the imbarking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what ſucceſſe fortune would ſend them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to beſtow themſelues abroad, & the comfortable words of the queéne greatlie incouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuiſing with monſieur de Deſſe and the other capteins, till they were all ſet forward.

The diligence of the Scotiſh queéne.

The forward neſſe of the ſouldiers.

Villegaignon with his gallies paſſed on before to kéepe the Engliſhmen occupied, ſo as they ſhould not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they diſcouering the veſſels at their ſetting forth, conceiued ſtreightwaies what was intended: and thereupon prepared to kéepe the enimies off from landing, ſo that vpon the Frenchmens approch, they ſaluted them with arrowes and harquebuſe ſhot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and droue the Engliſhmen and Italians backe from the ſea ſtrond vp to the higher ground, where they ſtood at defenſe on a plumpe togither, doing their beſt to defend the place againſt the aſſailants.

Inſkith aſſaulted by the Frenchmen.

But finallie, their generall named Cotton, being ſlaine with George Applebie eſquire, a capteine of an enſigne of footmen ſent forth of Derbiſhire, and one Gaſpar Pizoni, that was capteine of the Italians, beſide diuers other gentlemen, and the moſt principall men of warre and ſouldiers among them: the reſidue were conſtreined to retire vnto a corner or point of the Iland, where they were taken without further reſiſtance, although before they had made verie ſtout defenſe, hurt and ſlaine diuerſe Scots and Frenchmen, both at their landing, and alſo after they were entered on land. Among other, monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron was ſtriken through the hand with an harquebuſe ſhot, and his burguenet beaten ſo into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conueie him into one of the gallies to be dreſſed of his hurts by a ſurgian. Alſo a gentleman named Deſbories, which bare the ſaid monſieur de la Chapelle his coronell enſigne, was ſlaine with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the Engliſh generall.

Capteine Cotton generall of Inſkith and others ſlaine.

Monſieur de la Chapelle hurt.

Thus

Inſkith recouered by the Frenchmen.

Thus was Inſkith recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands, after it had beene in their poſſeſſion by the ſpace of ſixteene daies, the more to the high contentation of monſieur de Deſſe, for that at the ſame time he ſtood vpon his diſcharge and returne into France, being appointed to ſurrender vp his place to monſieur de Thermes, latelie before arriued (as ye haue heard) with commiſſion to receiue the ſame. So that monſieur de Deſſe, to end his charge with the glorie of this atchiued enterprize, eſteemed it much to ſtand with his honor: and no doubt with the ſwelling humor of the glorie thence redounding he was blowen vp; as in caſes of victorie it commeth to paſſe in them that make a good hand: whereas the vanquiſhed (God wot) are contrarilie qualified.

Monſieur de Deſſe returneth into France.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the gallies, and monſieur de Thermes ſucceeded in his place for the generall conduct of the French armie in Scotland. Who by the aduiſe of the gouernor, and other of the Scotiſh lords, determined with a ſiege volant to keepe the Engliſhmen in Hadington from vittels and all other reliefe. Firſt therefore, after that Deſſe was departed towards France, monſieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and ſome Scots incamped at Aberladie, where they began the foundation of a fort, ſo to impeach the Engliſhmen from ſetting on land anie vittels there, to be conueid from thence to Hadington, as before they had done.

Monſieur de Thermes ſucceedeth in his place.

A fort builded at Aberladie.

In this meane time, the Engliſhmen had increaſed their numbers of Almaines, and other ſtrangers, and not onelie furniſhed their forts with new ſupplies of men; but alſo had an armie in the fields which lay moſt an end at Dunglas, and one while beſieged Hume caſtell. But after they ſaw themſelues diſappointed of the meane, whereby they ſuppoſed to haue recouered it, they raiſed from thence, and ſpoiled the moſt part of Tiuidale and other the marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of the diſlotaltie and breach of promiſe proued in the aſſured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle of Rutland, lieutenant at that preſent of the north parts, a noble man, right valiant, wiſe, well aduiſed, and ſtaied in his dealings, verie honorable and courteous in all his demeanor.

The earle of Rutland.

He was accompanied with capteins of good eſtimation and approued proweſſe, as ſir Richard Paners, ſir Francis Leake, ſir John Sauage, ſir Thomas Holcroft, ſir Oſwald Wulſtrop, & others. He ſo behaued himſelfe in that dangerous time of the vprores and rebellions of the commons, through the more part of the realme of England; that although the appointed forces againſt Scotland were ſtaied, and turned to the ſuppreſſion of the rebels, to the incouragement (no doubt) both of Scots and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were ſo fronted and kept in aw by that armie vnder the earle of Rutland, that they rather loſt than gained in this ſeaſon at the Engliſhmens hands.

At one time the ſame armie, vnder the conduct of the ſaid earle, paſſing forth with a conueie of vittels vnto Hadington, came ſo ſuddenlie vpon the Frenchmen where they late in campe, that whether through default of their ſcouts, or other negligence vſed by them, or through the great diligence and prouident forwardneſſe ſhewed by the Engliſhmen, the Frenchmen were in ſuch hazard to haue béene vtterlie diſtreſſed, that if the Engliſhmen had not doubted more, than by anie was thought néedfull, they might haue ouerthrowen, taken, & ſlaine the Frenchmen handſmooth (as was ſuppoſed) at their pleaſure. But the Engliſhmen euen at their firſt comming in ſight of them (as it ſtood with the reaſon of warre, ſith by the aduenturing raſhlie oftentimes in ſuch caſes too late repentance eaſilie inſueth) ſtaied, the better to conceiue of that which they had to do. Whereby the Frenchmen had leaſure to march their waies a maine paſe, till they were got out of danger: for after they once beheld all the troops of the Engliſh horſſemen almoſt at their elbowes, and herewith the battell of the Almaines ſuddenlie appearing on the hill top readie to come downe vpon them, it was no need to bid them packe awaie.

The Frenchmen in danger to haue béene diſtreſſed.

The Frenchmen retire.

The Scotiſh light horſſemen comming on the backe of the Engliſh armie, perceiued where the Almaines (to make them readie to giue battell) had throwen off their clokes, and left the ſame (with all their baggage and ſtuffe which they had about them) in kéeping of none but of their women and boies: whereupon thoſe Scotiſh horſſemen, not minding to ſuffer ſuch a preie to eſcape their hands, came galloping in, and toke all the beſt ſtuffe they could lay hold vpon, and returned in ſafetie, before anie enimie could come backe to the reſcue. The Almains were in no ſmall chafe for the loſſe of their garments and other neceſſaries; but there was no helpe then to ſéeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were withdrawen and got quite out of danger.

The baggage of the Engliſh Lanſquenets ſpoiled by the Scotiſh horſſemen.

The Engliſh armie, after that the Frenchmen were thus fled and gone, paſſed forth to Hadington, with their cariages laden with vittels, to the great comfort of them within that fortreſſe, ſtanding in great neceſſitie before this conueie came. This ſummer alſo, and a little before the vittelling thus of Hadington, vpon knowledge had that Julian Romero with his band of Spaniards, whereof he was capteine, ſeruing the king of England, was lodged in Coldingham, ſix miles diſtant from Berwike: certeine bands of Almains and Frenchmen came thither vpon the ſudden, and ſurpriſing the Spaniards before they were aware of their approch, ſet vpon them in their lodgings, toke, and ſlue in manet the whole number of them.

Hadington victualled.

Julian Romero diſtreſſed.

Things paſſing in this wiſe in Scotland in the ſummer of this yeare 1549, the Engliſhmen were not onelie in the meane time ſore troubled with commotions raiſed by the commons of that realme; but alſo with the warres which the French king made againſt them, within the countrie of Bullognois, ſo that they had not meanes to imploie their forces againſt Scotland as they had determined to haue done; as partlie before, and more largelie in the hiſtorie of England is mentioned. By reaſon whereof, anon after Michaelmas they gaue ouer the kéeping of Hadington, and raiſing their fortifications there, they returned into England to the great reioiſing of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occaſion of great troubles and calamities. Vpon the giuing ouer thus of Hadington, the gouernor and the quéene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recouer againe all that the Engliſhmen held within the bounds of Scotland.

1549.

Hadington raced and left by the Engliſhmen.

But firſt it was thought good to aſſaie the winning of Wroughtie crag; for it ſounded (as was thought) greatlie to the diminiſhing of the eſtimation, aſwell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the Engliſh ſhould keepe foot ſo far within the realme, in deſpight of their whole puiſſance. Herevpon monſieur de Thermes about Candlemaſſe, hauing all things in a readineſſe for the ſiege, came thither, and did ſo much, what with ſhot of canon to make batterie, and other meanes of inforcements, that giuing the aſſault both with Scots and Frenchmen, they entred the fort the twentith of February by fine force, ſo that all thoſe within were either taken or ſlaine. Wherevpon thoſe Engliſh alſo that kept the caſtell, rendred vp the ſame without further reſiſtance, amongeſt other priſoners: ſir John Lutterell the capteine was one.

1550.

Wroughtie crag won by the Frenchmen.

In this meane time there were certeine commiſſioners appointed betwixt the two kings of England and France to commune of a peace: but becauſe they continued long in their treatie yer they could agrée, the Scots and Frenchmen ſurceaſſed not in occaſions of aduantage to purſue the warre, ſo that comming before Lowder they beſieged that fortreſſe, & skirmiſhing with the Engliſhmen that iſſued forth, to incounter them, droue them in at the gates with ſome loſſe on either part. And this done, the French held them within ſo ſtreictlie beſieged, that if peace had not béene the ſoner concluded, ſir Hugh Willoughbie capteine of that fort muſt néeds haue yelded through lacke of ſhot, & other neceſſarie things ſeruing for defenſe; which were ſpent, ſo that they were conſtreined to vſe their pewter veſſell in ſtead of bullets. But as it fortuned, a peace was accorded, paſſed, and confirmed, that verie ſelfe time betwixt the two kings of England and France, through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the commiſſioners appointed to deale therein, whoſe names inſue.

A treatie for peace.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

A peace concluded.

The names of the commiſſioners appointed to treat of peace.

First for the king of England, the right honorable John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter, and lord priuie ſeale; William Paget lord of Beaudeſert, knight alſo of the garter; ſir William Peter knight, chiefe ſecretarie to the ſaid king; & ſir John Maſon knight, ſecretarie to him for the French tong. For the French king were appointed Francis de Montmorance, lord of Rochpot, knight of the order of ſaint Michaell, and lieutenant for the ſame king of Picardie, in abſence of monſieur de Vandoſme; Gaſper de Colignie, lord of Chaſtillon, knight alſo of the order, and capteine generall of the footmen of France, and the ſaid kings lieutenant generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andrew Guillard lord Mortier, knight alſo of the order, and one of the ſame kings priuie councell; and Guillaume Bouchettell lord of Saſſie, knight likewiſe of the order, & ſecretarie of the eſtate of the finances. [And for the Scots (as ſaith Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 506.) D. Painter biſhop of Roſſe.]

Fr. Thin.

The articles of the peace.

Among other articles compriſed in this peace, it was couenanted, that all ſuch forts, caſtels, and places as the Engliſhmen held in anie part within the Scotiſh dominions, ſhould be deliuered and reſtored to the Scots; and that the forts of Dunglas, Roxburgh, and Aimouth, which the Engliſhmen had built and raiſed out of the ground, ſhould be raced and throwen downe, to auoid all occaſions of new controuerſies that might grow by reaſon of kéeping or defending the ſame: ſo as the peace now concluded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept and obſerued, aſwell betwixt England and Scotland, as England and France, and betwixt all and euerie the ſubiects of the ſame realmes, both by ſea and land. Monſieur de Mourret was ſent into Scotland with the copie of this peace, by whoſe meanes it was proclamed anon after Eaſter about the beginning of Aprill, and euerie thing vſed and ordered according to the articles of the agréement concluded.

Monſieur de Mourret.

The Frenchmen returne home.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were imbarked at Leith in ſixteene French ſhips, and certeine Scotiſh ſhips, and departed from thence into France. A few there were, as Nigropellice and Saint Falciſe, capteins of light horſſemen, with others that paſſed through England, and ſo home into their countrie. Moreouer the marqueſſe de Maine, after duke Daumals comming ouer into England about the ſame time for an hoſtage, paſſed afterwards through the realme into Scotland, to viſit his ſiſter queene Dowager, and ſhortlie after returned. They mourned both for the death of their father Claud de Lorraine, the firſt duke of Guiſe, who deceaſſed the eighteenth of Aprill this preſent yeare 1550.

The marqueſſe de Maine.

The death of the firſt duke of Guiſe.

*Now when the French departed out of Scotland, there were manie Scots appointed vnto them; partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they ſhould offer them anie iniurie in the ſtreict of the Britiſh ſea, and partlie for honors cauſe to bring them on their iournie into France. By whoſe departure Scotland was freelie deliuered from all forren ſouldiers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained ſtill in the countrie; becauſe they had the Ile of Inſketh and the caſtell of Dunbar committed to their charge, which afterwards they did moſt faithfullie diſcharge. Monſieur de Thermes, Chappellie, and diuerſe other capteins of France, remained alſo in Scotland (after that the others were imbarked to be gone into France) for pleaſures cauſe, and to ſée the countrie; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and beholding the cities, ſearching the caſtels, and marking the bulwarks of defenſe) did conſtantlie affirme, that in the whole world they neuer ſaw forts and townes more pleaſantlie placed, or more naturallie defended. In ſéeing whereof they conſumed the time with great pleaſure, vntill the moneth of December, in which they all went into France with the quéene Dowager.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 507.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the French) with forren nations, which continued three yeares: ſo was there within the wals and kingdome warre and diſſention amongeſt the Scots; which was moſt perillous and troubleſome. For they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor and his brother the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews and others) did vſe all things with extreame crueltie & couetouſneſſe. For the archbiſhop, being giuen to all libertie, followed by law his pleaſures in all things, as though it had béene permitted vnto him. For firſt, as a preſage of his following tyrannie, he permitted the ſlaughter of William Threichton to go vnpuniſhed, the ſame William being ſlaine in the gouernors houſe (if not within his owne ſight) by Robert Semple: next followed the death of John Maluill an old man of Fife; who next vnto the gouernor was moſt accounted of by him, as chiefeſt of his familiars. This John had his letters (which he wrote to an Engliſhman, to whome he did commend a capteine his friend) intercepted. In which, although there were not anie ſuſpicion of anie fault, yet was the author of them puniſhed with the loſſe of his head. Whoſe patrimonie made his death ſeeme the more vile; becauſe the ſame was giuen to the yonger ſonne of the gouernor. The hurts of theſe wicked parts did perteine to few, the enimie thereof to manie, and the example vniuerſallie to all. For by reaſon of this vnskilfull gouernement of the kingdome, and the ſlouth of his life, which offended the common people; the gouernor began to be had in contempt almoſt of all men.]

Buchanan lib. 15.

In September following, the quéene Dowager accompanied with the earls of Huntlete, Caſſils, Marſhall, Southerland, and diuerſe other of the Scotiſh nobilitie tooke the ſea, and ſailing to France landed at Diepe: ſhe was conueied thither by the prior of Capoa, & Leon Strozzie, ſent and appointed with ſix gallies to haue the conduction of hir. From Diepe ſhe remoued to Rone, where the king then late, of whome ſhe was right courteouſlie receiued, and had ſuch attendance and ſeruice done vnto hir, during the time of hir tariance there, as ſtood with the dignitie of hir perſon, and was anſwerable to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the high praiſe likewiſe of the king and his court in that behalfe.

The quéene Dowager ſaileth into France.

The cauſes of the quéene Dowagers going into France

Buchanan. lib.15. Lesleus lib.10 pag.508.

France were, that now hauing disposed all things at home in Scotland, she might renew the old league in France, she might see hir daughter and hir other friends; and procure the gouernement of the realme to hir selfe. For the ambitious and subtill woman did thinke in hir mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanor would sone be put out of his office, and that she might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before hir shipping into France, and whilest they were preparing, the earle of Huntleie commanded William Makintosche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be

1551. Lesleus. lib.10 pag.508

apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilest he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first depriued of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Cassils, and others that fauored the Makintosche) did so stir them against Huntleie, that a commotion and tumult had béene raised by them, vnlesse the wisedome of the quéene had appeased the furie of their minds.

For although the quéene certeine yeares after, had vndone the sentence of proscription for the goods of Makintosche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Makintosche) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of dissention betwéene Huntleie and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreuenged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Pet by deceipt, they apprehended Lanchlane Makintosche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betraior of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministred and blew the cole that fired Huntleie, to make the said William Makintosche out of the waie.

Lanchlane Makintosche apprehended.

Lesleus lib.10. pag.509.

A little before which, the maister of Ereskine, and Henrie Senclere deane of Glascow were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioising of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer ante violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the persuasion of the English) had offered wrong to the Scots, in deteining their ships and merchandize

Thus much digressed from the quéene Dowagers going into France, whereunto afresh to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rone, the king did there openlie make shew of hir welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shews, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michaell, he admitted the earle of Huntleie and other chiefe lords of Scotland deere to the quéene and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the yoong quéene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beautie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lesleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtesie, to feed the mind and eie, the king of France, the two quéens of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of the citizens most ioifullie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntleie, and the other Scots; that he seemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesies; where he remained all the winter.

Lesleus. lib.10. pag.510.

Now the quéene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the executing of the cause of hir coming into France, and vsing therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Loreine (hir brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongest others, the chiefest cause to take that iournie, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernement of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed to hir rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet she would wholie rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Buchanan. lib. 16. Lesleus. lib.10. pag.410.

Wherevpon the quéene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did persuade the king to confirme the dukedome of Chatelerault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires, & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Murreie to the earle of Huntleie (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earledome of Rothseie to his sonne, which had maried the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the erledome of Morton, to the sonne of George Dowglasse. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the yoong quéene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the yoong quéene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeers, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to do, the French king wold then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the quéene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rosse (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Gawin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbeie of Kiluinin was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betwéene the king of France & the quéene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quéene mother should sustéine the parts and place of the quéene hir daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, sith the same mostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yéeld thereunto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chatelerault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceipt might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassadour to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortlie after, the bishop of Rosse was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoo did wring from the gouernor a consent to part from his authoritie,

and to aplie himſelfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obteined, the biſhop of Roſſe goeth againe into France, to aduertiſe the king what he had done. Wherevpon the king conſidering his painfull & faithfull ſeruice, did reward him with the abbeie of Labſeie in France.

Leſleus. lib.10. pag.511.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, Edward the firſt, king of England, did ſend the marqueſſe of Northampton, & other of the nobler ſort of ambaſſadors to Henrie the ſecond, king of France, then ſo- Blois.
iourning at Bleſies, to moue him to giue his daughter in mariage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and paſtimes ſhewed before the king, in which the Engliſh ioining the Scots with them as companions of their ſports, did beare a part, and wan the garland (from the others) to their ſingular commendation. The ſummer next following, the French king accompanied with the quéene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Aniow, Nants, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before ſeene ſince he atteined the crowne. After certeine moneths conſumed in thoſe iournies, he returned to Founteinblew.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 512.

But the quéene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leaue and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with eaſie iournies came to Jamieſſie: where remaining a certeine time, ſhe had the pleaſant companie of hir mother the duches of Guiſe, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that ſhe ſhewed a certeine griefe (for hir father latelie deceaſed) which ſomewhat diminiſhed the ſweet pleaſure of that méeting. Now when the quéene Dowager had remained almoſt 12 moneths or more in France, honorablie interteined, bountifullie feaſted, louingli ſaluted by hir friends and kinred, and hauing obteined a willing grant of the effects of hir requeſt, the Scots do vrge hir to haſten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things neceſſarie therevnto.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 512.

Wherefore departing thence, and comming againe to Rone, the quene mother moued and perſuaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iournie through England into Scotland. By occaſion whereof, loſing their ſhips from Newport, they paſſe the ſeas, and happilie landed at Portesmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arriuall comming to king Edward the firſt, he preſentlie ſent thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to interteine hir: who receiued hir with ſingular ioy and courteſie, and conueied hir through Hampſhire, Suſſex, and Surreie (three prouinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that ſhe had béene there moſt honorablie receiued) ſhe came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after noone, and from thence rode to the biſhop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

Hir receiuing at the court.

The fourth of Nouember, ſhe rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie margaret Dowglas, the three dutcheſſes, of Suffolke, Richmund, and Northumberland, and diuerſe other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scotiſh and Engliſh. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord treaſuror were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king ſtood in the vpper end thereof, and the erle of Warwike holding the ſword before him. She at hir approching to him, knéeled downe, and he courteouſlie toke hir vp, and kiſſed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of preſence, & after into the quéenes chamber of preſence, where he kiſſed all the ladies of Scotland, and ſo departed for a while.

She dined on the quéenes ſide that day with the king, his ſeruice and hirs comming both togither; the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hirs on the left. What plentie of all maner of coſtlie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was ſhewed to ſet forth the feaſt, it were ſuperfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quéenes great chamber. After dinner the king ſhewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he firſt receiued hir, and there kiſſing hir, ſhe toke hir leaue, & returned to the biſhops palace from whence ſhe came.

Fr. Thin.

* And here I muſt not forget what Leſleus hath ſet downe in this place for the defenſe of his people, in not deliuering the yong quéene of Scots to the Engliſh, to haue entered the mariage bed of king Edward the firſt. Whoſe reaſons although they may (the firſt ground of the warre conſidered, with the conſent of the Scots parlement to that mariage, and the willingneſſe of the Engliſh to haue cauſed them to performe their promiſe without battell) be well anſwered, as matters that not verie greatlie defend the cauſe: yet I will not anie way ſay anie thing of him (being a man eſtranged from vs in religion, but learned, wiſe, of great experience, a faithfull ſeruant to his miſtreſſe, and a graue biſhop of Roſſe) but ſet them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leauing the ſame to the iudgement of others, ſith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our ſelues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 113.

When the quéene (ſaith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England ſheweth vnto hir his treaſurie, openeth the monuments, lateth abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other ſuch kind of means, that he might prepare himſelfe a paſſage (with the open notes of courteſie) to obteine the good will of the quæne. For he after perſuaded hir with manie ſpéeches, that ſhe ſhuld giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decréed by the Scotiſh nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be moſt beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if ſhe were giuen vnto the French kings ſonne) it ſhould not be profitable either to the Scots, which ſhould giue; or the French, which ſhould receiue hir to wife. Herewithall adding this vnto it, that there ſhould alwais be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwéene him and that perſon which ſhould marrie hir.

Wherevnto the queene both preſentlie and wiſelie anſwered, that the cauſe of hir daughters mariage to be ſolemnized with the French, was onlie by reaſon of the protector of England, which ſo bitterlie purſued the Scots with ſuch earneſt warre as then was made againſt them. For it was vnaduiſedlie done of him, to ſéeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the mariage bed with faire promiſes and flattering ſpéeches. Wherevnto ſhe ioined, that the Scots were ſo vehementlie preſſed by him, that they were inforced to craue aid from the French: for the more ſpeedie & eaſie obteining whereof, they were vrged to leaue the yong quéene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore ſhe greatly grieued that the matter was ſo faſt knit vp by the neceſſitie of time, otherwiſe than the Engliſhmen would haue had it. But yet, ſhe would labor the French king by hir letters and meſſengers, with all the diligence that ſhe might, to ſée if hir trauell and furtherance could do anie thing with him therein.

therein. Thus much Leſleus, and ſo againe to the matter.)

The firſt of Nouember, the queene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, paſſing forth at Biſhops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Penbroke, and the lord treaſuror brought hir to Shordich church, and there toke their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with iauelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke veluet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke veluet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Penbroke had fiue ſcore men well appointed alſo, with blacke iauelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treaſuror had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with iauelins in like maner, well apparelled: which three companies of horſmen furniſhed the ſtréets on either ſide, from the croſſe in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as ſhe paſſed that waie.

The ſhiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltam towne end, where ſhe lodged that night: and in euerie ſhire through which ſhe paſſed, the ſhiriffe, with the gentlemen of the ſame ſhire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till ſhe came to enter into the next ſhire, where the ſhiriffe and gentlemen there receiued hir: and that order was obſerued till ſhe came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, aſwell for hir ſelfe, and whole traine, as alſo the prouiſion for their horſſes, was borne and allowed by the king. [Beſides which, (as ſaith the ſame Leſleus) Richard Shelleie, now maiſter of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dudleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edenburgh, where ſhe was honorablie receiued by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The earle of Huntleie, and diuerſe other of the Scotiſh lords returned home by ſea, the ſaid earle landing at Montroſſe, about the latter end of December.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 513.

* After that the queene was arriued in Scotland, ſhe labored euerie waie to ſtop all occaſion of diſſention; and that theſe braules which were riſen amongeſt the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduiſe of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Argile, and by the queenes trauell, the controuerſies moued about the archbiſhoprikes of ſaint Andrews and Glaſcow, the biſhoprikes of Dunkeld and Brechine, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchechaſtrie, and other benefices, were ended: by beſtowing ſome of them vpon noble mens children, and ſome vpon ſuch perſons as worthilie deſerued them.)

The archbiſhop of Armachane.

Doctor Wanſhop, whome Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scotiſhman borne, archbiſhop of Armachane, ſo nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Julius the third, deceaſſed this yeere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himſelfe ſo to ſtudie, that he was firſt made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Paris, and after atteined to ſuch eſtimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foreſaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be preſumed, that the ſufficiencie of his learning, (whereto he muſt néeds aſpire altogither by the eare) (ſith he was quite depriued of the benefit of ſight) coupled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him firſt into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his beſtowing.

1551.

1552.

This yeere in the moneth of June, the queene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of Scotland; and at Innernes, Elgin, Bamf, Aberden, and Perth, the gouernor ſat in iuſtice for redreſſe of wrongs, and adminiſtration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the weſt parts, and ſat likewiſe in iuſtice at Dunfreis, Glaſcow, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerſe were put to their fines for tranſgreſſing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporall puniſhment. Which was but a ſlender courſe taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunitie; though in leuieng of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vſed: for by that meanes manie an offenſe was redéemed by monie, and iuſtice was little better than bought and ſold, as at a publike mart.

wrongs done are by iuſtice redreſſed.

* After this, they returned to Edenburgh, where all things requiſite for the eſtabliſhing of iuſtice were confirmed by the counſell of the nobilitie, and of the wiſe ſenators. Whereupon, when nothing ſéemed to want for the ſetling of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the eaſt limits (accuſtomed to ſpoiles) did by driuing bowties of cattell from the borders of England, ſéeme to offer new occaſion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedworth, and remoued ſuch magiſtrats as had negligentlie gouerned their owne prouince, or diſpatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Whereupon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betweene England and Scotland. About which time alſo, the proteſtants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall councell kept at Bithquoe, where the Caluiniſts with their doctrine were condemned and accurſſed; and all things decréed in the councell of Trent vnder Paule the third, were eſtabliſhed, with manie other néedfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 515.

In which meane time, Dauid Panter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfullie conſumed ſeuen yeares in France, in the ſeruice of an ambaſſador legier, came out of France to Jedworth: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the aſſemblie of the nobilitie) the reaſon, order, and meane which he vſed in accomplithing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had ſo diligentlie, wiſelie, & truſtilie performed that great charge, he was with great ſolemnitie conſecrated biſhop of Roſſe, in the preſence of that aſſemblie. At which time alſo, the gouernor did dub into the order of knighthod certeine borderers, who had deſerued well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with ſuch honorable recompenſe, might be more inlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongeſt which perſons ſo aduanced, theſe were the chiefe: Ceſkurd and Fernihurſt, Andrew Kar of Littleden, Couldinknols, Greinherdie, Balclenche, with manie other valiant men.)

1552.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 516.

In this torneie (wherein the gouernor was thus the iuſtice) the queene ſecretlie trauelled with the lords, both ſpirituall and temporall, to haue their conſents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after hir daughter the queene came to ſufficient yeeres, and that the time of hir tutorſhip were accompliſhed, or ſooner; if the lawes of the realme would ſo permit. And to aſſure hir ſelfe of their good wils in this behalfe, ſhe contracted ſundrie priuie bands with them, making large promiſes of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was ſo handeled by hir and others, to whome ſhe committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agréed to ſurrender vp the gouernance into hir

The queene mother ſéeketh to be gouernor.

1552. Leſle.

1553.

The gouernement is reſig-

ned vnto the quéene.

hir hands, hir daughter the yoong queene being not yet full twelue yeeres of age.

The gouernor was promiſed not onelie a full diſcharge and a *Quietus eſt* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, iewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but alſo a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chatelerault: likewiſe an other confirmation of all gifts and reſtitutions by him made, during the time he had exerciſed the office of gouernor. And forthwith the queene Dowager ſent into France, to get all theſe things diſpatched, with ſuch aſſurances of writings vnder hands and ſeales, as was expedient, and to be ſent home into Scotland for his ſecuritie in all things.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 517.

1552.

✻ But before the gouernor had conſented to the queenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for ſhe well vnderſtood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yoong quéene had atteined to the age preſcribed for hir full yeeres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king ſhall not remaine anie longer vnder tutors, than to the age of foureteene; & the quéene (as it is in other women) at the yeeres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which ſhall haue the gouernement of the kingdome vntill their full age. For which cauſe, the yoong quéene choſe amongſt other (as after ſhall more appeere) the queene Dowager to be one: whereupon, the quéene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir ſelfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue thoſe yeeres of twelue. Againſt which the gouernor did ſtiflie contend, conſtantlie affirming that the yoong quéene did not exceed the age of eleuen yeeres.

Whereupon the quéene, to take from the gouernor all ſtarting-holes and other ſhifts, doth vrge the cuſtome of that kingdome, and the obſeruation of thoſe lawes to be, that they muſt reckon the yeere in which the Scotiſh king or quéene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or foureteene; in which they may appoint gouernors to rule vnder them. Which the gouernor perhaps did ſeeme to confeſſe for the king, but that the ſame was true for a quéene it did not appeere; ſith it ſéemeth to be wrought by Gods high prouidence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies heeretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (eſpeciallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appeered from the Bruſes to the Stewards) deſcended from the women, haue ſometime poſſeſſed the ſterne of Scotland.

But in the end, ſaie or do what he could, the gouernor did ſurrender his place (as after ſhall more plainelie appeere) vntill which time we will purſue the orderlie courſe of things done in this place: which is, that whileſt the gouernor & the queene mother were in this diſcord for the regentſhip of the realme, manie ſeditious perſons (taking occaſion thereby with hope to ſcape vnpuniſhed) did renew the memorie of old iniuries. For hereupon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Kars did (at Edenburgh) with great boldneſſe vtterlie ſlaie Balcleuche the knight. Beſides which, the yonger ſonne of the lord Ruthwen or Rewen, did publikelie thruſt through and ſlea John Chartruſſe a noble and a valiant yoong man, for deadlie hatred (as was thought) betweene thoſe two families. Yet it was ſpred abroad, that the chiefeſt cauſe why Ruthwen did kill Chartruſſe, was for that Ruthwen (being called into ſute of law by the other) diſtruſting his cauſe, and ſuppoſing that it would paſſe againſt him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that verie day to kill Chartruſſe. Which matter was the occaſion of making this law, that whoſoeuer with force or armes did either purſue or abate, recouer or loſe in anie action, ſhould not onelie be puniſhed for the raſhneſſe of the fact, but alſo ſhould haue the matter forthwith (euen in that mouent of time) iudged againſt him.]

This yeere, the firſt of Julie, Edward the firſt of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom ſucceeded his ſiſter Marie, eldeſt daughter to K. Henrie the eight. [Touching whoſe regiments, Abr. Fl. ſith this hiſtorie requireth matter appropriate vnto it ſelfe, we will ſaie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient courſe of time wherein they flouriſhed and vaded. Onelie this is worthie the noting, that the realme of England was not ſo much in hir time afflicted with exquiſite troubles of barbarous perſecutors, to the diminiſhing of Gods ſeruants, and the increaſing of ſatans ſynagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious goſpell, if God had not (for the vnworthineſſe of the Engliſh people) taken the yoong king awaie. For the proſperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a bleſſed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

1553.

✻ About this time, Norman Leſle, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton biſhop of ſaint Andrews into France (where he then was impriſoned) being now ſet at libertie, did priuilie conueie himſelfe into Scotland. Which vnderſtood of the gouernor, he fined all thoſe that had receiued him into their houſe, & compelled Norman to flée to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he ſhould ſuffer extreme puniſhment. But when he knew that there was no place of ſafetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie prouinces, he came at laſt into England, in the reigne of Edward the firſt; of whome, with the reſt of his companions, he was moſt courteouſlie receiued, with yeerelie penſions out of the exchekor or common treſurie aſſigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their eſtates.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 520.

1554.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were alſo commanded to depart the realme, to whome (earneſtlie vrging that their penſions might be paied to them in an other place where they ſhould remaine) the duke of Norffolke did publikelie ſay in the councell, that it ſéemed not iuſtice, that a catholike prince ſhould paie anie penſions to ſuch as had murthered a catholike cardinall. With which anſwer the ſaid Norman was almoſt ſtroken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his exile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Brunſtone, whom this Leſle had ſent before to requeſt the ſame) he was made capteine of the Scotiſh light horſſemen in France. This man did ſo valiantlie, worthilie, and honorablie behaue himſelfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the fift then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies formoſt in the front of the battell, to aſſault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe awaie the blot of the cardinals ſlaughter, and more firmelie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light ſkirmiſhes (which he happilie performed againſt the enimie) following the battell at Renton (a towne in Picardie) moſt hotlie, and drawing néere within danger of the enimie, he was ſo wounded with a ſhot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieued by his owne ſouldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Montrulle, where he ſhortlie after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet ſo loning (for the

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie ſlaughters of the nobilitie.

ſingular

ſingular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all ſuch of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Brunſtone) to be receiued into their owne countrie, and reſtored to all their goods and poſſeſſions.]

The couenants and articles are perfected.

1555. Buch.

1554.

A parlement. Edenburgh caſtell deliuered to the lord Erſkin to kæpe.

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland aſſembled at Striueling, where all the couenants and articles of agreement betwixt the quæne and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thervpon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edenburgh, the tenth of Aprill nert inſuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the caſtell of Edenburgh vnto the lord Erſkin to kæpe, as it were by waie of aſſurance for his part, that all things at that parlement ſhould be accompliſhed, according to the points of the agræment made by full conſent. The lords then aſſembling in parlement at Edenburgh, on the ſaid twelfth day of Aprill, all the couenants of agræment had & made betwixt the quæne Dowager and the gouernor were preſented & read, touching the dimiſſion and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quæne hir ſelfe in France, with conſent of the king of France hir huſband, the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinall of Lorrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chaſtelerault vnto the gouernor, vnder the great ſeales of France, and others, to whome it apperteined.

The quæne made gouernor by parlement.

The gouernor made duke.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the three eſtates of Scotland, touching the premiſſes, in which they bound themſelues to warrant the quænes diſcharge made to him, & to eſtabliſh him as ſecond perſon of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of the caſtell of Dunbreton (as ſaith Buchanan) with other things conteined in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the eſtates ſubſcribed, and put thervnto their ſeales. Which done, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorſhip, in preſence of the ſaid eſtates, the quæne mother, & monſieur Doſſell being there preſent, who receiued the ſame in the quænes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith preſentlie was a commiſſion ſhewed, giuen by the quæne of Scotland in France, with conſent of hir curators, making the quæne Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office ſhe tooke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the eſtates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authoriſed in the quænes name, with conſent of hir curators, and in name of the quæne regent.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor reſigned his office vnto the quæne.

The quæne giueth the gouernance of the realme vnto the quæne mother.

Fr. Thin.

* Where is to be noted, that as at the firſt they which had the adminiſtration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minoritie, were firſt called gardians, and then gouernors: ſo now began they to haue a new title for the ſame, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accuſtomed among the Scots, which name hath euer ſince remained to all ſuch as execute that place (euen in our age) during the minoritie of Charles James the firſt, now ruling the ſcepter of Scotland. In which declination of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be perſuaded that the caſtell of Edenburgh ſhould be deliuered to the rule of ſtrangers: fearing that if the quæne ſhould die without iſſue, that then the French would there by tyrannie ſettle themſelues. Wherefore the ſame was committed to the defenſe of John Areſkine, which he ſhould not deliuer to anie, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

Buch. lib. 16.

About this time, the quæne regent ſent George Gordon earle of Huntleie to apprehend John Mudiard (or Mederac, as ſaith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable theefe, & one that was fraught with moſt wicked deeds: which iournie it is ſuppoſed that Gordon did not verie faithfullie diſcharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the diſpatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to priſon vntill the day appointed, wherein he ſhould anſwer the cauſe. Whoſe friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie againſt him for the ſame) did ſpred falſe rumors thereof, laieng all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they ſaid that the ſame was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which ſpeeches did onelie riſe almoſt vpon this occaſion.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 522. Buchan. lib. 16.

Whileſt the quæne prepared for hir iournie into Scotland, Gordon did caſt into priſon William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yong man liberallie brought vp with the earle of Murreie for kinreds ſake, being ſiſters ſon to the ſaid earle; for none other cauſe but for that he would not yeld himſelfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieued at this man, did not thinke it ſafetie to leaue him free and at libertie behind him, when he ſhould go into France with the quæne, although he could find no fault to laie to his charge worthie anie puniſhment. Wherefore (by his friends) he perſuaded the yong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he ſhould yeeld himſelfe into his protection and tutorſhip: for ſo by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and ſafetie of the other might be prouided for, which the yong man did accordinglie.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (diſſembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yong and giltleſſe man in his abſence, ſuppoſing thereby to tranſferre all the malice which ſhould riſe thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his conſent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knew the ſubtill wit of Gordon the earle of Huntleie, and that his wife (a choſen and rare woman) had paſſed all the reſt of hir life within the bounds of womanlie modeſtie; they were all eaſilie perſuaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counſell. Whervpon, Gordon being now caſt in priſon for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the puniſhment which he ſhould haue. For ſome would haue him baniſhed into France for certeine yeares, & ſome would onelie haue an exceſſiue mulct to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiected by the chiefe of his enimies, Gilbert earle of Caſſiles. For he, perceiuing by the preſent ſtate of things, that peace would not long continue betweene Scotland and France; did vtterlie withſtand his baniſhment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being ſo ſubtilie and vnconſtantlie witted, proud, and deſirous of reuenge, of and vpon ſuch as were emulous, or backbiters againſt him) to be a firebrand and capteine to thoſe French, who (he was aſſured, for their inſolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be puniſhed, yet he did not iudge, that anie domeſticall euill was ſo much, or the puniſhment thereof ſhould be thought ſo great, that they ſhould accuſtome the French to ſhed the Scotiſh bloud. Wherefore at length his puniſhment was agreed vpon (as after ſhall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Murreie, & other things.

The quæne hauing the diſpoſition of all things, did at hir pleaſure change all the officers, and made the earle of Caſſils treaſuror, & Oeilmot a Frenchman controller; alſo an other Frenchman called monſieur Rubie, kæper of the great ſeale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntleie, who was chancellor and then in ward; [and James Machill regiſter, and the abbat of Couper kæpet of the priuie ſeale, as ſaith Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 521. Bonald gouernor of the Iles.] Theſe mens counſell and monſieur

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

sieur Dotsels she vsed principallie in all things. The earle of Huntleie being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Murreie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest vnto the farmes of Orkenetie and Sheatland, and to the earledome of Mar, and of the quéenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of fiue yeares. But yet afterwards the quéene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir fiue thousand pounds in monie.

The earle of Huntleie renounced manie things.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 522.

* About the same time Marie the quéene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betweene both nations, and that their commissioners should méet to determine all controuersies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Kinwardie, and John Bellenden of Achnowle knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallesse, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Morton, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Norham castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the mulct of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

1551.

The law for fishing.

Couenants for seamen.

Further it was agreed, that whosoeuer by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driuen into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staied; but he might frélie by land or sea, either on horssebacke or on foot returne home. Prouided, that he had the testimonie of the nert maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arriuall; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclere deane of Glascow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the fift, aswell for the singularitie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 523.

1555.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie estéeming such wisedome & learning) made no account of him, although the quéene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, vpon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Orchades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of sutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holilie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had bæne before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence vsed by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion, that their sutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Paine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence thereunto) come into Scotland to sée his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stewkleie of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 524.

In Julie was a parlement held at Edenburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these séeme worthie to remaine chronicled to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsuntide, or anie such times, in which their hirelings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants méeting togither, should no more assemble vnder a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Hood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betweene subiects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

1555. A parlement.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 524.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight kalends of August, fell the mariage of Marie queene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quéene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulat their mariage. Besides which, these ambassadors did require a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to méet the nert summer in the borders, to end all controuersies. In the meane time, whilest the quéene regent did administer the affaires of south Scotland, John Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of John Mudiard or Muderace. At what time this earle vsed such courtesie and counsell in pacifieng, and such celeritie and wisedome in executing of things; that he brought the seditious Mudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quéene, to whome the said Mudiard did willinglie yéeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 525. Buchanan. lib. 16.

To which man, the queene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of hir nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this condition; that he should faithfullie remaine prisoner in the castell of Neffens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the for (as the prouerbe is amongest vs) cannot liue without his starting holes; so this Mudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (deceiuing their keepers) returne to their owne canes, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their raised seditions and spoiles. Which things inforced the quéene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of oires: in which she might bridle the euils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the rots of sedition.

Wherevpon, in the moneth of Julie, the quéene accompanied with the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Rothes, Cathils, and Marshall; the bishop of Aberden and Rosse, M. Dotsell, Rubie, and others, went to the towne of Inuernesse, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was iust punishment taken vpon the offendors. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mounteine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment; she commanded the heads of the mounteine families, that they should bring their guiltie countrimen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by James the fift; with a great paine

1555. Buch. 1556. H.B.

Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 527. Buchan. lib. 16.

paine ſet vpon the chiefe of thoſe families; if the o-ther did ſtiflie reſiſt, & would not come into iudge-ment.

Wherevpon it followed, that ſundrie of diuerſe families, that were by contempt departed awaie, did come to publike iudgement. Where manie, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort, paied the puniſhment for troubling the peace; amongeſt which, one Grant a baron being commanded to bring James Grant and diuerſe other wicked perſons before the iudges, did prouide to bring their dead heads, when they could not take their liue bodies. The earle of Cathnes alſo, becauſe that being warned thervnto, he did not bring his people before the iudges; was firſt committed to priſon in Inuerneſſe, then at Aberden, and laſtlie at Edenburgh, from whence he purchaſed his libertie with a great maſſe of monie.

Mackeie in like ſort, head and chiefe of the tribe of Strathnauerne & of Glencone, being called to iudgement (for that he had often waſted the countrie of Southerland next adioining) did contemne the precept. Wherevpon the quéene prouided a great armie, which vnder the erle of Southerland brake into Strathnauerne, where he poſſeſſed all the places of doubt, leaſt anie hole might be left for the théeues to paſſe awaie from thence. Wherevpon Mackeie, when he ſaw himſelfe ſo beſet (as that no place of flight was left him) yelded himſelfe to Hugh Kenedie, who led him to the quéene, by whom he was committed to priſon at Edenburgh a long time, but they of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to ſafe and ſtrong priſons) were reſerued to the iudgement of the quéenes pleaſure.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 528.

After this, the quæne leauing Inuerneſſe, and progreſſing the prouince of Roſſe, ſhe came to Elgine, Bamf, Aberden, and the chiefe places thereabouts, diligentlie to inquire of the miſdemeanor of thoſe people. At what time ſhe did temper the rigor of law with ſuch courteſie, that ſhe puniſhed the offendors by fine, and not by death. From thence ſhé came to Dundée, and to ſaint Johns towne, obſerving the ſame cauſe and courſe of hir comming. When ſhe had thus paſſed ouer the ſummer in bringing the mounteine people to their dutie, ſhe ſent the earle of Huntleie to ioine with the biſhop of Roſſe and Orkeneie, and to Hugh Kenedie; to whom ſhe did ſubſtitute a better and more commodious forme of diſpatch of their affaires by others: who ſhould receiue the libels and accuſations of priuate perſons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the townes of Inuerneſſe, Elgine, and other places. By whoſe diligence it came to paſſe, that all thoſe countries (being reduced to the rule of iuſtice) were made the more quiet.

Here I will not (ſaith Leſleus) now declare how honourablie & ſumptuouſlie the quæne in all hir progreſſe was receiued (without anie charge to hir) of the péeres, biſhops, and other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, ſith the Frenchmen (which were then preſent with hir) haue opened to other nations as well as to their own people (with ſingular commendations to the Scots) the gorgious ſhew of this Scotland, being a moſt worthie ſigne of the fauour they bare to the quæne.] In the meane time there were ſent commiſſioners to the borders, as the biſhop of Dunblane, the lard of Lethington, & maiſter James Macgill: where doctor Tunſtall biſhop of Durham, & certeine others for England met them at Duns, and remained there till the quænes comming backe forth of the north in September next following.

Commiſſioners ſent.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 527.

A parlement.

Gentlemen reſtored.

This yéere was a parlement holden, in which the lards Brimſton, Ormiſton, and Grange, with maiſter Henrie Balnaues, and others, which were forfalted in the gouernors time, were reſtored. At the ſame time the quæne, by the counſell of monſieur Doiſell, and Rubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requeſted that a new order might bee made, whereby euerie mans ſubſtance ſhould be put in an inuentarie, and according to the rate thereof to paie a yéerelie taxation, to be put and kept in the treaſure-houſe till warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged, therewith to lie vpon the borders, and none in that caſe to be charged to come from their owne houſes, but when anie great armie came forth of England to inuade Scotland.

A yéerelie tax to be leuied is proponed.

This taxation is not granted.

1556.

Diuerſe of the great lords were agreed to this ordinance: but the moſt part of the barons hearing thereof, aſſembled togither in Edenburgh, to the number of two hundred & aboue, and ſent the lards James Sandlandie of Calder in Louthian, and John of Wemis in Fife, to the quæne and lords, beſeeching them not to ſet ſuch new taxations vpon them, for they could not beare ſuch burdens; but would defend the realme, as before time their elders had done, not meaning to put their goods in inuentarie, as if they ſhould alreadie make their laſt will and teſtaments: and be paſt all hope of inioieng their temporall goods, as perſons not to liue longer in the world, but to take their farewell, and giue ouer all that they had by law of fatall neceſſitie not to be auoided. * Adding further, that their elders did not onelie defend themſelues, and their goods againſt the Engliſh, when they were of farre greater power than they now be; but did alſo manie times make further inuaſion vpon them into their owne countrie. For which cauſe, they being not anie iot now ſo degenerat from their anceſtors, that they wold not, when need required, beſtow their ſubſtance and life in defenſe of their countrie.

Ft. Thin. Buchan. li. 16.

And as touching the hired ſouldiers, it was a thing full of danger, to commit the ſtate of Scotland to men without ſubſtance, or without hope of aduancement, and to ſuch as for monie will dare to do anie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their déepe couetouſneſſe, and to miniſter occaſion to them to attempt other matters. But to the end all other things may the better be loked vnto, let them more remember the déerenes of their countrie, than their owne eſtate or condition. For will anie man beléeue, that hired ſouldiers will more valiantlie fight for ſtrangers, than the owners will fight for the defenſe of their owne? That a little hire or wages readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incenſe the minds of the common people; than goods, children, wiues, and temples, will moue the hearts of the nobilitie?

Wherevnto may be ioined, that this matter perteineth to the higheſt good of the kingdome of Scotland, and that the ſame is of farre more importance than that it ſhould be communed of at this time, and in the tender age of our yong quæne. Beſides which the greater part of men do ſuſpect and feare, that the ſame new order for warre is vnprofitable, and ſuch as cannot be performed without ſome commotion of the Scotiſh nation, eſpeciallie ſith ſo great ſums of monie can hardlie be wrong out by tribute impoſed on the ſame Scots, as may ſuffice to nouriſh a hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to be feared, leaſt the end of perſuaſion grow to this point, that it do not rather open a gap to let in the enimie, than to be a barre to kéepe them backe. For if the Engliſh, after this example, being a farre richer nation, ſhall gather a much greater ſumme: who doubteth, but that they may with leſſe trouble to the cómon people, ſuſteine an armie twiſe as great as that of the Scots, & ſuch as ſhall not onelie enter the borders, but ruſh euen into the verie bowels of the king-

kingdome of Scotland?

For the other part of the oration, I cannot tell whether it be better to ſuppreſſe it in ſilence, or to deliuer it (ſaith Buchanan) to common eies & eares. For I doo heare (writeth he) manie which doo murmur and aſke who ſhall gather this monie? How much thereof ſhall be neceſſarie to and for the hired ſouldiors, and how much to be left in the hands of the treaſuror? There be manie things which put vs in great hope, that no ſuch thing ſhall be eſtabliſhed for the eſpeciall goodneſſe and temperancie of that worthie princeſſe (in whoſe hand the whole gouernment now reſteth) doth incourage vs, that we ſhall not bee ſo tared. But yet when we remember the outward deeds of others, and our owne at home, which haue beſore time beene done; we cannot ſo gouerne our ſelues, but that we muſt feare the ſame hereafter to fall vpon vs, which we haue alreadie felt.

But letting theſe things paſſe, which perchance we vainlie feare, let vs come to thoſe things in which our anceſtors did place their chiefe helpe (for maintenance of their libertie) againſt the weapons of their aduerſaries. Robert the firſt of that name (in compariſon of whome none of the Scotiſh kings were counted more wiſe, and without all doubt none more valiant, as we all confeſſe) did not onelie profit his ſubiects whileſt he liued, but alſo after his death: for when he laid at point to ſurrender his life, he gaue this admonition, that we ſhould neuer make continuall peace, nor long truce with the Engliſh. For that man (by nature and by vſe of long time exerciſed in both fortunes) did well perceiue, that ſuch as liued in idleneſſe and ſlouth, had their ſtomachs and minds abated, and their bodies weakened with delights of pleaſures, and that couetouſneſſe and lecherie did ſpring vp as it were in vntilled ground, when ſcuere diſcipline and ſparing was quenched, which made them alſo to be vnpatient of labor, and to hate battell, whereby their ſtrength being diminiſhed, they ſhould eaſilie giue place to their enimies.

After that theſe two noble men had ſaid thus much, the regent fearing tumultuous inſurrections if ſhe perſeuered in this eraction, left off anie further to purſue this tar, and is (in often acknowleging hir error) ſaid to haue vſed this ſpeech; That ſome of the beſt of the Scots, and not ſhe, were authors and workers of the ſame. By which words manie ſuppoſed that ſhe ment the earle Huntleie, a man of a ſharpe wit, latelie deliuered out of priſon, and rather readie to reuenge the iniurie receiued by reſtreint of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit ſhewed vnto him in his deliuerance. Wherfore when he ſaw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the Scots with tares and paiments of monie: and fearing leaſt hir power being ouermuch increaſed, that ſhe would abate the ſtrength of the nobilitie, diminiſh their authoritie, and call the whole gouernment of Scotland into the hands of hir people, it was ſuppoſed that he gaue hir counſell anſwerable to hir diſpoſition for the gathering of monie which ſhe had then in hand, being in deed the part of an enimie to hir, becauſe he knew that the Scots would not paie anie tribut, nor be ſo obedient vnto hir as they had beene before. There were alſo ſome that ſuppoſed this deuiſe to grow from Dauid Painter biſhop of Roſſe; for he being a man of rare wit, and no leſſe learning, was with manie benefits tied to the Hamiltons, and was not anie waie eſtranged from their counſels and kinreds.

1557. In this yeere, an ambaſſador of Muſcouie going into England with a great ſhip, & another bote, was caſt on land by ſudden tempeſt of the ſea in the coaſt of Buchquane, a prouince in the north part of Scotland; who hauing loſt all his goods by ſhipwracke, was ſaued himſelfe, and ſome of his companie, becauſe they lighted on a rocke, where he & they might ſaue their liues. The inhabitants did liberallie interteine this ſtrange man, and brought him to Edenburgh to the queene, who would not permit this new gheſt to want anie thing ſo long as he remained with hir: and further, commanded and procured, that his goods loſt by ſea, and come into the hands of the people, ſhould be faithfullie reſtored to him againe, appointing moreouer the lord Hume for honors ſake to accompanie him to Berwike.

Lesleus.lib.10. pag.529.

This yeere alſo in the moneth of Julie was Hoter Traberne ſent ambaſſador (from Anna duke of Oldenberge, and Delmenſore, and earle of Emden) out of eaſt Friſia into Scotland, to require that the ancient couenant of an hundred yeeres made betweene the Scots and the people of Emden (which by courſe of ſome yeeres paſt, was now of no force) might now againe be renewed. Which being granted & ſolemnelie eſtabliſhed, both thoſe nations from that day did liue togither in mutuall & perfect friendſhip. After this, warres ariſing betweene England and France, queene Marie of England, fearing leaſt the Scots would be ſtirred at the motion of the French to attempt ſomething againſt England, ſent ambaſſadors to the regent, to require that ſome of the Scots might with hir people meet on the borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them both.

Lesleus.lib.10. pag.529.

Whereupon in the moneth of Julie, the procurators for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whither for the Scots came Robert Reid biſhop of Orkneie, Henrie Seintclere deane of Glaſcow, Robert Carnegie knight, ſenators; and the lord Harries, at that time preſident of the weſt borders. For the Engliſh did come Tunſtall biſhop of Durham, the lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongſt whome there was talke for peace, and recompenſe of ſuch iniuries as were committed by both the nations. In the meane time a certeine Frenchman landed at the weſt part on Scotland, and declared to the queene the warres betweene England and France, deſiring hir to make warre vpon the Engliſh. Whereupon the queene ſent for the lords to commune with them at Newbottell, where ſhe opened to them diuerſe wrongs done on the borders by Engliſhmen, and how no redreſſe could be got: wherfore ſhe required that warres might be moued againſt England in reuenge of thoſe iniuries, although the biſhop of Orkeneie was the ſame time at Caerleill in talke with Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Durham and others, commiſſioners for England. The principall cauſe that moued the queene regent to ſeeke to make war againſt England, was for that the Engliſhmen aided the Emperor in fauor of his ſonne king Philip againſt the French king, becauſe their queene had taken to huſband the ſame king Philip, and ſent the earle of Penbroke ouer with an armie to ioine with king Philips power.

1557. The queene regent deſired warres.

An aſſemblie at Caerleill.

The occaſion why the quéen regent deſired to haue war.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots inuaded the Engliſh borders, it might cauſe them to call backe their power forth of France to defend their owne countrie. But the Scotiſh lords would not conſent in anie wiſe to begin anie warres: which their dealing when monſieur Doiſell perceiued, hee ſpeedily went to Haimouth beſide Berwike, and fortified the ſame with all diligence, making inuaſions into England. Whereupon the Scotiſhmen in their owne defenſe were conſtreined to make warre, and the erle of Huntleie was made lieutenant vpon the borders, who came thither; and remaining there by the aſſiſtance of the Frenchmen, made ſundrie inuaſions and rodes into England, burnt diuers townes and villages, and caſt downe manie ſtone houſes, piles

The Scotiſh lords refuſe to take warre in hand.

Haimouth is fortified.

Inuaſions are made into England.

1557. Leſleus.lib.10. pag.328.

pſles and ſtrengths.

In this meane while were the Scotiſh commiſſioners at Caerleill; and the maiſter of Warwell warden of the weſt borders, being there with them, with much adoo got away and came home into Scotland. The quéene aſſembled a great armie out of all parts of the realme, the which came forward to Kelſo in the moneth of October, where the quéene & Frenchmen perſuaded them to enter by inuaſion into England. But they mening to take further aduiſe, paſſed ouer Tweed to Warwell hugh, where they incamped, and afterward approched the caſtell of Warke, inuironing the ſame with a ſiege for the ſpace of two or thrée dais. Capteine Read at that preſent had charge of that caſtell, with thrée or foure hundred footmen, and one hundred horſſemen, ſéeming to care little for the Scotiſhmens forces.

In aſſembled.

The lords do not conſent thereto.

The caſtell of warke beſieged by the Scots.

Capteine Read.

The earle of Weſtmerland, being then lieutenant of the north parts, gathered ſuch power togither as he might make, and came to Lowike, accompanied with the lord Talbot, ſir James Croſts, and others, to ſuccor where moſt néed ſhould appeare. The Scotiſh armie, perceiuing the Engliſhmen thus in a readineſſe to reſiſt their attempts, tooke aduiſe togither, and concluded that it was not for the weale of the realme, at that time to hazard battell forth of the bounds of their owne land, their princeſſe being abſent, and as yet in hir minoritie; conſidering alſo that the war was not taken in hand for their owne quarell, but for the pleaſure of France. Theſe and other the like reaſons, being alleged by the earles of Arrane, Huntleie, Argile, Caſſils, and others, to the quéene and French capteins, they were nothing ſatiſfied therewith; but the Scotiſh lords would attempt no further, but retired backe and ſcaled their armie.

The earle of weſtmerland gathereth an armie to reſiſt the Scots.

The Scots breake vp their armie.

In remouing from Warke, they were purſued by certeine bands of the borderers, and others, which were repelled, and ſtood in danger to haue béene diſtreſſed, if capteine Read had not with noble corage iſſued forth, and in time relieued them that were retiring: whereby they ſtaied and gaue a new charge, inſomuch as the Scots were beaten backe againe, and chaſed ouer the water to their maine armie that was alreadie paſſed ouer. The quéene and monſieur Doiſell, perceiuing that they could not get the Scotiſh lords to make anie further exploit at that preſent, ſhe retired home; but Doiſell with his Frenchmen were appointed to remaine ſtill in Haimouth, to countergarriſon the Engliſhmen within Berwike.

There were diuerſe ſoot bands of Scots waged by the French king, which were appointed to lie in places about the borders, as at Kelſo, Rockeſburgh, and ſuch like for defenſe of the countrie, and the annoiance of the Engliſhmen, as occaſions might ſerue. After this, ſir Andrew Kar, and diuerſe other entered England with a power of men about Martinmaſſe. Neuertheleſſe, the earle of Northumberland, being then lieutenant of the north parts of England, and lieng on the borders, aſſembled his forces togither, & comming to incounter the Scots on the very borders ſide nére to Cheuiot, at the firſt the Engliſhmen were put to the worſſe, but yet at length the Scots were ouerthrowne and chaſed: ſir Andrew Kar, and manie other being taken priſoners.

The Scots diſcomfited by the earle of Northumberland.

Sir Iohn Foſter bare himſelfe verie valiantlie at this incounter, ſo that his ſeruice might not well haue béene ſpared. He was thruſt through the mouth into the necke, and alſo through the thigh; moreouer, his horſſe was ſlaine vnder him. The conflict was ſharpe, for both the horſſemen and footmen came to make proſe of their forces. The warre thus being begun and followed, the Scots kept their quarterage, and euerie noble man (as he was appointed) laie on the borders with a thouſand horſſemen, during his ordinarie tearme. And on the other ſide, the Engliſh borders were furniſhed with new ſupplies of men of warre, ſo that there were datlie rodes and incurſions made by the parties, to the great damage and ſpoile of the townes and villages ſituate nére to the confines of both the realmes.

Sir Iohn Foſter.

Quarterage kept by the Scots for defenſe of their borders.

In December the quéene aſſembled a parlement at Edenburgh, where ſhée (highlie fauouring the French) ſhewed forth the letters of Henrie king of France, to be read by the whole aſſemblie, touching the ſolemnization of the mariage betwene the yong quéene of Scots, and the French kings ſonne, which I haue here ſet downe.

1558.

A parlement.

## The ſubſtance of the letter of the *French king, concerning the mariage* of his ſonne to the *queene of Scots.*

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 533.

Henrie by the grace of God, king of the French, to his worthie coſines & princes of Scotland, and to the reſt of the orders, being our déere friends, gréeting. It is moſt plainlie knowen to all nations, how faſt a bond hath alwaies hitherto remained betwéene Scotland & France. Neither can it be hidden what theſe ſigns of amitie were, being for number manie, for greatneſſe large, and for dutie of friendſhip mutuall ech to other; by which the kings our anceſtors haue ſéemed to confirme, and as it were to increaſe this amitie, to the end it might remaine whole and ſound for euer: yea and ſo farre the ſhew thereof hath appéered, that all the benefits of either realme haue ſéemed to be common to ech other. Which bond of friendſhip we alſo haue (for the time in which we firſt receiued the enſignes of our kingdome) labored firmelie to reteine, to the end the ſame ſhould not anie waie be decaied or broken. The which in like ſort we well vnderſtand, that you haue likewiſe abundantlie performed vnto vs.

Wherefore (more ſtronglie to knit the ſame) we will not ſuffer this opportunitie (which the diuine goodneſſe hath laied before vs, as we verelie ſuppoſe) of mariage to be ſolemnized betwéene our ſon the Dolphin, and your quéene our déere and ſwéet ſiſter and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be intreated) was ſo vrged by all parts, as the yong quéene was vpon that condition left with vs, when ſhe was caried into France, by the conſent of our ſiſter the Dowager, and the gouernor of Scotland, to the great reioiſing of all you that yéelded therevnto; where now ſhe hath atteined ſuch beautie and number of vertues, partlie by the liberalitie of nature (which ſhe receiued from the kinglie bloud of hir parents) and partlie by the inſtruction of my wife, that I can hardlie anie longer ſuffer (in reſpect of the age of my ſonne) that this mariage (which we haue ſo much deſired) ſhould anie longer be deferred. And ſith at Chriſtmaſſe next my ſon ſhall come to thoſe yéeres, in which he may promiſe all things that ſhall be neceſſarie for the knitting vp of the mariage; and ſith alſo we haue determined (if it ſo ſéeme good to the quéene hir mother, and to the reſt of the parlement of Scotland, which we earneſtlie requeſt at your hands) that the mariage ſhall publikelie at Paris (on the day conſecrated to the thrée kings) with ſuch ceremonies as is requiſite, be fullie conſummate with the ſpeech of my ſonne and of your quéene:

We do by theſe letters requeſt you, that by common conſent you forthwith ſend ſome of your chiefe

nobilitie, that maie honor the mariage with their preſence, and that (hauing publike authoritie therefore) may freelie and according to law, diſpoſe of thoſe things which are accuſtomed to fall in ſuch matters and affaires.

The which if you ſhall doo, I promiſe that hereafter they ſhall liberallie vnderſtand how acceptable they ſhall be to me: and how that you ſhall receiue all the fruit and benefit which ſhall ariſe of my ſons mariage (for the performance whereof, by reaſon of his ſufficient age, we will ſhortlie prouide) which ſaid cõmoditie ſhall not onelie now remaine to you that be preſent, but alſo moſt abundantlie with great pleaſure ſhall continue to your poſteritie. For ſith both our and your people of France and Scotland ſhall be ſo firmelie conioined (as we hope) by this mutuall knot of mariage, and our affaires with yours, and yours with ours, ſhall hang the one vpon the other, as it were by a certeine mutuall linke and knot, that both we (being out of the danger of ſuch as would diminiſh and ouerthrow our ſtates) maie for euer inioy ſuch quiet as we did neuer hope to doo before this. From our caſtell of ſaint Germans, the fourth kalends of Nouember. 1557.

**Subſcription, By the king, Henrie:**
**A little below:** De Laubeſpine.

Upon the reading of which letters in the parlement, by the conſent of the whole eſtates, there were elected and choſen James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſcow, Robert Read biſhop of Orkeneie, George Leſle earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kennedie earle of Caſſiles, James Steward prior of ſaint Andrewes [the quœnes baſtard brother] George lord Seton [captein of Edenburgh] James Fleming, and John Erſkine lard of Dun [gouernor of Montroſſe] ambaſſadors and commiſſioners to go into France, and there to contract mariage betwixt Marie quéene of Scotland, and Francis Dolphin of France, and to ſolemnize the ſame mariage. Whereupon, ſufficient commiſſions and inſtruments were made to them by the eſtates of the parlement, and they accepting the ſame, made preparation for that iournie, and departed in the moneth of Februarie forth of the rode of Leith, and with great winds & boiſterous ſtormes came into France, loſing in their iournie one of their ſhips, with men and horſſes before ſaint Ebbes head, in the Forth of Scotland, and an other with great riches & manie gentlemen, with the captein called Waterton in the rode of Bullongne.

Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 533. Fr. Thin.

Ambaſſadors ſent into France to conſummate the mariage betwixt the quéene of Scotland and the Dolphin of France. 1558.

Two ſhips loſt.

The ambaſſadors themſelues neuertheleſſe eſcaped, and comming ſafe vnto the French court in the moneth of March, were honorablie receiued of the king at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and three ſcore thouſand franks aſſigned in dowrie to the quéene of Scotland, & thirtie thouſand franks of yerelie penſion, with manie rich iewels. There was alſo a perpetuall bond of league concluded betwixt France and Scotland, and great preparation made for the mariage, which was ſolemnized in Paris with great triumph and aſſiſtance of all the cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and biſhops of the realme, in the church of Noſtre dame, the 24 of Aprill in that preſent yere, 1558.

The aſſignement of the Scots quéens dowrie.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 16.

* After the ſolemnitie of this mariage, the legats of Scotland were called into the councell-houſe of the French king: at what time the chancellor of France delt with them, that they ſhould repreſent the crowne and ſcepter, and other ornaments of the kingdome, to th'end the huſband of the yong quœne might be crowned king alſo of Scotland. Whereunto the ambaſſadors did ſhortlie make anſwer, that they had no ſuch thing giuen in charge to them. After which, the cardinall ſaid; We deſire nothing more at your hands at this time, but that which lieth in your power to performe; which is, here now to confirme by writing that you will hereafter, forward, approue & worke that this honor (which now we iuſtlie demand) maie be granted to the Dolphin, when the ſame ſhall be talked of in the parlement of Scotland. Which requeſt (when it ſéemed full of impudencie) they ſuppoſed beſt more conſtantlie and ſharpelie to reiect.

Wherefore they anſwered, that their ambaſſage was reſtreined within certeine bounds, which they neither could nor would exceed. But and if they had bœne ſent with frée libertie of their ambaſſage, that yet it were not the part of faithfull friends (as the French profeſſed to be) to require that which could not be granted without certeine and aſſured danger and infamie of treaſon, though danger of life were abſent from it. All which notwithſtanding, in all honeſt things which might well be granted they would yéeld vnto the French, ioined vnto them by ſo manie neceſſarie occaſions. Wherefore they requeſted the French that they would not in their demands exceed the limits of modeſtie.

Wher vpon the ambaſſadors being diſmiſſed from the court, foure of the chiefe of them (before they departed home) which were theſe, Gilbert Kennedie, George Leſle, Robert Read, and alſo James Fleming, all men of ſingular vertue and loue to their countrie, beſides manie other of the companie, died there, not without miſtruſt of poiſon. It was alſo beléeued, that James the quœnes brother had receiued the ſame draught: for (although he were of a better compoſition of bodie, ſtronger conſtitution of complexion, and of more youthfull ſtrength, whereby he eſcaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and dangerous infirmitie of his bellie whileſt he liued, of the death of all which ſhall be ſomewhat more ſaid héereafter. Thus leauing the Scotiſh lords ambaſſadors there in France for a time, we will returne to ſhew what happened betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen at home, where the warres were purſued, to the loſſe or little gaine of both parts.]

About Whitſuntide, ſir Henrie Perſie with diuerſe bands of the countrie garriſons, & ſir George Bowes then marſhall of Berwike, with ſundrie bands of the garriſon of that towne, paſſed forth into Scotland, they being in all about ſeuen or eight hundred horſſemen, and two thouſand footmen. They burnt the townes of Duns and Langton; and hauing got togither a great number of cattell, returned homewards. The Scots that laie in Kelſo, and other places, kéeping their quarterage on their borders (for the realme, as ye haue heard, was quartered, euerie part kéeping their turne, as the manner is) aſſembled togither to the number of two thouſand horſſemen (or few leſſe) and three bands of footmen, haſting forth to defend the countrie. And perceiuing where the Engliſhmen were, followed and coaſted them as they returned with their bootie, till they came to Swinton, where they ouertooke them, and ſkirmiſhed with them ſharplie as they were paſſing through the towne.

A rode into Scotland.

Duns and Langton burnt.

The Scots aſſaile the Engliſhmen at Swinton.

The Scotiſh footmen beat backe part of the Engliſhmens ſhot into their battell, and preaſſed verie forward in hope to be aſſiſted by their horſſemen, the which (as ye haue heard) ouermatched greatlie the Engliſh horſſemen in number: but the fight grew ſomewhat hot, and the more vnto the diſaduantage of the Engliſhmen, forſomuch as their ſhot & powder began to faile them, by reaſon the miſtie morning had made much of their powder dankiſh, ſo that they could haue no vſe thereof. But héerewith ſir Henrie Lée, captein Read, and others, being in the battell, behaued themſelues verie ſtoutlie, cauſing the

the ſoutmen to ſtaie, and boldlie to abide the enimie: & hærewith procured the horſſemen to giue a charge in ſuch conuenient time, as if the ſame had béene protracted, it might haue turned verie euill to the Engliſh ſide.

The Scots horſſemen flée.

But now as well the horſſemen as ſoutmen plaieng their parts, the Scotiſh horſſemen abiding without the towne in troope (while their ſoutmen were in ſkirmiſh) fled awaie, leauing their ſoutmen to be ſlaine and ſpoiled of the Engliſhmen, and yet thoſe ſoutmem fought it out right manfullie: ſo that if the Scots horſſemen had done their parts ſo well as the ſoutmen, it was like to haue gone harder on the Engliſh ſide than it did. But now the Scotiſh horſſemen not entring the fight, their ſoutmen were incloſed by the Engliſhmen: for thoſe that were in the fore-ward, and were paſſed by, returned, and comming behind their enimies, holpe to beat them downe, ſo that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were ſome few amongeſt them) eſcaped, but were either taken or ſlaine.

The Scots ſoutmen ſlaine.

The lord of Keith with others taken priſoners.

Amongeſt others, capteine Cullane, and capteine Kenedie, two chiefe leaders of the ſoutmen were taken: diuerſe of their horſſemen alſo in the retire were taken, amongeſt whome William lord Keith, ſonne to the earle Marſhall of Scotland was the chiefeſt. But this victorie was not atchiued without loſſe of diuerſe Engliſhmen. Amongeſt other one Pell, enſigne-bearer to ſir John Markhams band of ſoutmen was ſlaine. Alſo maſter Edrington a capteine of light horſſemen was taken priſoner by the lard of Edmonſton, at the firſt charge giuen vpon the Scotiſh horſſemen, and led awaie without reſcue. Beſide the manfull proweſſe of ſir Henrie Perſie, and the other Engliſh capteins before mentioned, the forward valiancie ſhewed that day of ſir William Bꝛereton, and Thomas Markham, that led his father ſir John Markehams band of ſoutmen, alſo of Kaſe Ellerkar a capteine of horſſemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerſe other capteins & ſouldiers behaued themſelues in ſuch wiſe at that preſent ſeruice, as their dealings therein deſerue ſpeciall memorie.

M. Edrington taken.

Sir William Bꝛereton.

Moreouer, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entring into England, the Scotiſh horſſemen, to the number of a thouſand or thereabouts, paſſed forth to burne and forraie the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother ſir Henrie Perſie, aſſembled togither a power of horſſemen: and ſir Henrie Perſie méeting with them at Grendon, ſet vpon the Scots and chaſed them ouer the water of Twiſell, vnto the fot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the riuer of Twéed, paſſed ouer the ſame at Chapell Fourd, where they were aſſailed both by certeine fot bands of the garriſon of Berwike, that were come forth to aid the earle, and alſo by the horſſemen: ſo as diuerſe were drowned in the riuer before they could get ouer.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

But after they were once got to the further ſide, they put themſelues in order of battell againe, and retired in a ſquadron verie ſtronglie, ſuſteining little or no hurt at all, notwithſtanding that the erle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother ſir Henrie Perſie, with the reſt of the capteins and gentlemen of the countrie, purſued them ouer the water for the ſpace of two miles, ſkirmiſhing with them ſtill as they marched awaie, but could doo them no harme, becauſe they kept themſelues in ſo good order, & the Engliſh ſoutmen were not able to reach them. Whereupon the Engliſh horſſemen ſuffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and paſſing into the countrie, burnt long Ednam, and diuerſe other hamlets and villages, and ſo returned. Diuerſe Scots that day at the ouerthrow and chaſe of their horſſemen were taken priſoners, as the lord Grete, and others.

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Long Ednam burnt.

The lord Grete of Scotland taken priſoner.

And after this, the Engliſhmen wan the ſtrong pile of Cawmils, wherein were ſixtéene Frenchmen that defended it for the time verie ſtoutlie, ſo that it coſt the liues of diuerſe Engliſhmen, before they could take it. Shortlie after, there was a fore ſkirmiſh at Halidon hill. For whereas the moſt part of ſummer it was ordeined, that euerie daie certeine bands of ſouldiers ſhould ward on the ſame hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitants of Berwike, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without anie trouble offered by the Scots or French, ſo that the warders ſtanding in no doubt of the enimies, vſed out of their armor to ſhoot, bowle, quait, & exerciſe ſuch like games of pleaſure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertiſed, came one day from Aimouth in ſo ſecret wiſe, that they were drawen verie néere to the Engliſhmen, yer they had anie warning of their approch.

Cawmils wone by the Engliſhmen.

A fore ſkirmiſh vpon Halidon hill.

This approch as it was priuie, ſo was it likewiſe ſudden, inſomuch that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almoſt at their elbowes; and falling in ſkirmiſh with them, handled them verie roughlie: although ſir William Bꝛereton, ſir John Markeham, maiſter William Dꝛewꝛie, Cutbert Vaughan, and other the capteins of the Engliſhmen did behaue themſelues right manfullie, bringing their men in order, incouraging them, and doing what apperteined vnto hardie and ſkilfull warriors. But yet three times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the higth of the hill, till at length ſir James Croſt comming from Berwike, vſed ſuch diligence and policie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and conſtreined to retire, withdrawing backe into Aimouth, after they had continued in ſkirmiſh from one of the clocke till it was paſt foure with no ſmall loſſe on both parts.

The earle of Bothwell.

After this, the earle of Bothwell, lieng on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into England, and ſent his forraie to burne Fenton towne, kéeping himſelfe in ambuſh at Haltwell Sweire. Sir Henrie Perſie aduertiſed that the Scots were thus entred, got togither a thouſand horſſe, and making forth to defend the countrie, ſet vpon the earle at the aforeſaid place of Haltwell Sweire; but ſome feare entring into the hearts of the Engliſhmen, by reaſon of certeine ſhot which the Scots had there with them, fled, and were purſued by the Scots ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboue ſir ſcore Engliſhmen, amongſt whom capteine Erington, and capteine Bar, that had the leading of light horſſemen, were two: beſide diuerſe other men of good account in ſeruice, as one Vaughan a gentleman and ſuch like.

Haltwell Sweire.

The Engliſhmen put to flight.

About this time, whileſt the lord Eure commonlie called Euers, remained capteine of Berwike, one Kirkaudie couſine to ſir William Kirkaudie lard of Grange, chanced to be taken priſoner into Berwike; and afterwards being ranſomed, at his comming home to Aimouth, he made report that he had béene too ſtreictlie vſed, during the time that he remained priſoner, at the hands of the ſaid lord Eure. By reaſon wherof, vpon chalenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the lord Eure, the matter grew to this iſſue; that where their degrées were not equall, Kaſe Eure brother to the lord Eure vndertooke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a ſtaffe with the lard of Grange vpon the ſide of Halidon hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to ſée the triall of this chalenge performed.

The lard of Grange chalẽgeth the lord Eure.

But when they came to haue their armor & weapons viewed, the truth is ſo, that Orange was armed in a cote of plate, and a curace aloft vpon it: wherewith ſome fault was found, becauſe maiſter Eure was clad onelie in a ſingle cote of plate, without anie other peeces of armor for defenſe of his bodie. But yet ſuch was the great courage of the ſaid maiſter Eure, that he would not refuſe the chalenge, notwithſtanding his aduerſaries aduantage of armor. Wherevpon they ran togither, and brake both their ſtaues; and as it fortuned maiſter Eure was hurt in the ſlanke. The warre being thus purſued betwixt England and Scotland, beſide the incounters and roads which are before mentioned, there were two great roads made into Scotland; the one by the earle of Weſtmerland, and the other by the earle of Northumberland: the lord Talbot being there, & hauing the leading of certeine bendmanes.

The lord of Orange and maiſter Wake Eure ran one againſt another.

Moreouer, it was thought good by the Engliſhmen, not onelie to annoie the Scots by land, but alſo by ſea. Wherevpon ſir John Clere with certeine ſhips of warre ſailed forth alongeſt the coaſt, till at length he arriued at the Iles of Orkeneie; where going on land about an enterpriſe, & ſtaieng longer than was requiſit, he was incountred by his aduerſaries, and ſlaine with manie of his people, which were there on land with him. But though the Scots had good ſucceſſe in that part, they ſuſtreined great damage on the weſt ſide of the realme, by a iournie which the erle of Suſſex then lord deputie of Ireland attempted againſt them. For the better vnderſtanding whereof ye ſhall note, that after the lord Clinton high admerall of England had burnt the towne of Conqueſt in Britaine, there were ſeuen ſhips of warre appointed to paſſe into Ireland, as the Marie Willoughbie, the Dolphin barke, the Sacret, the Gerfalcon, and three other that were merchants, and appointed that peace to ſerue the queene of England in hir warres.

Sir Iohn Clere ſlaine in the Ile of Orkeneie.

There were alſo beſide theſe ſeuen ſhips of warr, two victuellers appointed to attend vpon them. Sir Thomas Cotton was ordeined their admerall, and one Southwoke of Douer was aſſigned to be their viceadmerall. Now vpon their arriuall in Ireland, the earle of Suſſex hauing alſo prepared three other ſhips, with ſufficient and neceſſarie proviſion for his iourneie, imbarked with ſo manie ſouldiers as conuenientlie might be beſtowed aboord in that fleet, conteining twelue ſaile in the whole; and departing toward the weſt of Scotland, landed in a part of the countrie called Kentire, with as manie ſouldiers and mariners as might be ſpared out of the ſhips, leauing them furniſhed with competent numbers for their ſafegard; and being got to land, he paſſed forth into the countrie, & burnt two houſes that belonged to Iames Maconell chiefe gouernor of thoſe parts, & a great enimie to the Engliſhmen.

The iourniе of the erle of Suſſex into the weſt parts of Scotland.

Kentire.

Iames Maconell.

He burnt alſo diuerſe townes, villages, and hamlets belonging vnto the ſaid Maconell, with great ſtore of coorne and other things which came in their waie. The Scots oftentimes ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſhmen, but durſt not aduenture to ioine with them in battell, they kept ſo good order by the earle of Suſſex his politike and valiant conduction. There were a ſort of Scots gotten into a boate meaning to haue fled, but being apprehended by the Engliſhmen, they were executed. Finallie, after the earle had remained there on land, in burning and ſpoiling the countrie for the ſpace of three daies, he returned to his ſhips, and in ſafetie went aboord againe with his men: and making ſaile to the Ile of Arrane, entred the hauen called Amalaiche, and landing at that place, burnt the countrie, and after went to Cumber, where he likewiſe burnt and harried that Ile.

The erle of Suſſex burnt the Ile of Arrane.

This done, he meant to haue gone into two other Ilands, Ila and Iurrie: but the winds grew ſo terrible with tempeſts and foule weather, that they loſt one of their ſhips; and ſome of the reſt were ſo rent & ſpoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they eſcaped in great hazard of being caſt awaie alſo. There were ſix and twentie mariners drowned, the which perceiuing the ſhip to be in danger of ſinking, fled into the boate, and ſo periſhed: the other that remained in the ſhip were ſaued, as maiſter Francis Randoll, and others. By reaſon therefore of ſuch foule weather, the earle of Suſſex was conſtreined to returne into Ireland, arriuing in Cragfergus, where he landed with his ſouldiers: and appointing the ſhips to returne into England, he paſſed by land vnto Dublin, ſpoiling the enimies countries by the waie, and taking from them a great preie and bootie of cattell; notwithſtanding the painfull paſſage that he had to make through the cumberſome waies, bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all neceſſarie things in that ſo troubleſome a iourniе.

Foule weather.

The erle of Suſſex returneth into Ireland.

Thus far for thoſe peares warre in the daies of Marie queene of England, betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots: whereof ſith I haue found none that hath written anie thing at all, I haue yet ſet downe theſe od notes, as I haue learned the ſame of ſuch as had good cauſe to know the truth thereof, being eie-witneſſes themſelues of ſuch enterpriſes and exploits as chanced in the ſame warres; namelie captеine Read, captеine Wood, captеine Errington, captеine Gurlеie, and captеine Markham; with others, which of their courteſie haue willinglie imparted to me the report of diuerſe ſuch things, as I wiſht to be reſolued in. Which accordinglie (ſo far as my remembrance hath ſerued) I haue here deliuered, to the end the ſame maie giue occaſion to others (that maie happilie light vpon more full inſtructions) to impart to poſteritie a more perfect diſcourſe, where otherwiſe the matter might peradventure wholie paſſe in forgetfulneſſe.

And now to returne vnto the Scotiſh ambaſſadors that were ſent into France, for the concluſion of the mariage betwixt their queene & the Dolphin. After that the ſame mariage was conſummat, and euerie thing ordered and brought to paſſe according to the effect of their commiſſion; in the moneth of Auguſt they take their leaue of the French king, the queene, and nobilitie there, to returne homewards into Scotland: albeit few of them came home, for the biſhop of Orkeneie departed this tranſitorie life in Diepe, the fifteenth of September; the earle of Rothes deceaſſed there the ninth of November; the earle of Caſſils lord treaſurer departed in the ſame place the fourteenth of November; and the lord Fleming deceaſſed in Paris the eighteenth of December. And ſo onelie the archbiſhop of Glaſcow, the prior of ſaint Andrews, and the lard of Dun returned into Scotland in October. After whoſe comming, there was a parlement ſummoned by the queene, to be holden in December next.

The ambaſſadors diet almoſt all. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 538, 539.

Their came home againe.

Lard of Dun. A parlement.

[In Auguſt Archembald Campbell erle of Argile, whoſe wit was ſingular in diſpatch of the affaires aſwell of peace as of warre, was made high iuſtice of Scotland; and in France was aduanced to the title of a knight of the order of ſaint Michaell. Few daies betweene theſe things departed this life the biſhop of Dachin, and Andrew Durie biſhop of Whitechurch. To the one did ſucceed the abbat of Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Gordon archbiſhop of Athens by the queenes benefit. David Painter or Panter biſhop of Ros, & Iames Steward, whome Iames the firſt (being illegitimat father

Fr. Thin. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 539.

Cambdē. Caſa.

ſacher vnto him) had made abbat of Melroſſe and Kelſo died alſo this yeare. Whoſe monaſteries the quéene did forthwith giue vnto the cardinall Guiſe; long after which followed alſo the death of the abbat of Bamforinoch. At this verie time manie prodigious ſights (which I will not here recite, being touched by Leſleus) did appeare by a marker of ſuch ominous things, whereof theſe verſes were made:

*Portentum eſt miſeræ gentis, quæ numine læſo*
*Diuiſis ſacris diuidet imperium.*

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 542.

In September there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in which the acts of the former legats in France (about the mariage of the quæne of Scots to the Dolphin) were confirmed. At what time the Dolphin of France by his ambaſſadors did vehementlie requeſt, that the crowne (which they terme matrimoniall) ſhould be giuen vnto him by the decrée of the ſtates, whereby he might be called king of Scotland as long as the quéene liued. The quéene alſo iudging it a point of honor, to heape all title of glorie which ſhe could vpon hir huſband, as one that by a certeine inclination of mind did vertuouſlie fauor him; gaue in charge alſo to the ambaſſadors, that they ſhould earneſtlie follow the ſame cauſe amongeſt the Scots. And to the end to draw them the more eaſilie into hir opinion; ſhe drew the matter into certeine articles, deliuered to the ambaſſadors with more ample inſtructions touching the ſame: the ſumme of all which was this.

First, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what diſpoſition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in that account as he did his owne people, and ſo alwaies would haue them: which good mind of the French towards the Scots to be plaine without anie diſſimulation, it maie well appeere as well by the couenants eſtabliſhed for the mariage, as alſo by the benefits which he hath not onelie beſtowed vpon the Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but alſo in particularitie vpon certeine eſpeciall Scots, of his owne frée will, almoſt without the requeſt of anie bodie. And that they ſhould alſo further laie abroad, what helpe the quéene and Scots haue had of the worthie cardinall of Lorraine, & the duke of Guiſe the quéenes vncle. All which the ambaſſadors themſelues (as they haue fullie proued) did well vnderſtand.

Secondlie, where the quéene doth thinke that ſhe is greatlie benefited with manie honors by ſo great a king, but eſpeciallie in this, that ſo mightie a prince hath taken hir into the fellowſhip of the holie bed, by which there can not anie other commoditie grow to the king than the reuenues of the kingdome which he hath purchaſed with his great charge and labor: and that the quéene conſidering all this (with great griefe of mind) doth ſéeke by what meanes ſhe might at leaſt erpreſſe ſome ſmall token of a thankefull mind for ſo manie benefits (becauſe if ſhe ſhould not do ſome thing, no ſmall blot would ſéeme to be imputed to the quæne and the Scots) it came into hir mind to thinke by what meanes ſhe could requite ſome part therof, which ſhe could do (as ſhe thought) if at the leaſt ſhe did but honor hir huſband with the kinglie title, & giue vnto him the mariage crowne of Scotland.

This thing therefore the quéene hir ſelfe doth earneſtlie deſire, and doth courteouſlie requeſt all the eſtates of Scotland, that the ſame maie be eſtabliſhed by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will command ſome thrée or foure of the chiefeſt nobilitie honorablie to carie the enſignes of the kingdome to him, that at the leaſt by this token of loue, the king & the beſt of the court maie well perceiue, with what reuerence and with what dutie they fauour the king hir huſband.

And to the end that this requeſt of the quéene, for the rareneſſe of the example, ſhould not breed anie doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them as it were in ſuſpenſe, it was giuen in charge alſo to the ambaſſadors, that they ſhould in manner point with their finger, that manie ages paſt, the quéene of Naples did not onelie for loue ſhe did beare vnto him, adorne the duke of Anion hir huſband, with the bare name of a king; but did alſo by the conſent of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouernement ouer the ſame kingdome. The like whereof was alſo done in our memorie by the quæne of Spaine to hir huſband the archduke of Auſtrich, & by the quæne of Nauarre to the duke of Vandoſme.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example of the Engliſh, who haue excluded Philip king of Spaine, that then the ambaſſadors ſhould eaſilie wipe awaie that doubt, if they admoniſh the Scots that the Engliſh are not tied to the Spaniards with that firme and néedfull band as the Scots are to the French, both which nations haue one priuilege, magiſtrats to gouerne, and one fellowſhip and participation of the adminiſtration of all the things in either kingdome. Whervnto they muſt further adde that it was ſo far off, that the Engliſh ſhould reape anie fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards, that the king of Spaine himſelfe did (as it were) wring from the Engliſh all the commoditie he could, to performe his affaires out of the realme. And further, that the Engliſh being out of all hope for their quæne to haue anie iſſue by the ſame mariage, they would not grant vnto it, when there is a certeine and full hope left to the Scots, that iſſue may come of this marriage.

Beſides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots, what great benefit maie redound vnto them by this ſigne of a thankefull mind. For it maie ſo happen, that if the king Dolphin ſhall féele himſelfe increaſed with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of their good fauour to him, that he maie raiſe vp his father the king of France, that he will not by anie meanes permit the quéene of Scots his wife to be excluded from the kingdome of England, after the death of quéene Marie, who was not like to liue long being ſore troubled with the dropſie.

Well fiſhed to catch a frog.

Not ſo likelie as that lies drop out of your pen.

Theſe things and manie others were giuen in charge to the ambaſſadors (comen out of France) to declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being thus declared to the ſtates and the quéene regent, with might and maine ſéeking the furthering thereof; at length it was granted that he ſhould be king during the life of the quéene. For which cauſe Gilleſper Campbell earle of Argile, and James Steward, baſtard brother to the yong quéene, being prior of S. Andrews, were named to execute their conſent vnto the Dolphin, to declare him king, and to inueſt him with the ornaments thereto belonging, and further to ſhew the readie minds of the Scots toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things: by which anie honor or profit might anie waie riſe vnto him.

But whileſt theſe men do prepare all things for ſuch a iournie, certeine factious perſons did beat into their eares, how heauie a iournie that would bee vnto them. For it would happen, that whileſt they were buſie in prouiding for ſmall things abrode, they ſhould by delaie corrupt, or by abſence cleane ouerturne matters of greater importance at home. For they did know how the ſubtill wit of James, and the great power and ſtrength of the earle of Argile would be milling in thoſe new things which were in hand amongſt theſe of the religion: for which they neuer left off intreating and perſuading, vntill they

had wholie staied them from that iournie.

Buch.lib.10. During these affaires, Marie quéene of England died, and that worthie ladie Elizabeth succéeded in hir place. Immediatlie whereupon, the yoong quéene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and other houshold stuffe to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserablie afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Pillane, Naples, and Flanders; yet they would nædes heape euill vpon euill, and adde thereunto the title of England, as being vnto them a verie scorne and mockerie (as Buchanan tearmeth it.) Neither did the wiser sort of the French looke into that matter: for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this error of the Scotish quéene, bicause they would thereby séeme to haue gotten to themselues a singular honor in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yoong quéene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtesie, into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers wherewith she was wont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not do by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, bicause she had not then obteind the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vsed other conditions, and other spæches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the first Ides of Maie.

And bicause she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernement to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but wold restore it to the former place. By which saiengs manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to intreat hir for the protestants, amongest which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obteined, there were sent Alexander Cunigame earle of Glencarne, and Hugh Campbell shiriffe of Aire, a worthie knight, before whom the regent could not refraine hirselfe, but burst forth into these words.

"These men (saith shæ) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beséeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to bæ chalenged of princes, so farre as it séemeth commodious for them to performe it. Whereunto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forewarne hir of the great mischiefes that would flow out of this founteine: with which answer shée being stroken more than shée loked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

In assemblie of the clergie. Fr.Thin. In Julie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelats and cleargie holden at Edenburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edenburgh were accused of heresie, and abiured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backes: [whereupon (as saith Lesleus lib.10.pa.538.) were great tumults raised at Edenburgh, for the appeasing whereof, the lord Seiton was made gouernor there.] In this assemblie it was required, that the common praiers might be read in the Scotish toong in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, whereof the answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall councell was appointed to be holden at Edenburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall councell of all the prelats and clergie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were proponed by the temporaltie; as to haue the praiers and administration of the sacraments in the Scotish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the temporall lords & people of their dioceses and parishes, with diuerse other reformations: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortlie after great trouble in Scotland.

A prouinciall councell.

Requests made by the laitie.

1559. The quéene regent caused summons to be giuen to John Knor, John Wullocke, John Dowglas, and Paule Peffane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Maie: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whervpon the said John Knor being in Perth, persuaded the maister of Lindsei, the lards of Tulibardin, Dun, Pettarrow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgesses of the townes of saint Johns towne and Dundæ, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppresse the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Maie they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbeie of the Charterhouse, the Blacke and Carmelite friers, called the Tullelum [and so cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be séene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Pernis, and other parts there nert adioining.

1559. John Knor with other are summoned.

Images and frierhouses pulled downe.

Fr.Thin.

The quéene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Marshall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whome also repaired (as saith Lesleus lib.10.pag.548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glascow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Cowper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in kæping to capteine James Steward, and capteine Cullane, with their bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quéene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, ioining themselues with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeies in that towne, and in Cowper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to Londros, Balmeare, & Cowper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quéene [come thither from Perth, after that she had left in Perth fiue hundred men vnder the charge of James Steward cardinall, & James Cullane.] But when they should haue met on Cowper moore in battell, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle Marshall, and others, laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the quéene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edenburgh.

The quéene regent came to Perth.

Fr.Thin.

Cowper.

Fr.Thin.

Two armies were pacified.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assisters came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntleie was sent to them from the quæne to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the townes of Dundée & Perth, came to the abbeie of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the most

Saint Johns towne besieged.

Scone abbeie burnt.

Common praiers to be had in the vulgar toong.

moſt part of the houſe, the earle of Argile, and the prior of ſaint Andrews being with them in compa-
The friers in Striueling deſtroied. nie. After this they went to Striueling, and to Lith-quo, where they cauſed the houſes of the blacke friers and graie friers to be throwne downe. From thence they paſſed to Edenburgh, where the quéene hearing
The quéene departed from Edenburgh. of their comming, departed with the Frenchmen vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntleie being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argile and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued into Eden-burgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places
The frierhouſes ouerthrowne. of the blacke and graie friers were ſuddenlie ouerthrowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and ſaint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining
Fr. Thin. thus in Edenburgh [apprehended Robert Richardſon (as ſaith Leſleus) that was gouernor of the publike treaſurie, toke the keis by force from him, entered the abbeie] the coining houſe, toke the coining irons, ſeized vpon the quéenes moueables, which they
Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 551. found in the palace, and kept the ſame. * Whileſt theſe things were thus done at Edenburgh, Warwell lord Harries gouernor of the weſt marches, which at that time was deteined priſoner in Edenburgh caſtell, did priuilie get out of the ſame by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing ſpéedie horſſes, departed to his owne companie, ſhortlie after ioining himſelfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monſieur Doiſell and the Frenchmen came from
Two armies pacified. Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, Bothwell, Mourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpoſe to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not ſufficient partie to reſiſt them. But the erle of Huntleie trauelled betwixt them, by whoſe meanes there met twelue on euerie ſide, who agréed vpon certeine articles, and ſo the quéene and
Leith fortified Frenchmen entered into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

## The articles of agreement betweene *the regent and the lords of the* reformed religion.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10 pag. 553. Buchanan. lib. 16.

1 FIrſt, that all the ſouldiers of the religion, and ſuch as did belong to them, ſhould depart from Edenburgh, and leaue the ſame to the gouernement of the queene: with this prouiſo, that the citizens ſhould either remaine, or depart at their pleaſure.

2 Item, that thoſe of the religion ſhould reſtore vnto the magiſtrats wholie and trulie all ſuch ſums of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatlie taken, or by open force ſpoiled from the magiſtrats.

3 Thirdlie, that the quéenes palace, which they of the religion did poſſeſſe, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, ſhould be deliuered vp againe to ſuch as ſhould be appointed therefore.

4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion ſhould not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthwen and Pettarrow (whome they promiſed to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of ſuch as were on the quéenes part.

5 Fiftlie, that all men ſhould acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quéene to be lawfull, which before they had gainſaid by the pretenſe of religion: and that they ſhould faithfullie obeie the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except ſuch decrees as perteined not to religion.

6 Sixtlie, that they ſhould not by anie meanes trouble the catholike prieſts and eccleſiaſticall perſons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inioieng their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth Ides of Januarie.

7 Seuenthlie, that they ſhould not from henceforth violate or deface churches, religious houſes, or anie other holie places.

8 Eightlie, that euerie man might at Edenburgh profeſſe and vſe what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conſcience.

9 Ninthlie, that the quéene regent ſhould faithfullie prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion ſhould not be moleſted or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernors. Both parties being thus ſatisfied with theſe conditions, the French entered Leith.]

Duke Chatelerault taketh part with the reformers of the churches.

Shortlie after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partlie through perſuaſion of the earle of Argile his ſiſters ſonne, and the Weſtland lords, and partlie becauſe he vnderſtood that his ſon the earle of Arrane was fled forth of France to Geneua for the religion, he toke part with the lords from that time forth againſt the aduiſe of the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and diuerſe other his friends. This yeere in June, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the mariages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sauoie and his ſiſter, was wounded in iuſts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Julie next inſuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his ſonne, that had maried the quéene of Scotland, was crowned king at ſaint Denis, and annointed at Reimes in September following.

King Henrie was hurt and died.

Francis the Dolphin ſucceeded his father.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 554.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was ſent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name; declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marqueſſe of Albuſe or Elbuſe (as ſaith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all ſpéed ſome troopes of men ſhould ſhortlie be there with monie, and other defenſes of warre. And to the end that nothing ſhould want to further hir, the king would ſhortlie ſend certeine noble men into Scotland, which ſhould counſell hir in theſe troubleſome affaires. Beſides which, he brought letters out of France from the king and the quéene, to the prior of ſaint Andrewes, in which they rather ſought to incline his mind by courteſie to obedience, before that they would inforce him thereunto by warre. Which letters being by Leſleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in Engliſh, with the anſwer of the prior to the ſame.

## Francis king of France to Iames *prior of the monaſterie of ſaint* Andrewes.

Leſleus lib. 11. pag. 554.

AFter that I vnderſtood by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my couſine) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and ſeditions, it is ſtrange to ſée how greatlie I was aſtonied thereat. But when I heard that you (to whome my dead father, my déere wife, and my ſelfe, haue giuen ſo manie large benefits) ſhould be forgetfull of them all liberallie beſtowed, and become the author, head, and nouriſher of this fire of contention and brawles; I could not be perſuaded that you would ſo farre digreſſe from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made ſhew to beare vnto the quéene.

But if the thing were ſo, as the common fame doth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promiſes and flattering words of others had intiſed you to this deceipt, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for whoſe

whoſe cauſe (when they had diſcharged themſelues thereof) the offenſe would ſéeme to be either none, or verie ſmall, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it ſhall be as toiſull to me, as that which ſhould be moſt toiſull: for by this meanes I wiſh that ſome part of my diſpleaſure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are worthilie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelie deceiued the good hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithfull ſeruice towards me.

Wherefore, ſith nothing is more déere or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuerſies appeaſed) all things without anie tumult maie be knit togither by the law of good order: and ſith the ſame (as it ſéemeth to me) maie beſt be done by your trauell, I do admoniſh you by theſe letters, and (for the good will I beare you) do earneſtlie requeſt you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue moſt ſhamefullie fallen, to the end that I maie by the ſame more plainlie vnderſtand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your foliſh doings, the which ſhall then fullie appéere to me, if at length you ſo bend all your force, that all things diſordered in thoſe parts, maie by your diligence be called backe to the commonwealths ancient, ſound, and holie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Otherwiſe I would haue you be perſuaded that I will ſhortlie ſubdue you, and all thoſe which ſhall cleaue or miniſter helpe vnto you, in taking iuſt puniſhment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration whereof, and the further large expreſſing of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my ſelfe. I praie God (couſine) to kéepe you in health. Paris the ſirtéenth kalends of Auguſt.

Subſcription, Francis

A little beneath that: De Laubeſpine.

With which letters alſo the quéene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as here followeth.

I can not ſée why Leſleus ſhould call hir Dowager, ſith by hir letter it appéereth hir huſband was yet liuing, in that ſhe talketh of hirs and hir huſbands diſpleaſure.

## Marie queene of Scots, and Dowager of *France*, to *James* the prior of the monaſterie of *ſaint Andrewes*.

I Can not (couſine) but greatlie wonder, that you which are not onelie néereſt to vs by bloud, but are alſo (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manie liberalities, ſhould be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maieſtie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my huſband. For it is a thing worthie of great admiration, to conſider how it might happen that you who being preſent, did open to me the names of the duke of Chatelerault, and of manie others, which ſeemed to you to diminiſh my authoritie, ſhould now being abſent (as a leader and head of all other ſeditious perſons) hurt my dignitie, and that in matters of greateſt weight, in which the honor of God is leſſened, and my authoritie clearelie taken awaie: all which I ſhould more eaſilie haue beléeued of anie other my ſubiects, than of you.

Trulie moſt grieuouſlie (as I ought) I beare this, that you haue falſified that faith to me, which had a ſpeciall hope of your fidelitie: though as yet I can ſcarſe be perſuaded to thinke you to be ſo farre from truth and reaſon, that you would be caried awaie into ſuch blind errors. All which I deſire to fall out to be as true, as true maie be, requeſting alſo of God ſo to giue to you his light, that returning into the right waie, you maie ſhew your ſelfe a good man, and obedient to our lawes, by doing contrarie things to that which you haue alreadie performed. Wherefore, by theſe letters I admoniſh, and with intreatie as earneſtlie as I can, deſire you to recompenſe your former euill with following good deeds, and that the anger (which I and the king my huſband haue bitterlie conceiued againſt you) maie by that meanes be pacified. Otherwiſe trulie I would haue you vnderſtand, we will execute ſuch puniſhment vpon you, that you ſhall for euer be mindfull thereof. The which doubtleſſe if you compell vs by your déedes to performe, it ſhall be to you a moſt gréeuous thing. I praie God kéepe you from all danger. Paris the 9 kalends of Auguſt.

Subſcription: Your good couſine Marie.

James Steward the prior of ſaint Andrewes (whome proſperous ſucceſſes had before aduanced) did in reading theſe letters of the king and quéene ſo frie in anger and hatred, that he could not forbeare but muſt néedes returne anſwer, expreſſing the ſame (after confirmed by his deedes) though now ſomewhat ſmothed with good words. The effect of which letters were in this ſort: That he was grieued in his mind as much as he might, becauſe he was ſo farre fallen into the miſlike and diſpleaſure of thoſe princes, whome he reuerenced with great dutie, that they ſhould bitterlie obiect vnto him in their letters that he was a ſeditious perſon, noted of ingratitude, fraught with malice, and defiled with hereſie.

Touching which notes of theſe wickednes, ſith they were imputed to him by the nobilitie of Scotland (meaning ſuch as ſtood againſt the reformed religion) he with faire ſpéeches requeſted the princes, that they would not attribute more to the malice of his enimies in accuſing him, than to his vprightnes in purging himſelfe: and that they ſhould not thinke anie thing to be ſpoken by his enimies, but that which ſauoured of malice, enuie, and hatred, eſpecialie ſith they did not onelie go about to diminiſh his fame abroad amongeſt the princes, but alſo at home did openlie laie wait for his life and liuing.

But he would ſo labor, that all men ſhould well perceiue his good mind (towards the princes) fullie laied abroad without anie veile of diſſimulation, whereby his aduerſaries ſhould be aſhamed to haue laied ſuch open reproch againſt him, and the king & quéene ſhould miſlike that they had ſo eaſilie credited his enimies. Wherefore he deſired that hereafter they ſhould rather beléeue anie thing of him, than that he would be noted for an vnthankefull man, as they had obiected vnto him. From the deteſtable ſpot whereof (being of all the verie worſt, ſith nature abhorreth the ſame) he would kéepe himſelfe, and rather die by anie kind of torment, than to ſuffer the leaſt ſpot of ſuch a vice to dwell in his name, eſpecialie in the affaires of that king and quéene, whereof he had found the firſt moſt courteous, and the ſecond moſt bountifull.

And therefore, as he had with all dutie hitherto proſecuted their fauour, ſo he (would during his life) contend, that his trauell, diligence, and faith, ſhould neuer want in performing or defending their affaires, ſo that they would not burthen him with that which might be a detriment to the cauſe of God and religion: for if either of them were in hand, neither the fraudulent counſels of his ſtriuing aduerſaries, neither the bitter words of the ſharpe threats of the king or quéene, ſhould make him leaue off, or repreſſe the

" their worthie force in taking vpon him the defense
" of those things.
" Wherefore he would not haue the king or quéene
" to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he la-
" bored to pull awaie the deuiſes of the papiſts. From
" which onelie thing (ſith he ſuppoſeth the honor of
" God, the glorie of the king and quéene, and the helpe
" and health of his countrie to be contained therein) he
" will not be withdrawne by the force of anie man, nor
" be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quéene,
" vntill he haue wholie cut awaie the branches of ſu-
" perſtition, and vtterlie pulled vp the roots thereof.

Croſkes had ſcarſe performed his ambaſſage for which he came (as before you haue heard) in deliuering theſe letters: but forthwith alanded at Leith Dcauian a Frenchman, with foure troops of ſouldiers, with a great maſſe of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent ſent backe againe into France, to require of the king, that foure other companies of ſouldiers might be ſent ouer, which might with thoſe (alreadie now in Scotland) ſupplie the number of twentie enſignes: to whome alſo it were expedient to ioine a hundred horſmen, which number ſhe affirmed would ſuffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, ſo that foure ſhips well appointed might alwaies lie in the hauen of Leith, to watch the port. Of all which if the Scots were prouided (by the benefit of the king) and that the comming of hir brother the marqueſſe of Albuſe were haſtened, ſhe promiſed then to bring all things to an end.

Beſides which, ſhe did alſo ſignifie vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increaſe of their faction, had ſecretlie growen in league with ſome of the nobilitie of France, who did dailie ſend letters and meſſengers to the Scots, to incourage them not to leaue off from their attempts; promiſing alſo vnto them that they would hinder (by all the meanes they could) that no great armie ſhould be made out of France againſt them: and moreouer, in that the Scots had ſent ambaſſadors to Germanie, and into Denmarke, for religions cauſe, to require aid from thence, but their chiefeſt and principall hope did reſt (as ſaith Leſleus) in England.]

1559. During theſe things, the duke of Chatelerault and the lords of the congregation ſent to the quéene (whereof we will ſpeake more hereafter) beſeeching hir to leaue off from making of forts within the realme. But ſhe would not grant ſo to do: wherefore they aſſembled their whole forces in Edenburgh, and

Leith beſieged beſieged the towne of Leith in October: the quéene and Frenchmen, with the biſhops of ſaint Andrews, Glaſcow, Dunfreis, the lord of Seton, and diuerſe other Scotiſhmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre iſſued forth of Leith, and met néere to

The Scotiſhmen are vanquiſhed. the abbeie of Holie rood houſe, with the Scotiſh lords and their companie, where manie Scotiſhmen were ſlaine, & the reſt chaſed into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen alſo following them vnto the gates of Edenburgh, had entred, if thoſe within the caſtell had not ſhot off the artillerie at them, to ſtaie the ſlaughter and purſute.

In the time of this ſiege, the yong lard of Lethington, ſecretarie to the quéene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & ſecretlie departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obteine aid out of England. After this, the quéene and

The quéene came to Edenburgh. Frenchmen came to Edenburgh, which was peaceablie rendred to them, where they remained all that winter. About the ſame time, Nicholas Pelue the

New men ſent into Scotland. biſhop of Amiens, monſieur de la Broſſe, & two doctors of diuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Broſſe was made lieutenant of the French armie, monſieur Martigues coronell of the footmen. And with them came a great companie of French ſouldiers vnto the quéene regent, ſo that then the French power was thirtie fiue hundred good men of warre, beſides two bands of Scotiſh ſouldiers, vnder the leading of captaine Anthonie Kenedie, and James Steward of Cardonald.

* The Frenchmen being thus entered France, twelue of the chiefeſt of the nobilitie were aſſembled at Edenburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Broſſe, and to the biſhop, affirming that they were ſent thither as ambaſſadors. To whome it was anſwered, that they did not ſéeke peace (as they did diſſemble) but threaten war: for otherwiſe to what end were it to bring armed ſoldiers to diſpute thereof? For the Scots were not ſo ignorant of the ſtate of things, that they would commit them ſelues to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions anſwerable to the mind of the aduerſarie. But if amongeſt weapons it pleaſed them to make peace, they would alſo prouide, that they would not rather ſéeme to be drawne thereunto by compulſion, than quietlie led by reaſon. For if they did truelie & from their heart require that in déed which they ſéeme in words, they would diſcharge thoſe ſtrange ſouldiers, and méet (as they haue often done in other places) vnarmed, as to a thing that by words and reaſon is to be decided, and not by ſwords the ſtrength to be compaſſed. And thus much for the ambaſſadors. Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 16.

Now you haue heard before of the battell of Leith, the beſieging and the regaining of Edenburgh; touching which, becauſe it is omitted before in the reciting of the things done in thoſe places, I thinke it not amiſſe (though it come a little out of courſe) to ſet it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the ſame) next after the ſpéeches vſed to thoſe ambaſſadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defenſe of Leith. Buchan. lib. 16.

" Theſe noble men (meaning thoſe at Edenburgh) did
" write to the quéene much after this maner; That
" they did greatlie maruell, that the regent prouoked
" with no iniuries, did ſo ſone depart from the former
" couenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of
" Leith, and placing there a colonie of ſtrangers, ſhe
" would in that place build a caſtle to the deſtruction
" of the lawes and libertes of the realme, and to the
" danger of the liues of them all. Wherefore they did
" earneſtlie intreat hir, that ſhe would deſiſt from
" this thing raſhlie attempted (againſt the faith of hir
" promiſe, the publike commoditie, and the laws and li-
" berties of the kingdome) leaſt ſhe inforce them by
" neceſſitie to praie in aid of the whole people.

" Beſides which alſo, they which were aſſembled at
" Edenburgh, did write to the ſame effect, about a
" moneth after that they had diſpatched the other let-
" ters, adding theſe petitions to the ſame laſt letters;
" That ouerthrowing the new fortreſſes, ſhe would
" command all the ſtrangers and hired people to de-
" part out of the towne, to the end that it might be
" free for all men (according to iuſtice) there to traffike
" and vſe their mutuall trade of buieng & ſelling one
" with an other. The which if ſhe refuſed to do, they
" would take it for a ſure token, that ſhe ment to bring
" this kingdome into ſeruitude; againſt which euill
" they would prouide all whatſoeuer remedie that they
" could. Within three daies after, the quéene ſent Ro-
" bert Forman chiefe herald to anſwer the matter,
" with inſtructions and commandements deliuered
" to him in theſe words.

" Firſt of all, you ſhall ſhew vnto them, that no-
" thing could happen vnto vs more contrarie to our
" opinion, than that there ſhould be anie other hauing
" authoritie here, beſides my daughter and hir huſ-
" band my ſonne in law, vpon whome all our authori-
" tie doth depend; that the former acts of the nobili-
" tie,

" tie, and this preſent requeſt, or rather commande-
" ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no
" other ſuperioritie; and that their demands (or rather
" threatnings) with what ſhew of words ſoeuer they be
" cloked, are ſufficientlie enough knowen vnto vs, as
" no new things. Againe, you ſhall require of the duke
" of Chaſtelerault, that he call to mind what he hath
" promiſed to vs by his words, and to the king by his
" letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-
" ken to the kings commandement; but alſo worke,
" that his ſonne the earle of Arrane ſhould not at all
" ioine with thoſe tumults of the countrie, and whether
" the things which he now doth, are the performance
" of his promiſes.

" To their letters alſo you ſhall anſwer; that we
" haue openlie ſhewed our indeuor to bring things to
" quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie
" not reſiſt the pietie due to God, and doth not fight
" with their duetie towards their king and quéene, and
" that I did neuer ſo much as once thinke of the ouer-
" throw of their lawes and libertie; and much leſſe, ſo-
" much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by
" violence. For to whome, or for whome ſhould I ſéeke
" the kingdome, when my daughter doth alreadie
" poſſeſſe it? Touching the defenſe and fortifieng of
" Leith, you ſhall aſke them this; whether that we at
" anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-
" fore that they with manie aſſemblies, and at length
" with conſpiracie among themſelues, did openlie
" ſhew that they would ſhake off the lawfull gouerne-
" ment, and before that they at their pleaſure troubled
" the whole publike ſtate (vnknowledge to vs, who
" held the place and authoritie of the chiefeſt gouernor)
" ſtrengthened their factions with ſtrong cities, and
" made league and couenants with our ancient ene-
" mies?

" And to omit other things, what cauſe can they (in
" the end) bring forth, whie it was lawfull for them to
" reteine an armie at Edenburgh, to inuade the go-
" uernors of thoſe affaires? And that it is not lawfull
" for vs at Leith for our owne defenſe and ſafetie, to
" haue anie other gard about vs? Truelie they ſéeke
" this therin, that we ſhould labor to ſhun their furie
" (as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and dailie
" change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-
" ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-
" ſtrate? Doth there lie open anie waie for the reſto-
" ring of concord? Or do they ſhew anie token that
" they would haue theſe ſeditions pacified, and that
" they would all things ſhould be reduced to their for-
" mer ſtate?

" Let them cloke this with what colour they will of
" publike commoditie; yet it is manifeſt that they
" thinke and ſeeke nothing leſſe. For if they had one-
" lie ſtaied vpon a concord, we haue often ſhewed
" them a waie therevnto. Neither are they ignorant
" that theſe French had (by the commandement of
" their king) béene long before diſpatched out of Scot-
" land, vnleſſe their doings had béene the cauſe of
" their ſtate. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer
" anie honeſt conditions which may induce vs to hope;
" and that (the maieſtie of the gouernement alwaies
" ſaued ſound) maie declare that they will modeſtlie
" and obedientlie obeie their ſuperiors: we will re-
" fuſe no means to reſtore a concord & quiet amongeſt
" them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to
" the publike commoditie.

" Neither are we alone ſo affected towards them,
" but alſo their king and quéene; who hath ſent vnto
" them a worthie knight of the order of the ſcallop
" ſhell, and one of the chiefe of the eccleſiaſticall order,
" with letters and commandements touching the
" ſame: whome they did ſo contemne, as that they
" would not vouchſafe them anſwer, no not ſo much
as hearing. Wherefore, you ſhall demand, and
command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of
what condition ſoeuer, that they depart in ſunder;
or otherwiſe, that they ſhall not be kept togither,
vnleſſe it be by ſtrength of armes. To all this the
next day, which was the thrée and twentith of Oc-
tober, the nobilitie anſwered after this order.

We eaſilie vnderſtand by your letters and com-
mandements ſent by the herald, how obſtinatlie
you be euillie minded againſt pietie towards God,
the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-
mon libertie of vs all: all which things we muſt &
do defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from
henceforth we do ſuſpend and forbid your gouerne-
ment, in the name of the king and quéene, or by
what other name or title you do vſurpe the publike
adminiſtration of the kingdome; as perſons cer-
teinlie knowing, that thoſe things which are now
done by you, do with the mind of thoſe princes fight
againſt the publike ſafetie of this realme.

And as you do not eſtéeme vs lawfull ſubiects of
thoſe princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike
ſenate or councell: ſo we do not acknowledge you
for a regent to execute ſupreme authoritie; ſpeciallie
ſith the gouernement (if you haue anie ſuch commit-
ted vnto you by the princes) is for moſt iuſt & weigh-
tie cauſes forbidden you: and that in the name of
the ſame princes, whoſe councellors we are borne to
be, chiefelie in matters which perteine to the ſafetie
of all the people. And although we haue determi-
ned not to flée anie danger, in deliuering of that
towne, in which you haue placed ſtrange and hired
ſouldiers againſt vs: yet for the reuerence which we
beare vnto you, as vnto our quéene mother; we
earneſtlie with all faithfull intreatie beſéech you,
that you depart from thence; whileſt the cauſe of
publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recouer that
towne by weapons

Beſides which, we further requeſt, that you will
leade them out of the towne with you, within foure
and twentie houres; if there be anie which do chal-
lenge vnto themſelues the names of ambaſſadors,
either to decide controuerſies, or to gouerne the af-
faires. For it is but equitie that we prouide for the
ſafetie, and willinglie ſpare the bloud of all thoſe
hired ſouldiers, aſwell for the ancient amitie which
hath béene betwéene the French and the Scots, as
for the mariage of our quéene with their king:
which friendſhip we would rather ſhould be increa-
ſed than diminiſhed. The ſame day alſo, the ſaid
herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the
day before it was perſuaded in an aſſembled coun-
cell of the nobles and the other commons; that all the
déeds and ſaiengs of the regent did onelie tend to
verie tyrannie.

Herevpon, there was a decrée made to take the
gouernement from hir: ſo that the whole com-
panie ſubſcribed, as to a moſt iuſt matter: and
that there they did forbid anie ambaſſage, giuen or
ſent to hir by hir ſonne in law and hir daughter:
further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-
ment, vntill the generall aſſemblie of a parlement
to be appointed by them in ſuch place as they ſhould
thinke conuenient. The fiue and twentith date, the
lords of the religion ſent an herald to Leith, to will
all the Scots to depart the towne within foure and
twentie houres, and to ſeparat themſelues from the
ſubuerters of publike libertie. Thus much Bucha-
nan of this done about the ſtate of Leith, before the
nobilitie beſieged the ſame (as is before ſet downe.)
And ſo againe to the order of the hiſtorie.]

The lords of Scotland, perceiuing the French-
men increſed, ſo that they by their owne forces onlie
were not able to reſiſt them, ſent William Petel-
lan

The lords ſéeke for aid vnto the quéene of England.

lan to Elizabeth the quéene of England for aſſiſtance, to expell the Frenchmen. Which the queene of England granted, not onelie for to ſerue the Scotiſhmens turne; but ſpeciallie for the ſuertie of hir owne realme and ſtate, which as then was thought to ſtand in danger of trouble, in caſe the Frenchmen were ſuffered to remaine in Scotland: conſidering the euill dealing of the French king and his councell in ſome points alreadie ſhewed. The queene of England therefore ſent the duke of Norffolke to Berwike, whither came to him the earle of Argile, the prior of ſaint Andrews, Harris the maiſter of Yarwell, Robert Carnegie, and the yong lord of Lethington, ſecretarie, & made agréement to haue aid of England, to the effect aforeſaid.

They had their requeſt granted them. 1560. Buch. 1559. Leſle.

And for ſure kéeping hereof, the Scotiſh lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yéere after his deceaſſe. The pledges were theſe: Dauid Hamilton, ſonne to the duke of Chatelerault; an other called Colme Campbell, couſine to the earle of Argile; Robert Dowglas, brother to the prior of S. Andrews; and the lard of Lochleuin, and a ſonne of the lord Ruthwen. About the ſame time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldeſt ſonne to the duke of Chatelerault, and capteine of the Scotiſh companie of men of armes and archers in France, being fled for religion ſecretlie to Geneua, from thence came by the conuoie of maiſter Randall Engliſhman into England: which at his comming into Scotland he performed, and ioined himſelfe with the earle of Argile, and other lords in the cauſe aforeſaid.

Pledges ſent into England

Lord Hamilton taketh part with the erle of Argile.

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Argile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glaſcow, and cauſed the images & altars to be taken downe, ſeizing the biſhops liuing into their hands, and tooke the caſtell of Glaſcow perteining to the biſhop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to kéepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertiſed, marched forward to Glaſcow, to the number of fiue thouſand men: the biſhop of Glaſcow, the lords Sempill, Seiton, Ros, and diuerſe others with them, tooke the caſtell againe, and ſtaieng one night of the towne, returned on the next morrow to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Lithquo and Edenburgh.

The towne of Glaſcow is taken.

After their returne from Glaſcow, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and paſſing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpoſe to haue gone vnto ſaint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcorne, there aſſembled togither in Fife the earles of Arrane, and Rothes, the prior of ſaint Andrews, the lord Ruthwen, the maſter of Lindſie, and diuerſe other, hauing with them no great number: but yet they dailie ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, and would not ſuffer them to come from the ſea ſide; where diuerſe Frenchmen were ſlaine, and one of their capteins, with thirtie of his ſouldiors, and few Scotiſhmen, or in maner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was ſore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dredge of a caléeuer ſhot.

Certeine Frenchmen ſlaine.

1560. Leſle. As the Frenchmen were in their progreſſe, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arriued in their ſight a nauie of ſhips: which at the firſt kenning they tooke to be French ſhips, but ſhortlie after perceiuing them to be the Engliſh nauie, they returned with great diligence to Burnt Iland, where they paſſed the ferrie of Kingcorne in botes and craiers to Leith, and inſtantlie began to fortifie that towne, caſting great trenches about it, and making great blockehouſes for their defenſe, as preuenting ſuch perils as otherwiſe might haue befallen them, and

The towne Burnt Iland is fortified.

uing remedies in due time, by warlike policie of preſent deuiſe, to prouide againſt afterclaps. The Engliſh ſhips came to the rode of Leith, where they caſt anchors, the fourth Ides of Januarie.

An Engliſh nauie.

* In the meane time, whileſt thoſe of the religion had almoſt deſtroied all monaſteries, certeine barons of Perne, partlie for hatred to the catholike religion (as the Romiſh cleargie tearmeth it) and partlie blinded with deſire of preie (as in all aſſemblies of battell there will be ſome) ouerthrew the monaſterie of the Carmelite friers in Aberden. Who going about alſo to haue ſpoiled the monaſteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers Minors, were hindered thereof by the lord Leſle, and the baron of Buchquhane, at the commandement of the earle of Huntleie. Notwithſtanding which, they could not be ſo ſufficientlie repreſſed, but that they went to old Aberden (for ſo they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the biſhops palace, the canonrie, and the vniuerſitie) and would haue aſſaulted the magnificent and ſtatelie church thereof. But to kéepe them from the ſame, the biſhop, & John Leſle (the officiall of that place, the one by counſell, the other by preaching, and both by the aid of the earle of Huntleie) did their indeuor, at what time the Leſlées put them beſides their purpoſe.]

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 563. 1560. Fr. Thin.

This Leſle is now called biſhop of Ros and compiled an hiſtorie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

The quéene regent hearing of the arriuall of the Engliſh, ſent vnto the viceadmerall of that fléet, named maiſter Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cauſe he was come into thoſe waters. This gentleman addreſſing himſelfe to accompliſh the commandement impoſed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the ſaid viceadmerall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demand as he was inioined. The viceadmerall anſwered, that he had beene abroad on the ſeas ſéeking after pirats, and in caſe ante of them came thither, he was arriued there in the Forth to wait on them: where as the principall cauſe indéed was to impeach, that no Frenchman ſhould land there, in caſe anie came forth of France, and alſo to kéepe them that laie in Inſkith from vittels, and that no Frenchman ſhould paſſe by ſea forth of Leith.

* Whereupon the quéene regent did ſend Monalle the king of Frances orator in that realme, to requeſt the queene of England, that ſhe would call hir ſhips home againe, and that ſhe would not ſend aiding ſouldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Leſleus neuer tearmeth by anie other name than ſectaries and ſeditious perſons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and ſo occaſion of warre giuen. Whereunto hir maieſtie anſwered (with no leſſe care of hir kingdome than became the maieſtie of ſo good a mother to haue of hir children) that ſhe had no ſuch mind as to make warre. But becauſe that ſhe certeinlie vnderſtood, that great troops of Frenchmen did dailie land and increaſe in Scotland, for what cauſe ſhe knew not: ſhe could do no leſſe than place ſouldiers in diuerſe forts and hauens, which might defend the Engliſh from the malice or hurt of ſuch ſtrangers, if they ſhould attempt anie thing. Neither would ſhe ſuffer that hir people ſhould ſet foot in Scotland, vnleſſe that they were prouoked thereunto by iniuries offered them.]

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thin.

About the ſame time, the quéene regent, hearing that the duke of Norffolke was come to Newcaſtle as generall lieutenant of the north, ſent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was ſignified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was contained in the ſame letter. But when hée was demanded what he had to ſay, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherfore William Flower, then Cheſter herald, and now Norreis king of armes, was

A Scots herald ſent to the duke of Norffolke.

An Engliſh herald ſent to the quéene of Scots.

was ſent vnto the quæne, who comming to Holie rod houſe néere to Edenburgh, was receiued by ſundrie heralds, & ſo was had to one of their houſes, and there kept for that night. The nert day after hæ had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebuſiers readie with their pæces that diſcharged and ſhot off the ſame.

At his comming to the preſence of the quéene, he with dutifull obeiſance deliuered his letters, and after the ſame had béene read, he was demanded what credit he had to vtter. Wherevpon he declared, that the duke of Norffolke, being the quéenes maieſties lieutenant in the north parts of England, maruelled greatlie that ſhe would ſend an herald with letters, and write therein how ſhe had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to vtter his credit, he ſhould confeſſe that he had none. The quéene herewith called for the herald, to vnderſtand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherwith the quæne ſéemed to be ſomwhat abaſhed, but neuerthelesſe ſhe brake forth and ſaid, that ſhe maruelled greatlie that the quæne of England ſhould ſend hir ſhips into hir riuer, without giuing hir knowledge afore hand.

Cheſter anſwered thereto, that where it was certeinlie knowne, that the French king had prepared to ſend a power of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertiſing hir thereof; ſhe could not but thinke that dealing verie ſtrange, and therefore had in verie déed ſent certeine of hir ſhips, with vittels for prouiſion to be laid within hir townes and caſtels on the frontiers. Which ſhips by tempeſt being diſperſed, might happilie be driuen into the riuer there, albeit he had not ſpoke with anie of them ſince there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had béene verie vncourteouſlie vſed: for comming in after that maner for ſuccor, the canon had béene bent againſt them. Herewithall the count Martigues ſtanding by, began to ſpeake verie ſtout words vnto Cheſter, alleging that where it was perceiued well inough, that the quæne of England ment to make war againſt his maiſter the French king, he truſted ſhe ſhould gaine as little thereby, as his ſiſter had done in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Cheſter hereunto anſwered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he ſhould need to make anſwer: wherevpon Martigues was commanded to ſilence.

Martigues a forward capteine, but an vntrue prophet.

All this while the quéene had talked with Cheſter in the Scotiſh tong. And bicauſe he did not ſo well vnderſtand hir, he began to ſpeake in the French language: whereat the quéene ſéemed greatlie to reioiſe, & ſo began againe to diſcourſe with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir anſwer as fell beſt to purpoſe. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where ſhe had requeſted a ſafe conduct for monſieur le Broſſe to paſſe through England into France, if ſhe would ſée him ſafelie conueied to Berwike, he durſt aſſure hir of a ſufficient ſafe conduct for his ſafe paſſage through the quéene his miſtreſſe realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Broſſe, that was his couſine. And now when Cheſter ſhuld take his leaue, he declared that he had not bæne courteouſlie dealt with: for ſince his comming thither, he could not be ſuffered to paſſe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir meſſengers ſhould come into the quéene his miſtreſſe dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they ſhould taſt of the like interteinment. But the quæne ſæmed not to vnderſtand that he had bin in anie wiſe ſo hardlie dealt with, ſhewing that ſhée was not well contented therewith; and ſo Cheſter toke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without anie reward for his paines taken in that iournie, at the hands of the Scotiſh quéene: how ſo euer ſhe liked of his meſſage.

1560.

An Engliſh armie. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 565.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of ſeuen or eight thouſand men, who were ſent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the linkes, beſide the towne of Leith, on ſaturday the firſt of Aprill. Before they pitcht downe their field on the ſaid linkes, monſieur Martigues, coronell of the French armie, iſſued forth of Leith with nine hundred harquebuſiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called the Halke hill, where a ſore, continuall, and hot ſkirmiſh was begun betwixt the Engliſhmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuts, caléeuers, and piſtolets, which ſkirmiſh continued fiue or ſix houres, in the which there were manie ſlaine on both parties, and diuerſe hurt. At length Martigues was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Engliſhmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordinance beſide the ſaid hill.

They were backed with 500 pikes which kept alowe.

The lord Greie ſent vnto the quéene.

The lord Greie being in Muſkelburgh, ſent to the quéene regent, that laie as then in the caſtell at Edenburgh, deſiring an abſtinence of warre for foure and twentie hours, that in the meane time he might ſend ſome of his councell to declare to hir the cauſe of his comming with that armie, and to commune of ſuch things as might ſtanch the ſhedding of bloud. The quæne granted hereunto, and ſent an herald to Leith, to cauſe the ſaid aſſurance to be taken: but yer he came to the towne, the ſkirmiſh aforeſaid was begun with forwardneſſe inough of both ſides.

Men are ſent to ſpeake with the quæne mother.

In this meane time, the lord Greie ſent ſir George Howard, and ſir James Croſts to the caſtell of Edenburgh, to ſpeake with the quéene to that effect: who had long conference with hir vpon the blockehouſe at the vtter gate of the caſtell, during the time of the ſkirmiſh; where they declared, that the occaſion of the comming of the armie, was for the cauſe aboue mentioned, deſiring the quæne to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promiſed in that caſe to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to diſquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Wherupon the quéene toke time to be aduiſed till the nert day, that ſhe might conſult with the principall perſonages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to ſend to them to that effect, which was granted.

The French men to depart the realme.

The nert day ſhe ſent one Drummond a trumpetter, or herald (as ſaith Leſleus) with a letter to monſieur de la Broſſe, to the effect aforeſaid, directing him to paſſe to the Engliſh campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the Engliſh campe, he was ſuddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the caſtell of Edenburgh to the quæne, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the ſlaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parlée ceaſſing, the ſiege was inforced with right ſharpe purſute, and ſtrong defending on either part.

The Engliſh are deſirous to reuenge the iniuries done vnto them.

The Engliſhmen caſt trenches vpon the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the towne, and raiſed a litle mount which they called mount Pellam after the capteins name, and placed their ordinance aloft thereon: but bicauſe it was ſo farre from the towne, they did not ſo much ſcath thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the Engliſh armie, lodged (during this ſiege)

A trench caſt to little purpoſe.

ſiege) within the towne of Leſtalrike, in the deanes houſe, and the moſt part of their demilances and other horſſemen laie in the ſame towne. The footmen with their capteins lodged in hales, tents, and paulions, vpon the ſouth and ſoutheaſt ſide of the towne of Leith, and diuerſe Scotiſh lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argile, Arrane, Morton, and Glencarne; the lords Boid, Ogiltree, the prior of ſaint Andrews, the maiſter of Marwell, and others. The duke of Chatelerault, and diuerſe with him remained in Holie rod houſe: and with the queene in the caſtell, the biſhop of S. Andrews, the biſhop of Dunkeld, the earle Marſhall, the lord Erſkin capteine of the caſtell, maiſter James Macgill clearke of the regiſter, the prouoſt of Dunglas, called maiſter Abraham Creichton, and diuerſe others.

On Eaſter éeuen, capteine Wood, and capteine Dethicke, ſeruing on the ſea vnder maiſter Winter the Engliſh admerall there, were appointed by him to paſſe vp the riuer to Blackeneſſe, who with their bands going aboord into a barke prepared for that purpoſe, ſailed forward: and on Eaſter day in the morning, preſenting themſelues before the caſtell, it was yéelded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and therevpon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capteine Wood, being ſet on ſhore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen, iſſuing forth of Leith, ſet vpon the Engliſhmen in their trenches, and did much harme: as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it further appeareth. During the ſiege thus afore Leith, the quéene regent was ſore vexed with ſickeneſſe, but neuertheleſſe, ſhe continued to labor for agréement, not ceaſſing to ſend to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accompliſhing of hir deſire, ſhe procured the earle of Huntleie to come forth of the north, who toke vp his lodging in Edenburgh, and toke great paines to treat betwixt the quéene and lords for ſome agréement: but when he perceiued his trauell to be in vaine, hée returned into the north againe, and left the ſiege lieng ſtill as hée found it.

In this meane while, the Engliſhmen, lodging on the ſouthſide of the towne beſide mount Pellam, battered with their great artillerie at the pariſh church of Leith, and at ſaint Anthonies ſteeple, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine péeces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiuing they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that ſide, they caſt new trenches vpon the ſouth and ſouthweſt ſide of the towne, and raiſed a mount there, naming it mount Summerſet, & placed thereon certeine péeces in batterie, and ſo beat the wals, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Wherevpon the Engliſhmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and preſenting themſelues to the aſſault, found the breach nothing reaſonable; ſo that although they egerlie preaſſed forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercelie beaten backe with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed on both parts, but namelie of the aſſailants.

The Engliſhmen, perceiuing that they were too raſh in aſſaulting the towne, being not aſſaultable, deuiſed other ſhifts to obteine their purpoſe, raiſing an other mount of earth on the weſt ſide of the water of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Aloft on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great heigth, they planted their great artillerie, which continuallie beat into the towne, ſore annoieng them within, but ſpeciallie beating the houſes and places by the ſhore ſide, ſo that none might go vp nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be ſlaine with ſhot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the ſiege, manie times iſſued forth towards the ſands, and ſometimes towards the trenches, ſo that ſundrie ſore ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt the Engliſhmen and them, with the ſlaughter of diuerſe, both of the one part and the other. Amongeſt other of them within, there were ſlaine two Scotiſh men of name, to wit, capteine Kenedie, and yoong Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was ſlaine a Scotiſh gentleman, called the lard of Cleiſch.

The Engliſh armie was throughlie furniſhed with vittels forth of all parts of the realme, and that vpon reaſonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the comming of the Engliſh armie, which when it began to faile them, they were conſtreined to eat their owne horſſes, whoſe flеſh ſeemed to them in that neceſſitie more delicious, than before that time anie maner of deniſon. Thoſe within Inſkeith alſo were in great neceſſitie of vittels: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their ſtrength, looking ſtill for aid forth of France. ¶ Whileſt theſe things were done in Scotland, the French king, to ſhew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, ſent his ambaſſadors John Babone a Burdeleie knight, and that eloquent man Anthonie Muret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yéeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

In the meane time, the quéene regent, perceiuing hir ſickneſſe ſo to increaſe, that ſhe looked for preſent death, ſent for the duke of Chatelerault, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edenburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogither into the caſtell of Edenburgh, where ſhe made vnto them a graue and pithie exhortation, perſuading them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more ſtedfaſt to them than at anie time before, by reaſon of the mariage of the quéene their good ſouereigne, with the king of France. And hereuith ſhe brake out into certeine words, to diſſuade them from the amitie contracted with the Engliſhmen, declaring that the Engliſhmen aided them not for anie other reſpect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Moreouer, for hir owne part ſhe ſaid, that ſhe fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; conſidering ſhe had the honor to be queene and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable quéene of the ſame.

Furthermore ſhe ſaid, that if ſhe had attempted anie thing that ſeemed or appéered to the noble men contrarie thereunto; the ſame came to paſſe rather for lacke of wiſedome and iudgement, than for want of anie good will: and if it pleaſed God to prolong hir daies, ſhe would be glad to amend that had bene done amiſſe: and if he called hir to his mercie, ſhe praied them moſt hartilie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the quéene their ſouereigne, and to maintеine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make ſome good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladlie accept the ſame, to the end that as well they as the Engliſhmen ſhould depart this realme. For ſhe feared greatlie (as ſhe ſaid) leaſt if the Frenchmen departed, the Engliſhmen would ſtill remaine, and ſubdue the land to their obedience: and therefore ſhe beſought all good Scotiſhmen to haue reſpect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

After ſhe had talked thus a good while with manie teares, ſhe deſired the lords to forgiue hir in anie thing wherein ſhe had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladlie



The caſtell of Blackeneſſe yeelded.

Hée more hereof in England.

Leſleus. lib. 10. The quéene laboured for an agréement.

Saint Anthonies ſteeple beaten downe.

Mount Summerſet.

They are beaten backe.

Mount Falcon.

The towne of Leith vnprouided of vittels.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 568.

The quéene ſent for the lords.

The quéenes oration vnto the nobles.

A miſtruſtfull mind.

ſeemed to do: and on the other part, ſhe forgaue them with all hir hart (as it appéered) all offenſes which they had committed againſt hir: and thus diuerſe of them wéeping, ſhe toke euerie of them by the hand, and ſo they taking leaue of hir, departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their campe. Whileſt the ſiege thus laie before the towne of Leith, diuerſe great troubles roſe in ſundrie parts of the realme, and ſpeciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the earle of Atholl, ſo that there was taking of priſoners, and ouerthrowing of houſes on either part, and great preparation made, and armies put in a readineſſe to inuade either others countries.

The queéne taketh hir leaue.

The earle of Huntleie and Atholl are at variance.

But this buſineſſe was pacified by the trauell and good mediation of maiſter Alexander Gordon, then poſtulat of Gallowaie, maiſter John Leſle officiall of Aberden, and William Leſle the yong laird of Buchquhan, who agreed them for all matters in controuerſie, & cauſed them to go to either others houſe.

The matter is pacified.

[During which ſiege of Leith alſo, the earle Bothwell, and Sarlalouſe, then capteine of the ſouldiers, and gouernor of the caſtell of Dunbar, did at Dunbar with manie light excurſions intercept manie of the Engliſh and Scots going to Leith, whome they ranſomed for a great ſumme.]

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 571.

At the ſame time, one maiſter Donald Fraſher, archdeacon of Roſſe, toke the biſhops caſtell of the canonrie of Roſſe, and kept the ſame againſt maiſter Henrie Sincler, then biſhop there, and the chiefeſt men of authoritie in that dioceſſe, as Mackenzée, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the ſhiriffe Tramercie, who aſſembled about the ſame, and beſieged the caſtell, where great force was vſed, both by them without to win it, and of them within to defend it. The biſhop being then reſident in Cromercie caſtell, hearing that the houſe wold not be gotten without great ſlaughter, thought it againſt his conſcience, his profit, and honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore ſending for maiſter John Leſle, officiall of Aberden, and maiſter Alexander Dunbar, ſubchantor of Murreie, by their labour and diligent treating in the matter, the biſhop by reaſonable appointment recouered his caſtell of them that held it againſt him.

The caſtell of Roſſe taken.

The caſtell is beſieged.

The caſtell was reſtored againe.

The French king, vnderſtanding in what diſtreſſe his men remained that were beſieged within Leith, and perceiuing himſelfe not able to ſend an armie to ſuccour them within the time that their neceſſitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken vp: and to that effect ſent two ambaſſadors, the earle of Randon, and monſieur Monluc biſhop of Valence, who declared to the quéenes maieſtie of England, the cauſe of their comming; which was, to deſire hir to retire hir armie forth of Scotland, vpon ſome ſuch reaſonable conditions as might be agréed vpon. And heerewith they declared that they were ſent to the quéene, and not vnto the ſubiects of Scotland: for it was not méet that the king ſhould ſend to his owne ſubiects (as they were by the mariage of their quéene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement.

Ambaſſadors ſent.

Monſieur Monluc biſhop of Valence.

The quéenes maieſtie of England therefore ſent ſir William Cecill knight, hir principall ſecretarie, and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and of Yorke, one of the priuie councell, with the French ambaſſadors into Scotland. Whileſt they were yet vpon their iournie, the quéene regent (whome they thought to haue found aliue, and to haue vſed hir helpe as an inſtrument to haue furthered the treatie to ſome good end) conſumed partlie through melancholie, thought, and grieuous diſpleaſure, and partlie with long and incurable ſickneſſe, departed this life in the caſtell of Edenburgh the tenth of June, in the yéere of our Lord 1560. * Hir bodie was firſt conueied into France, to the monaſterie of Feſchampe, which is in Normandie, from whence it was caried to the abbeie of S. Peter at Rhemes in Champaignie (whereof hir ſiſter was then abbeſſe) in which it was after moſt honorablie buried.] She was a wiſe and verie prudent princeſſe, and in hir time had learned good experience of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

An ambaſſage ſent by the quéene of England.

The Scotiſh quéene mother departed. Fr. Thin.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 569. 1560.

The praiſe of the quéene Dowager.

During the time that ſhe was regent, ſhe kept good iuſtice, and was well obeied in all parts of the realme in Orkeneie, and the weſterne Iles. And if ſhe had to hir owne experience ioined the councell of the nobles and wiſe men of the realme of Scotland, without following the aduiſe of ſtrangers, there had béene neuer queſtion nor debate betwixt hir and the nobilitie, as ſome deemed. But becauſe that others, and namelie, monſieur Doiſell, and Rubée, were adioined to hir by the eſtates of Scotland, who dailie preſſed hir to deuiſe new alterations of lawes, impoſitions, tarations, and ſuch things as were not in vſe in Scotland: therefore the eſtates and people of the land did grudge, although not for anie miſliking they had of hir, who ſuerlie deceaſſed, to the great griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the eſtates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princeſſe made the French men within Leith, and alſo the ambaſſadors more diſcouraged than otherwiſe they would haue béene. But neuertheleſſe theſe foure ambaſſadors of England and France comming to Edenburgh, entered in conference among themſelues, vpon articles propoſed as well for reliefe of the Scotiſhmen, as for the weale and ſuertie of the quéene of England and hir ſubiects. Wherevpon certeine lords of Scotland were admitted to talke with them alſo: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Julie, in the yéere of God 1560, with certeine articles touching as well Scots and French, as Engliſhmen. The effect whereof héere inſueth.

The ambaſſadors came to Edenburgh.

They haue conference.

Peace is concluded.

1559. Buch.

## Articles of the peace.

Articles of the peace.

FIrſt, it was agréed, that all the Frenchmen ſhould depart forth of the realme of Scotland by ſea into France, & to that effect ſhould imbarke and make ſaile within the ſpace of twentie daies next following: and becauſe the Frenchmen had no ſhips, the Engliſhmen ſhould lend them ſhips, and certeine of the Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the ſame ſhips were returned.

French ſouldiers depart the realme.

2 Item, that they ſhould render the towne of Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition, bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at their pleaſure, and that the wals of the towne ſhould be throwne downe and demoliſhed.

Leith they ſhould render it.

3 Item, they ſhould cauſe monſieur Charlebois capteine of Dunbar, to demoliſh and race the fort which they had built before the caſtell there.

The fort before Dunbar to be raced.

4 Item, that the Engliſhmen ſhould raiſe their ſiege and depart forth of Scotland: after the departure from thence of the Frenchmen, and racing of the wals of Leith and Dunbar.

The Engliſh men ſhould depart alſo.

5 Item, that there ſhould be made an act of oblition, in which the quéene of Scotland, with conſent of the French king hir huſband, ſhould forget and burie in oblition all attempts made by the lords of Scotland againſt their authoritie, from the tenth day of March 1558, to the firſt day of Auguſt in the yéere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a parlement ſhould be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of Auguſt nert inſuing, in which parlement the ſame ſhould be ratified and allowed by the aduiſe of the eſtates of the realme of Scotland.

An act of oblition to be made.

A parlement to be kept.

6 Alſo it was agréed, that there ſhould be a commiſſion

miſſion ſent from the French king and the quéene of Scotland, to hold the ſame parlement to the effect aforeſaid.

To put awaie the armes and claime of England.

7 Item, that the quéene of Scotland and king of France ſhould cauſe to blot out and put awaie the bearing of the armes of England out of their ſcutchens.

Poſſeſſion to be kept with ſouldiers.

8 Item, it was agréed, that there ſhould remaine ſtill in the Ile of Inſkith thrée ſcore Frenchmen, and as manie in the caſtell of Dunbar, to kéepe (as it were) poſſeſſion to the quéenes vſe.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that paſſed through England) went aboord the Engliſh ſhips in Julie, and ſailed into France, and in companie with them went the biſhop of Glaſcow and the lord Seton. The Engliſhmen departed alſo, and in their way cauſed the fort of Dunbar to be raced, as by the agréement of the peace it was appointed.

The Frenchmē depart out of Scotland.

Parlement.

A confeſſion of faith publiſhed.

Learned men called.

A diſputation.

Fr. Thin.

Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 574.

A parlement was holden in Auguſt, and the act of oblivion ratified by the ſtates, & a confeſſion of faith publiſhed in the ſame: it was concluded alſo to ſend ambaſſadors into England, which was done. And ſhortlie after, the lords ſummoned the principall learned men of the realme forth of the vniuerſities of ſaint Andrews, Aberden, Glaſcow, and other parts, to giue a reaſon of their faith.

And amongeſt other of Aberden that toke vpon them to diſpute with John Knor, John Wullocke, and maiſter Gwdman [were John Leſle (doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the dioceſſe of Aberden called officiall; who ſhortlie after was ſenator of the high court, and of councell to the quéene of Scots, and laſtlie made biſhop of Roſſe) Patrike Mirton the treaſuror, James Straquhine canon, and Alexander Anderſon a verie graue diuine. At that time theſe Roman prelats behaued themſelues ſo well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be preſent at the ſermons of the miniſters.]

Livings beſtowed.

In the winter, the lords of the councell gaue facul-
ties of benefices to diuerſe of their friends, who put
forth the prelats, and receiued the fruits. The earle
of Argile diſpoſed Dunkeild and Dunblan. The
earle of Arran had the ordering of the biſhoprikes of
ſaint Andrews, alſo of the abbaſies of Dunfermling, and Melroſſe, and other ſmall benefices. The
like was vſed by other noble men, through all parts
of the realme. Shortlie after, Francis the French
king, huſband to the quéene of Scotland, departed
this life in December, and Charles his brother was
crowned in his place. The quéene being then wi-
dow, and Dowager of France, departed from Or-
leance (where the court lay when hir huſband deceaſ-
ſed) and went to the towne of Reimes in Cham-
paigne, where ſhe remained till the fiftéenth daie of
Aprill following.

The Scotiſh quéene went into Lorraine.

And then purpoſing to returne into Scotland,
ſhe toke hir iournie towards Januille, and ſo into
Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinſfolke by hir
mothers ſide. The biſhop of Glaſcow, and the ab-
bat of Dunfermling Scotiſhmen, were ſtill atten-
dant on hir in this iournie. There were with hir al-
ſo the cardinals of Lorraine and Guiſe, the duke
Daumale, and the marqueſſe Dalbeuf hir vncles.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 17.

Amongſt whom there had béene great diſputation touching the quéene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, whereunto hir vncles were verie willing; although ſome did ſéeme to ſtaie the iournie, whoſe ſpéeches tended to this effect as followeth.

"That the iournie was dangerous, eſpeciallie be-
"cauſe the quéene of England did not greatlie fauor
"it; then that ſhe ſhould come to men by nature bar-
"barous & ſeditious, which would not eaſilie obeie the
gouernement of a man. Whereof ſhe had freſh examples before hir eies, of hir father, and of hir mother, whome (when they either could not or durſt not openlie oppreſſe) they forced to a deſperation of things with their manie deuiſes, ſith they dailie liued by them in danger of honor or of life.

On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall countrie, and were skilfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that thoſe ſeditions were rather occaſioned by the default of the kings & gouernors, than of the ſubiects; whilſt they ſtriued to reduce that kingdome (which from the beginning had alwaies béene frée) to infinit bondage, and to the frée power of the lawes: which that nation (being more warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarilie, they did not onelie defend all their gouernors (which did not attempt the ouerthrow of their liberties) from the outward enimie, and from the inward tumults of the people: but they alſo made them (through loue and dutie towards their kings) inuincible ouer their enimies, and famous amongeſt ſtrange nations.

And that the chiefeſt meane at this time to pacifie all thoſe troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the ſtate wherein euen now it ſtandeth. Whereupon ſhe reſolued to come ſpéedilie into Scotland, whereof more ſhall be ſaid hereafter; vntill which, we will intreat of other matters done in Scotland. The quéene of Scots hauing hir mind ſtill ſetled vpon hir returne into Scotland; Noalius a ſenator of Burdeaux landed before this in Scotland (whither he was ſent) a little after the end of the publike parlement, for which cauſe he was ſtaied and turned ouer to the next aſſemblie of parlement, which was appointed the twelfe kalends of June.

But when at that time alſo the nobilitie aſſembled did not ſit in councell, becauſe they were yet vncerteine of the quéenes mind; in the meane time James Steward returned out of France, and brought with him a commiſſion, which gaue them authoritie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common-wealth. Whereupon in the end there was audience giuen to the ambaſſador, the effect of whoſe legacie was, to renew the old league with France, to vndoo the league with England, and that prieſts ſhould be reſtored to their liuings, out of which they had béene thruſt by violence.

To theſe things it was anſwered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the breach thereof; and contrarilie that the French had manifoldlie neglected the ſame; but ſpeciallie of late, in ſéeking the authoritie of their publike libertie, in that they would haue brought the people (their friends and giltles of anie euill) vnto miſerable ſeruitude. For the league with England, they could not by anie meanes diſſolue that, except they ſhould be counted moſt vnthankefull, recompenſe ſo great a benefit with great wickednes, & conſpire againſt the defendors of their liberties. And as touching reſtitution for ſuch as they called prieſts, they did acknowlege that they had not anie office, vſe, or authoritie in the church.

In this councell alſo it was decréed, to ouerthrow all the monaſteries of monks, for which cauſe diuerſe were ſent out into all places of the realme to execute the ſame. By occaſion whereof, the quéene being in France, and deſirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not for this preſent meddle with religion, but diſſembled the ſame: although Dureus abbat of Ferline, and John Sinclere latelie appointed biſhop of Brechine, did vehementlie perſuade and labor hir to the contrarie.

Fr.Thin. 1560. Abbridged out of the printed booke thereof.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edenburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knox being the minister thereof.) First was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondlie the crimes & vices that might vnable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knox (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret councell had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chose maister John Spotswod superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edenburgh, Luithithgue, Striueling, Treuent, Hadington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswod, who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswod, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thrise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswod. Then the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswod for their superintendent) they would honor and obeie him as Christes minister in euerie thing perteining to his charge.

Euerie nation is to haue his peculiar gouernement in religion, as is best liking to the godlie disposers of the religion of that countrie, sith *vulgus monstris multorum capitum.*

Whereunto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Whereunto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obteine the spirit of God to be powred into this new elect vessell) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politicall and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.]

Ambassadors sent into England.

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Morton and Glencarne, and the yong lard of Ledington secretarie, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Murreie passed through England into France. He departed from Edenburgh the eighteenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the queene, meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lesle officiall of Aberden was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntleie, and other the lords spirituall and temporall of the north parts; he tooke ship in the rode of Aberden, and landing at Brule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the queene, whom he most dutifullie saluted. Fr.Thin.

1561.

After which (being most courteoulie receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admonish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceiued with the flattering words of James the prior of saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie drift was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obteine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdome, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible. This is he which before is called the earle of Murreie that went into France but not rightlie, for he was not earle vntill long after this time.

Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, vrge the queene not to yeeld to his cloked words. For the obteining of which demand from the queene, he did fitlie ad to his persuasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdome, than that he fired his mind and eie vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realms affaires; she must prouide that this James should remaine in France, vntill she were arriued in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not doo so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir navie should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberden: for by that meanes she might prouide, that the setled lords of the religion might soone be pacified, and the rest which were yet wauering, might more freelie and willinglie be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilest they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedlie the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the queene.

But now, sith that the Scots doo vnderstand, that their queene (contrarie to their hope) will returne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vanish out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the queene, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decree, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obeie their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they vsurpe vpon them in eraction of authoritie.

Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie perswade the queene in the name of the earle of Huntleie, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enimies, and especiallie of James Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a fountaine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the erle of Huntleie, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lesle (as capteine of that iournie) to bring hir safe to Aberden. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will soone be readie with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edenburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, deceipts, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, vntill she returned into Scotland; and further

furſher gaue in charge, that letters ſhould be writ-
ten to the péeres and nobilitie of Scotland, to let
them vnderſtand of hir comming into Scotland, &
to be a witneſſe of hir good will vnto them. The nert
day after came to the quéene at Uitrie, in Cham-
paigne, Iames Steward (which is touched a little be-
foꝛe) the pꝛioꝛ of S. Andꝛews. Who after he had in re-
uerence done his dutie, bound himſelfe with all fi-
delitie, trauell, and diligence, moſt religiouſlie vn-
to hir; faithfullie further pꝛomiſing, that he would
pꝛouide that the Scots ſhould willinglie obeie hir,
without anie foꝛren powers to be bꝛought by hir in-
to Scotland.

Foꝛ it was thought that he went into France foꝛ
that purpoſe, to diſſuade the quéene that ſhe ſhould
not bꝛing any power of the French with hir. But in
the end, vttering his mind moꝛe fullie, and putting
awaie all ſuſpicion of deceit, he did with moꝛe fami-
liaritie requeſt the quéene to honoꝛ him with the erl-
dome of Murreie. Wherevnto the queene did cour-
teouſlie anſwer, that ſhe would ſatiſfie his requeſt
when ſhe came into Scotland. Wheꝛefoꝛe, when this
Iames pꝛeceiued that the quæne was ſomewhat
well bent towards him, and that ſhe credited his
woꝛds, he attended on hir vnto Jancuille, and there
remaining with hir a certeine ſpace, did after go in-
to Scotland (as is befoꝛe ſaid) to pꝛepare the minds
of the people, that they might receiue the quéene
comming into the realme, with good conſent and du-
tifull honoꝛ; who paſſing thꝛough England, came in-
to Scotland in the kalends of Maie.]

The nobles aſſemble at Edenburgh.

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Hunt-
leie, Atholl, Marſhall, and all other the noble men
of the realme, aduertiſed of the quéens comming,
aſſembled at Edenburgh with all poſſible diligence.
In the meane time, whilſt the quéene was pꝛeparing
to take hir iournie, and to come into Scotland, the
queene of England ſet foꝛth ſome of hir great ſhips
to the ſeas, to watch & gard the coaſts of hir realme.

Ships wait in the narrow ſeas.

Whereof they being aduertiſed in France, ſent the
abbat of ſaint Colmes Inch to the quéene of Eng-
land, to deſire of hir a ſafe conduct, in caſe by wind
oꝛ tempeſt ſhe chanced to land in England. But be-
foꝛe he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was

A ſafe conduct required.

appointed; the quéene and hir retinue were ſafelie
landed in Scotland; neuertheleſſe, the Engliſh ſhips

Certeine ſhips taken.

toke ſome of the Scotiſh loꝛds, as the earle of E-
glenton his ſhip, and others, which were bꝛought in-
to England, and ſtaied foꝛ a time; but were after re-
leaſed, and ſent home into Scotland.

Monſieur Doiſell,

The quéene alſo, by the aduiſe of the K. of France,
ſent monſieur Doiſell into England, to paſſe
thꝛough the ſame into Scotland befoꝛe hir cõming,
there to haue receiued the foꝛts of Dunbar and Inſ-
keith, of monſieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the
ſame till hir comming. But he was ſtaied, and paſ-
ſed no further than to London: foꝛ it was thought
that his going into Scotland would turne to no
great benefit of that realme: becauſe that he & mon-
ſieur Rubeie were the pꝛincipall authoꝛs of all the
troubles in Scotland, betwixt the quæne regent, and
the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Pa-
ris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir
ſir vncles, the dukes of Guiſe, and Daumall, the
cardinall of Loꝛraine and Guiſe, the grand pꝛioꝛ,
and the marqueſſe Dalbeuf, alſo the duke de Ne-
meurs, and other of hir friends and kinſmen.

The quæne was conueied into Calis.

She taketh hir iournie into Scotland.

There were two gallies pꝛepared, and certeine
other ſhips to go with hir into Scotland, and there
went with hir thꝛee of hir ſaid vncles, the duke Dau-
mall, the grand pꝛioꝛ, and the marqueſſe Dalbeuf:
alſo monſieur Dauuille the conſtables ſonne, and
diuerſe other. She arriued at Leith the twentith day
of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Loꝛd 1561, where ſhe

The quæne arriued at Leith.

was honoꝛablie receiued by the earle of Argile, the
loꝛd Erſkin, the pꝛioꝛ of ſaint Andꝛews, and of the
burgeſſes of Edenburgh, and conueied to the ab-
beie of Holie rod houſe. Foꝛ (as ſaith Buchanan) Fr. Thin.
when ſome had ſpꝛead abꝛoad hir landing in Scot-
land, the nobilitie and others aſſembled out of all Buchanan, lib. 17.
parts of the realme, as it were to a common ſpec-
tacle.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne,
& partlie to ſhew the dutie which they alwaies bare
vnto hir (when ſhe was abſent) either to haue thanks
therefoꝛe, oꝛ to pꝛeuent the ſlanders of their enimies;
whereof not a few by theſe beginnings of hir reigne
did geſſe what would follow; although in thoſe ſo va-
riable motions of the minds of the people, euerie
one was verie deſirous to ſée their queene offred vn-
to them (vnlooked foꝛ) after ſo manie haps of both
foꝛtunes as had fallen vnto hir. Foꝛ when ſhe was
but ſix daies old, ſhe loſt hir father among the cruell
tempeſts of battell, and was by great diligence
bꝛought vp by hir mother (being a choſen and woꝛ-
thie perſon) but yet left as a pꝛeie to others, by rea-
ſon of ciuill ſeditions in Scotland, and of outward
warres with other nations, being further laid abꝛoad
to all the dangers of frowning foꝛtune, befoꝛe ſhe
could know what euill did meane.

Foꝛ leauing hir owne countrie, ſhe was nouri-
ſhed as a baniſhed perſon, and hardlie pꝛeſerued in
life from the weapons of hir enimies, & violence of
the ſeas. After which, foꝛtune began to flatter hir, in
that ſhe honoꝛed hir with a woꝛthie mariage, which
in truth was to this quéene rather a ſhadow of ioie,
than anie comfoꝛt at all. Foꝛ ſhoꝛtlie after the ſame,
all things were turned to ſoꝛrow, by the death of hir
new yong huſband, and of hir old and gréeued mo-
ther; by loſſe of hir new kingdome, and by the doubt-
full poſſeſſion of hir old inheritable realme. But as
foꝛ theſe things ſhe was both pitied and pꝛaiſed; ſo
was ſhe alſo foꝛ gifts of nature as much loued and
fauoꝛed; in that, beneficiall nature (oꝛ rather god
God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well
compoſed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature,
and good behauioꝛ; which ſhe had artificiallie furthe-
red by courtlie education and affable demeanoꝛ.
Whereby at the firſt ſight, ſhe wan vnto hir the
hearts of moſt people, and confirmed the loue of hir
faithfull ſubiects.]

Coſtlie iewels

Being thus come out of France, ſhe bꝛought in-
to Scotland manie rich and coſtlie iewels of gold
woꝛke, pꝛetious ſtones, oꝛient pearls, & ſuch like, as
excellent and faire as were to be found within Eu-
rope, with rich furniture of houſhold, as hangings,
carpets, counterpoints, and all other neceſſaries foꝛ
the furniſhing of hir pꝛincelie houſes. The chiefeſt
part of the hangings and other furniture of houſe-
hold, was ſhipped at Rone, and arriued at Leith in
the moneth of October nert following. After the
quéene of Scots had remained the ſpace of foure oꝛ
fiue daies at Holie rod houſe, the duke of Chatele-
rault, the earle of Argile, and diuerſe other of the no-
bilitie being pꝛeſent, there was an act made by the
loꝛds of the councell [in which none of the cleargie (as
ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. pa. 580) were pꝛeſent] with con-
ſent of the quæne, that to remoue all cauſes of
trouble in time to come foꝛ the matter of religion, it
was oꝛdeined, that no alteration of the eſtate of re-
ligion publikelie ſtanding within the realme, at hir
arriuall in the ſame, ſhould be made; & that nothing
ſhould be attempted, either publikelie oꝛ pꝛiuatlie to
the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put foꝛth
and publiſhed thꝛough all parts of the realme with
great diligence.

Hir houſhold ſtuffe.

In act made concerning religion.

Fr. Thin.

After this, there were eleuen tempoꝛall loꝛds, and
one biſhop choſen to be of the quænes ſecret councell,

Some appointed to be of the quænes councell.

Secretarie. Comptroller. Lords of the priuie councel.

by whose aduise she should rule and gouerne things, six of them to remaine continuallie with hir in roome of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the priuie councell were these, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle of Huntlie chancellor, the earle of Argile, the earle of Atholl, the earle Marshall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Morton, the earle of Montrosse, the earle of Errol, maister Henrie Sinclar bishop of Rosse, and the lord Erskin, with the prior of S. Andrew. * But among these reioisings of the queenes interteinment into hir kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did deepelie enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (forsooth) and of the reformed religion.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 16.

For where it was agreed by the queene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie priuilie to be sed. For the preparation wherof whilest the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chappell, one of the companie snatched awaie the wax candels and brake them: by occasion whereof (if some of the household had not come betweene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had béene throwne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaming it as a most sawcie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged and said that the priest was worthie to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the verie beginning was appeased by James the queenes bastard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Murreie. For which cause he would not offend the queene, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set vp hir sonne; as more plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quieting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlie grieued, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the queenes vncles that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Calidon vnto the old religion. The which being indeed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the queenes brother, by meanes whereof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587.

But now although the gouernment (as before is touched) was appointed to twelue before named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the queene: yet the whole deed of ruling did in effect depend vpon hir bastard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the queene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefore this James, using the queenes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberall gifts vpon his fellowes. Which the nobles so much misliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be more touched.]

Daumal went with the two gallies into France. The rest went through England into France.

The duke Daumall, after he had remained with the queene a certeine time, toke his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prior and monsieur Dannille taried somewhat longer, and passed through England into France. The marquesse Daulbeuf taried in Scotland all the nert winter, till the spring of the yeere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edenburgh prepared great and costlie triumphs for the queenes entering, which shée made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this,

A preparation of triumphs.

she passed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint Andrews, into which townes she was receiued with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrews she returned vnto Edenburgh, where she remained all the nert winter. In December there was a great assemblie of all the principall lords, spirituall and temporall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelats, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the queene, towards the bearing of hir charges for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir household, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The queene visited the townes.

In assemblie of the lords.

The third part of the spirituall liuings demanded.

The prelats agreed for the queenes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yeeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelates to paie the third part, the lords of the priuie councell made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelats and beneficed men should be charged to paie yeerelie to the queenes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices: and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to doo with the rents of brotherhods of common churches, and such like. This order hath béene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelats, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

An act for the clergie.

* Whilest these things were in doing, William Pettellan the yonger was sent ambassador into England, to salute the queene of that realme (as the maner is) & to declare the good mind that the queene of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserued betweene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppresse for manie reasons, because (as Salomon saith) *Cor regis inscrutabile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eies and eares) this ambassador deliuered letters to the queene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the queene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their queene, to the end that the queene of Scots prouoked by hir benefits, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie alreadie begun: but might also (if it were possible) be dailie more and more fast bound vnto hir: and they for their parts would not omit anie occasion with all good will and diligence to continue this amitie.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

To which ambassador the queene of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect whereof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie alreadie set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine tong, I thinke it not necessarie héere to repeat: and therefore I doo purposelie omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent spéech of hir maiestie: and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan penneth it, I might dishonor hir, & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Phaeton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiencie therefore consumed with the heat and glorie thereof; so should I in presuming with vnskill to pen the

tale

tale of ſuch a woꝛthie pꝛince, conſume my credit, in miſoꝛdering oꝛ defacing the maieſtie, grauitie, wiſedome, and life of hir ſingular wit and eloquence. Foꝛ which cauſe, leauing the ſame, we dꝛo in this ſoꝛt bꝛing backe our pen to the continuance of the hiſtoꝛie of Scotland.

Buchan. li. 17. The quéene of Scots had a bꝛother called John, a man deſirous of authoꝛitie, but yet not ſo ſeuere in mind as was James the other bꝛother. This John eaſilie perſuading himſelfe to obeie the quéene in all things, was the moꝛe déere vnto hir, and moſt fit foꝛ hir, deſirous (as ſaith Buchanan, but howꝛ trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this John (in abſence of the other bꝛother James) ſhe did conſult to hier a companie of ſouldiers to be about hir, the cauſe whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult oꝛ ſtur, as though the earle of Arran would, in the abſence of the nobilitie, ſecretlie ſet vpon the quéene, and by ſtrength haue laboꝛed to carie hir to his caſtell, which was foureténe miles from thence. All which ſéemeth likelie to be but a tale, either foꝛ the quéenes mind that was eſtranged from him, oꝛ foꝛ the immoderat loue which he bare vnto hir: both which were ſufficientlie knowen to the common people. Which tumult being ſpꝛed abꝛoad, theſe ſouldiers after they had all night ſcowꝛed the fields, ꝛiding vp and downe hither & thither, they ſhewed themſelues the nexꝛt day beforꝛe the court gates, to the offenſe of ſome, and the ieſt of others.]

1562. The ſunday beforꝛe Shꝛouetueſdaie, being the eight day of Febꝛuarie (as ſome wꝛite) James Steward then pꝛioꝛ of ſaint Andꝛewes, and earle of Mar, baſe bꝛother to the quéene, was made earle of Murreie, [in place (as ſaith Buchanan) of the earledome of Mar, which belonged to John Areſkin] by the quéens ſpeciall gift, and was maꝛied the ſame day vnto Agnis Keith, daughter to the erle Marſhall, with great feaſts and triumphs, laſting thꝛée daies. ✻ In which mariage he did ſo much exceed, that he greatlie offended the minds of his friends, and miniſtred matter to his enimies to ſpeake euill of him; and that the moꝛe vehementlie, becauſe he had beforꝛe time in all his life behaued himſelfe far moꝛe temperatlie than he did at this time.]

James Steward made earle of Murreie. Fr. Thin.

The quéene of England deſirous to haue a méeting betwixt hir and the quéene of Scots hir cowſine, ſent diuerſe meſſengers with letters, deſiring hir moſt inſtantlie to come to Yoꝛke, where ſhe would méet hir, to talke with hir of diuerſe matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendſhip which nature had knit betwéene them, by continuation and affinitie of bloud. And after conſultation had with hir councell, the quéene of Scots agréed thereto: and ſo they were appointed to méet at Yoꝛke in the moneth of Julie nexꝛt following. But when things were pꝛepared and put in a readineſſe foꝛ the iournie, the quéene of England ſent woꝛd to the quéene of Scots, that ſhe could not keepe the appointment made foꝛ their méeting, deſiring hir to haue hir excuſed foꝛ that time. Which meſſage was accepted, and ſo the iournie ſtaied.

The quéene of England deſirous to ſpeake with the quéene of Scotland.

The méeting time was diſappointed.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 17. ✻ Much about this time, oꝛ rather ſomewhat beforꝛe, as in truth I ſuppoſe it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelerault, and father to the earle of Arran, firſt wꝛote to the quéene, then after went he vnto hir to ſaint Andꝛewes, and with manie pꝛaiers requeſted hir that ſhe would vpon ſufficient pledges deliuer to him the earle Bothwell, and Gawen Hamilton, but he could not obteine anie thing therein at hir hands. At what time alſo the quéene went to Dunbꝛeton (which Hamilton held ſince the time that he was gouernoꝛ) to demand the deliuerie of the ſame into hir hands, which was accoꝛdinglie deliuered vnto hir.] Shoꝛtlie after, the quéene of Scots toke hir iournie towards the noꝛth parts of Scotland, and ſet from Striueling in the moneth of Auguſt.

The quéene made hir pꝛogreſſe into the noꝛth parts of Scotland.

About this time it chanced that the loꝛd Ogiluie, and John Goꝛdon of Finnater, ſonne to the earle of Huntleie, met on the calſeie of Edenburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and ſtripes giuen and taken) the loꝛd Ogiluie and his companie were hurt. Wheꝛefoꝛe John Goꝛdon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbuith of Edenburgh, out of which he eſcaped, after he had remained pꝛiſoner therein about twentie daies, and toke his waie noꝛthward: whereupon followed great trouble ſhoꝛtlie after to the houſe of Huntleie. The quéene accompanied with the earles of Argile, Murreie, and Moꝛton, the loꝛd Erſkin, and others, paſſed foꝛwards in hir iournie towards the noꝛth part, and cauſed John Goꝛdon of Finnater to be ſummoned to appéere and anſwer the law at Aberden, foꝛ bꝛeaking pꝛiſon, and hurting the loꝛd Ogiluie. The quéene comming to the towne of Aberden, was honoꝛablie receiued with diuerſe oꝛations, and Latine enterludes, beforꝛe the grammar ſchoole and college.

Loꝛd Ogiluie and John Goꝛdon fight togither.

John Goꝛdon bꝛeaketh pꝛiſon.

John Goꝛdon is ſummoned by the quéene.

Goꝛdon is accompanied with a great companie.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17. ✻ Theſe things thus done at Aberden, as the quéene determined to go further, ſhe was intreated by John Leſle a noble man, and follower of the Goꝛdons, to vouchſafe his houſe in hir waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which ſhe granted, & went vnto the ſame. This place, becauſe it was no common place of reſoꝛt, was thought verie conuenient foꝛ the execution of the earle of Murreie, whoſe death was conſpired (as after ſhall appéere.) Wheꝛevpon Leſle, who was not ignoꝛant of this ſecret counſell, beſought the quéene that ſhe would not laie ſuch a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he ſhould ſéeme to haue betraied the chiefeſt bꝛother of the quéene, no euill man, and one that was not his enimie, whereby he might come vnto his death at his houſe. Wheꝛevpon it then ceaſſed, and the nexꝛt night was alſo quietlie paſſed ouer at Kothimie, a towne of the Abernethians, becauſe the nexꝛt day the quéene was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Wheꝛevpon the earle of Huntleie, hauing beforꝛe heard that his ſonne was thus ſummoned, aſſembled the pꝛincipall earles, loꝛds, barons, and gentlemen of the noꝛth, who came with him to Aberden, to helpe his ſon at the law day appointed foꝛ his appéerance, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quéene himſelfe, and at length it was agreed, that his ſonne the ſaid John Gordon ſhould returne to pꝛiſon againe in Striueling caſtell, there to remaine during the quéenes pleaſure. But he following the euill counſell of ſome yong heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quéenes pleaſure, noꝛ his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he toke it) vpon the earle of Murreie, whome he put moſt in blame foꝛ the rigoꝛ ſhewed againſt him, but his enterpꝛiſe toke not effect. Now the quéene aduertiſed of his diſobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithſtanding there was great pꝛeparation made foꝛ hir in that place, foꝛ the receiuing of hir and hir traine: but ſhe went vnto Balwanie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Kinlos, to Tarnewaie, and ſo came to Inuernelle, and there lodged.

Goꝛdon is commanded to Striueling caſtell.

He diſobeied.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntleie, purpoſing to attend on the quéene at Inuernelle, cauſed pꝛouiſion to be made in the caſtell foꝛ his lodging. The quéene ſuſpecting his dealing, leaſt this ſhould be done vpon ſome policie, commanded the kéepers of the caſtell to render the ſame to one of hir heralds: but it was not deliuered till the nexꝛt day, and theꝛefoꝛe the capteine of that caſtell called Alexander Goꝛdon, foꝛ refuſing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne

The quéene ſuſpected the earle of Huntleie.

Alexander Goꝛdon was hanged.

towne bridge. The lord Gordon & his brother Iohn Gordon of Finnater came that night within a little ſpace diſtant from the towne of Inuernelle, which cauſed great feare in the towne, ſo that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntleie being come to Kinloſſe, and hearing that the caſtell of Inuernelle was commanded to be giuen vp into the hands of an herald, ſent with all diligence to the keepers, that they ſhould deliuer it, & returned himſelfe to Strabogie.

The quéene remained in Inuernelle the ſpace of foure or fiue daies, where the principall capteine of the clanes of the countrie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) whereof the chiefe were the Fraiſers and Murreies, valiant families in thoſe parts] conueied hir to Spine, where ſhe was informed that the earle of Huntleie had gathered an armie to come againſt hir, and made their aſſemble at Spaie. Hérevpon, they tooke with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the ſame in carts, and all other kind of munition, and paſſed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntleie all this while came not forth of Strabogie. The quéene as ſhe paſſed forward, rode to the place of Finnater, and there in hir owne preſence, cauſed the keepers thereof to be charged to deliuer it, which they refuſed to dow. From Bamf the quéene rode to the lard of Geichtis place, called Geicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberden. She lodged one night in the biſhops palace, and the next day ſhe was honorablie receiued, and lodged in the pronoſts houſe of the towne, where ſhe remained all the time of hir abode in Aberden.

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberden.

After this, the lord Iohn prior of Coldingham, with diuerſe gentlemen, was ſent againſt the earle of Huntleie to Strabogie, but he was eſcaped before they approched. The ladie Huntleie receiued them verie courteouſlie, and gaue them good interteinement, and ſo they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Fife, Angus, Stratherne, the Merns, and to the ſhire of Aberden, to come to Aberden quarterlie, euerie countrie to remaine there fiftéene daies; and ſo they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntleie ſent his wife in meſſage to the quéene and councell, but ſhe was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he ſent a meſſenger, offering to enter in ward till his cauſe might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refuſed. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the ſame time James Hepborne earle of Bothwell, who (vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him about a quarell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had béene committed to priſon in Eaſter weéke laſt before paſt) eſcaped out of Dauids tower in Edenburgh at a windowe.

The earle of Huntleie is ſent for.

The ladie Huntleie is ſent vnto the quéene.

The Gordons are impriſoned.

The earle Bothwell eſcaped out of priſon.

*The earle of Huntleie, vnderſtanding by his friends at the court how things paſſed, determined to flie to the mounteins: but after (truſting to the promiſes of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of ſome ſtrength. Wherevpon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Mar. By reaſon whereof the earle of Murreie, who at the firſt had ſcarſe a hundred horſſemen with him, began with James Dowglaſſe earle of Morton, and Patrike Lindſeie, to lead an armie againſt his enimies, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adioining. Wherefore he firſt placed ſouldiers about the water paſſages, to keépe all thoſe places, that Huntleie ſhould not eſcape, and with the reſt went forward on a ſoft paſe, to méet his enimie: whoſe comming Huntleie did abide, with thrée hundred men, kéeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Gordons the night before.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

When the earle of Murreie was come to the ſide of a hill, from whence he might ſée all the mariſhes about him, he incamped there in a ſlender order of battell. At length the armies met, at what time manie on the earle of Murreie his ſide did flée awaie, hauing before giuen a ſigne to the enimie. But the earle Murreie, which ſaw there was no ſuccour in fléeing, ſtood to it valiantlie, called his men togither, ſet vpon the enimie, cauſed them (which before followed his men fleeing awaie) now to flie as faſt backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceiue, they came afreſh and purſued the Huntleies, and (to cleare them from the firſt fault) committed all the ſlaughter that was done that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntleie a hundred and twentie, and a hundred taken: but on the other ſide not one. Amongſt ſuch as were taken, was the earle Huntleie himſelfe, and his two ſons, Iohn and Adam. But the father being old and ſhort breathed by reaſon of his groſſenes, was ſlaine betweene the hands of ſuch as tooke him, and the reſt were late in the night brought to Aberden.] The quéene ſéemed ſorie for the earles death. But in Nouember Iohn Gordon was beheaded in Aberden, and ſhortlie after the quéene returned ſouthwards, leauing foure commiſſioners in Aberden, the treaſuror, maiſter James Macgill, maiſter Iohn Spens of Cundie, and the lard of Pettarrow, to compound for the eſchets of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntleie. Great ſummes of monie were taken and leuied of them for that treſpaſſe. * The earle Bothwell was commanded the fift kalends of December by an herald to yéeld himſelfe againe to priſon, but becauſe he would not, he was declared a publike enimie.]

Iohn Gordon is beheaded.

Fr. Thn. Buchanan. lib. 178.

The lord George Gordon, eldeſt ſonne to the earle of Huntleie, was taken by the duke of Chatelerault his father in law, at Cumernoull, and brought to Edenburgh, where he was put in the caſtell, and after by a iurie conuict, forfalted, and condemned to die, and ſent to Dunbar caſtell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yére of God, 1565.

The lord Gordons taken priſoner. 1563. Buch. 1562.

* At this time was a monie mulct ſet vpon ſuch as did eat fleſh in the time of Lent. The ſetting forth thereof was not ſo much for religion, as for publike commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes, becauſe (after an edict made therefore at the quéenes comming into Scotland) he did not abſteine from hearing and ſaleng maſſe, was committed priſoner to the caſtell of Edenburgh, and the reſt that were found in ſuch actions were fined, with promiſe of a greater puniſhment to be laied vpon them, if they were found offending againe in that ſort.]

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

The quéene held a parlement in Edenburgh, where the earle of Huntleis dead bodie was brought preſent before the eſtates in the tolbuith, and forfalted. The earle of Sutherland George Gordon was forfalted alſo, and diuerſe other of their friends. And in this parlement the act of obliuion was ratified and approued, and diuerſe other new acts made. This yeere in Auguſt, the quéene went on progreſſe into Argile. This yére deceaſſed diuerſe councellors or ſenators of the college of Juſtice, as maiſter Iohn Stephanſon chancellor of Glaſcow, and the pronoſt of Corſtrophine. In place of the firſt, maiſter Iohn Leſle, officiall of Aberden, was promoted; and in the pronoſts place maiſter James Baulfour ſuccéeded. There came an ambaſſador from the king of Sweden, to treat of a mariage to be contracted with the

1563. Parlement.

The act of oblimon ratified.

The quéene goeth on progreſſe.

New officers.

1564. Ambaſſadors from Sweden

quéene, but his meſſage was not regarded. The ſe-
The biſhop of Roſſe went into France. cond of Julie, Henrie Sincler biſhop of Roſſe ſhip-
ped at Leith to paſſe into France, to procure ſome
helpe of his diſeaſe. He was cut of the ſtone in Pa-
ris, and died the ſecond of Januarie nert after. Where
ſuccéeded to that biſhoprike of Roſſe, maiſter John
Leſle, parſon of Duen, being then one of the ſena-
tors of the ſeſſion and college of iuſtice.

The quéenes progreſſe. In the moneth of Auguſt, the quéene paſſed into
Atholl in progreſſe, and from thence to Badzenocht,
to Inuerneſſe, and to the canonrie of Roſſe, and re-
turned through Murreie to Gartleie, Aberden,
Dunnoter, and ſo to Edenburgh, where ſhe remai-
ned the next winter. In the moneth of October, the
The earle of Lennox came into Scotland, earle of Lennor came into Scotland, and for his
cauſe there was a parlement holden in December,
in which he was reſtored to all his lands, honors, and
dignities, within that realme. In December alſo, the
biſhop of Dunblane deceaſſed, and after him ſuccée-
ded maiſter William Cheſiholme his brothers ſon.
A progreſſe. In Januarie, the quéene toke hir iourneie through
Fife, and in manie gentlemens places was banket-
Lord Darneleie came into Scotland. ted. In which time, Henrie Steward, lord Darnleie,
a goodlie man of perſonage, and ſonne to the earle of
Lennor, came into Scotland, where he came to the
quéenes preſence in the Weames, the ninth day of
Februarie. The quéene ſo well liked him, that ſhe aſ-
1563. ſembled all the temporall lords togither at Striue-
A parlement. ling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obteined of
them their conſents, that ſhe might marrie the ſaid
Lord Darneleie is made lord of Roſſe. lord Darneleie. After this, he was made earle of
Roſſe.

The quéene of England diſ-ſuaded that mariage. In the meane time, the quéene of England ſent ſir
Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to vnder-
ſtand the proceedings in the quéenes mariage with
the lord Darneleie, and for other affaires, who came
to the aſſemblie at Striueling to that effect. The
quéene of Scots ſent maiſter John Hate abbat of
Balmerinoch into England to the quéene, to miti-
gat hir diſpleaſure towards the lord Darneleie, and
Ambaſſage ſent into Scotland. to obteine hir conſent to the mariage; who anſwered,
that ſhe ment to ſend an ambaſſador of hir owne in-
to Scotland for that and other cauſes, and (according
to hir promiſe) ſhe ſent one. Shortlie after, certeine
The earle of Murreie a ſu-tor vnto the quéene. capteins & men of warre in ſaint Andrewes, Dun-
dée, and ſaint Johns towne, receiued monie about
the ſame time of the earle of Murreie, to take part
with him, for the which they were after puniſhed. Af-
ter the aſſemblie at Striueling, the quæne ſéemed
not to like of the earle of Murreie ſo well as ſhe had
done before: whereupon he departed the court, and
repaired to ſaint Andrewes, where (through the coun-
ſell of certeine perſons) he ſought waies to ſtop the
mariage.

Diſpenſation had from Rome for to marrie. The quéene neuertheleſſe ſent the biſhop of Dun-
blane to Rome for a diſpenſation to marrie with the
lord Darneleie, being hir coſine in the ſecond degrée
of conſanguinitie, which he obteined, & ſent it home
ſhortlie after. The quéene was then principallie
counſelled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennor, the
lord Ruthwen, and their friends. In the meane time,
the earle of Murreie perſuaded the duke of Chatele-
Conſultation to ſtop the ma-riage. rault, the earle of Argile, and ſundrie other, to méet at
Striueling, where they made a bond to ſtop the ma-
riage, alledging the ſame to be made for mainte-
nance of the religion. The quæne aduertiſed there-
Gordon is created earle of Huntleie. of, releaſed the lord Gordon forth of priſon, wherein
he had béene kept within the caſtell of Dunbar, and
reſtoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle
Bothwell is ſent for. Fr. Thin. of Huntleie. She alſo ſent for the earle of Bothwell
to returne home, who was baniſhed, and was then in
France [and the earle of Southerland to returne
out of Flanders.]

Lord Darne- In the moneth of Julie, the lord Darneleie earle
of Roſſe was made duke of Albanie. And on ſatur-
leie is made duke of Alba-nie. daie at euen, the eight and twentith daie of the ſame
moneth, before the mariage, he was proclamed king
Lord Darne-leie is procla-med king. by the quéenes commandement at the market croſſe
of Edenburgh. And on the nine and twentith dais of
the ſame moneth, he was married to the quéene in
The quéene is maried. the chappell of Holie rod houſe, at fiue of the clocke
in the morning. Shortlie after, the duke of Chatele-
rault, the earles of Argile, Murreie, and their com-
Certein lords refuſe to ap-peare before the quéene. plices, were ſummoned to appære before the quæne
and hir councell within ſir daies; & becauſe they re-
fuſed ſo to do, they were put to the horne.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17. *The king and quæne therevpon aſſemble their
power, and by a herald demand the deliuerie of the
caſtell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the
effect of his meſſage) they addreſſe themſelues to
warre. At what time the lords of the congregation
were at ſome variance amongeſt themſelues, as ſe-
uered into diuerſe opinions: for the Hamiltons that »
were of greateſt power in thoſe places, did affirme, »
that they ſhould haue no firme conditions of peace, »
except the king and quéene were made awaie: for ſo »
long as they were in health, they could hope for no-
thing but new warres, new deceipts, and diſſembled »
peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war. »
For though manie times the iniuries of priuat per- »
ſons maie be laied downe by trauell and perſuaſion, wicked counſell alwaies worſt to the giuer.
and maie be recompenſed againe with great com-
modities: yet there is no waie to appeaſe the diſplea-
ſure of kings, but by taking them awaie.

Upon which bad ſpeech, the earles of Murreie and
of Glencarne (which well vnderſtood that the Ha-
miltons did not ſéeke the publike commoditie, but
their owne priuat riches as perſons that were nert
to the crowne after the queens death) did abhor the
ſlaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons,
whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and cone-
tous: and did therefore giue more mild and ſound
counſell, ſaieng that this diſſention being ſtill, was »
not yet come to be bloudie: in which hitherto they »
had onelie contended with words & not with ſwords, »
being not yet ſo far, but that (if it were poſſible) the »
ſame might be ended with honeſt conditions.

To the perſuaſion whereof, he ſaid that there »
were manie in the camps of the two princes, which »
grédilie deſired to heare of peace, & would not faile »
to further their endeuor therein, nor to defend them-
ſelues & their cauſe with néedfull weapons: all which »
did perchance foreſée that the king and quéene (by »
reaſon of their youth) had not yet faulted ſo greatlie, »
as that it turned to the vtter ouerthrow of the com- »
mon-wealth; & if they haue faults (as who hath not) »
they were ſuch as were rather to their owne priuat »
reproch than otherwiſe, and therefore they ought not »
to be puniſhed with ſtat death: but rather to be cu- »
red with eaſier remedies. For he did remember it »
to haue alwaies bæne obſerued heretofore, that in »
the life of kings, we ſhould alwaies couer their ſe- »
cret vices, we ſhould mildlie interpret their doubt- »
full faults, and we ſhould with patience beare their »
knowne euils: ſo that they did not by them bring »
vtter deſtruction to the common-wealth. »

When this opinion was pleaſing to moſt of the
hearers, the other Hamiltons (except James, which
was head of that familie) determined to reſt in qui-
et; but he accompanied with ſirtéene horſſes remai-
ned with the lords. Who being now ſo weakened
of their power, that they could neither wage battell,
nor ſafelie paſſe to their owne; did giue place to the
time, and went that night to Hamilton.] The quéene
aſſembled an armie, and went to Glaſcow to pur-
ſue them [at what time (as ſaith Buchanan) the earle
of Lennor was made warden of the eaſt marches,
and the duke and earles with other of their compa-
nie

An armie gathered against them.

nie came to Edenburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

The lords went vnto Dunfreis.

The quéene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir councell assembled forth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Beggar, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, she hearing that the towns of saint Andrews, Dundée, and saint Johns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hirselfe, and toke inquisition thereof, giuing order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practise. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and baillzeis of saint Andrews: also certeine of the towne of Dundée, and saint Johns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Balward, were sent to Aberden, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

Certeine townes are punished.

About this time, the quéene toke the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Morton, because he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The keeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quéene returning to Edenburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edenburgh, came to Beggar, where all the nobilmen with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Murreie, Glencarne, Roths, the lord Ochiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lards of Grange, Cuningham, Herdie, Pettarrow, maister James Haliburton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quéens comming with an armie, fled into England & came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

A great armie

The lords fled into England.

The lord Heris then maister of Harwell conueied them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quéene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lards of Lochinwar and Drunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of good order in the countrie, the quéen returned to Edenburgh, where she remained all the nert winter. The quæne sent the maister Dauid Chalmer chancellor of Rosse into France to the the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortlie after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Paluoiser into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters vnto the quéene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankefullie receiued, and the said Paluoiser honorablie at his departure rewarded.

Their conuoiers got their pardon.

The quéene returned againe into Edenburgh.

The quéene sent into France for aid.

The duke of Chatelerault, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastell vpon Tine, and from thence sent the earle of Murreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quæne of England, making sute to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quéens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quéene hir sister, and moue hir in their fauors, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastell, where the duke of Chatelerault, perceiuing no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quéene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obteined pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of fiue yeares, and shortlie after he passed through England, and so ouer into France, according to his appointment.

The lords send to the quéene of England.

The quéene of England sent to the quéene of Scots.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Stratherne, Striuelingshire, & Louthian, spending his time in hawking. The quæne remained at Edenburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceiued with child, trauelled little abroad. ✻ About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quéens name in all their writings and patents. For where, vntill this time, the kings name was set before the quæns: now quite contrarie, the name of the quéene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quéene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of hirs and his; and Dauid the secretarie was appointed in his place to haue a stampe of the kings name, to vse when need required.]

The king went a hawking.

Fr. Thin.

Bucha. lib. 17.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March nert insuing, and summons decréed against the earle of Murreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to heare them forfalted. The French king sent monsieur Rambeueullet into Scotland, as ambassador from him to the quéene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaell. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rod house the tenth of Februarie, being sunday: after the which, the said Rambeuellet returned into France, being highlie rewarded.

A parlement.

The lords that were exiled are summoned.

The king receiued the order of saint Michaell.

1566.

From that time that the parlement was proclamed, and the summons also published, the earle of Murreis friends being in Scotland, neuer ceassed to séeke all the waies and means they could deuise to staie the same: in so much that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindsete, secretlie persuaded the king to staie the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Murreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made & crowned king of Scotland absolutelie, and the quéene so to haue lesse to do with the gouernement afterwards, where through he agréed to them.

They persuade with the king.

The king soone persuaded.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lords of the articles being chosen the seuenth day of March, they perceiuing the forfalture like to proceed, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of March nert following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindsete, entred into the quæns priuie chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being saturday, and the ninth of March; where being arriued in warlike manner, the lord Ruthwen declared vnto the quæne, that they would not suffer hir anie longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber Dauid Richeo an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crieng pitiouslie, *Iustitia, Iustitia*: and in hir vtter chamber they suddenlie slue him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie.

The king is entred into the quæns priuie chamber.

Dauid Richeo is slaine.

The quéene was shut vp within hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntleie and Bothwell escaped by a backe window forth in their chamber, wherof the king and his companie were right sorie. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quéenes ferrie, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morow being sunday (the quéene being secretlie kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in parlement

The earle of Huntleie is fled and the residue also.

The exiled lords come into Scotland.

ment, ſhuld depart out of the towne of Edenburgh: and after none the ſame day, the earles of Murreie and Rothes, with other of their companies that came forth from Newcaſtell the ſaturday before, came to the abbeie of Holie rod houſe about ſix of the clocke in the after none, where they were thankfullie receiued by the king and his companie. They ſpake alſo with the queene, who had no great comfort of their comming.

They made their proteſtation.

The morrow following, being monday, the earle of Murreie, and the other that were ſummoned, paſſed to the tolbuith of Edenburgh, & made their proteſtation there, that they were readie to anſwer in parlement, and none appeared to accuſe them. After this, it was concluded to keepe the queene in ſtreict ward. But by hir politike demeanor, their purpoſe in that behalfe was broken: for by ſecret conference with the king, ſhe perſuaded him to thinke, that hee had ioined himſelfe with thoſe that would be his deſtruction, if it happened with hir otherwiſe than well; as was no leſſe to be doubted, by reaſon of the high diſpleaſure that ſhe had taken being quicke with child: through the which perſuaſion, and other miſliking of things, he departed ſecretlie with hir in the night ſeaſon, accompanied onlie with two men, and firſt came vnto Seiton, and afterward from thence to Dunbar.

The queene had coference with the king.

The king was ſone perſuaded.

Huntleie and Bothwell.

Thither the earles of Huntleie and Bothwell haſtilie repaired, by whoſe counſell and others then with hir, ſhe cauſed proclamation to be made in diuerſe parts of the realme, charging all manner of men in feats of warre, to come vnto hir to Dunbar, & to paſſe from thence vnto Edenburgh within ſix daies after. She alſo ſent letters to the ſame effect vnto diuerſe noble men of the realme, who prepared themſelues with great diligence to meet hir. The earle of Murreie and the reſt of the lords being with him, hearing the preparation that was made againſt them, and perceiuing themſelues not able to reſiſt, thought good euerie of them to ſeeke ſome particular meane to obteine remiſſion at the queens hands. Which they obteined all of them, except the earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, Lindſeie, and ſuch other as were with them at the murther of Dauid Richeo. Whereupon they deſparing of pardon, fled into England; where the lord Ruthwen died at Newcaſtell ſhortlie after; as in place ye ſhall heare.

Proclamation made.

Pardon is craued and obteined.

The murtherers are excepted.

The earle of Lennor, being partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glencarne and the lard of Cunningham head came thither alſo, and were pardoned. Likewiſe the earle of Rothes purchaſed his pardon at the ſame time. The earles of Argile and Murreie, and the lord Boid, being at Lithquo, ſent to the queene for their pardon, and obteined it, being commanded neuertheleſſe to paſſe into Argile, and to remaine there during hir graces pleaſure, which commandement they obeied.

Manie pardoned.

The eighteenth of March, the queene well accompanied came to Hadington towards night: and on the nintéenth day, the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and the Hamiltons met hir at Muſkelburgh, and ſo likewiſe did the lords Leuingſton, Fleming, Hume, Borthwike, and manie other noble men, and conueied hir vnto Edenburgh.

The queene commeth to Edenburgh.

She lodged in the biſhop of Dunkelds lodging, and taried there a certeine ſpace, hauing with hir the erls of Huntleie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crawford, Marſhall, Southerland, Cathnes, the biſhops of ſaint Andrews and Roſſe; the lords Leuingſton, Fleming, and diuerſe other noble men, by whoſe counſell order was taken for redreſſing of the ſtate of the realme, whereby the ſame was ſhortlie brought to great quietneſſe. After this, the queene perceiuing hirſelfe to draw neere the time of hir deliuerance, went to the caſtell of Edenburgh, there to remaine till ſhee were deliuered of hir birth. In the moneth of Maie, Thomas Scot ſhiriffe, deputie of Perth, & a prieſt called ſir Henrie Pair, ſeruant to the lord Ruthwen, were apprehended for being doers in the ſlaughter of Dauid, and were hanged and quartered. Their heads were ſet aloft, the one on the tower in the abbeie, and the other on the nether bow.

Execution done vpon the murtherers.

In the moneth of Aprill this yeere, the biſhop of Brechin preſident of the ſeſſion, deceaſſed, and in his rome ſucceeded to that biſhoprike, a friend and couſine to the earle of Argile, called Campbell. In the end of Aprill, the queene, willing to haue the earles of Argile and Murreie ioined with the reſt of the councell, ſent for them to come to the caſtell of Edenburgh, where all griefs and controuerſies that reſted betwixt them on the one ſide, and the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other ſide, were referred to the queene, who agreed them, and they all remained with hir the reſidue of the ſummer. The queene hearing that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the other their aſſiſtants were receiued in England, and remained at Newcaſtell; ſhee ſent maiſter James Thornton chantor of Murreie, with letters to the queene of England, and alſo to the king of France, and other hir friends there; declaring by the tenor of the ſame letters the abuſe and preſumptuous attempts of certeine hir ſubiects againſt hir, deſiring them not to receiue them within their realmes or dominions.

The queene agréeth all the lords.

The queene made ſute to the queene of Eglnand.

Shortlie after, the queene of England ſent a gentleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland, with letters and meſſage to the queene, promiſing to cauſe them to depart forth of hir realme of England: and withall ſent vnto them warning to depart betwixt that preſent time, and midſummer then next inſuing. But in the meane time the lord Ruthwen departed this life at Newcaſtell, with great repentance of his former life: giuing God thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercie and forgiuenelle, whereof he did aſſure himſelfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Morton, and the maiſter of Ruthwen, remained ſecretlie neere to Anwike, and other places of the borders, till they obteined pardon, and were reſtored. About this time there came from the king of France a wiſe aged gentleman, named monſieur la Crocke, as his ambaſſador, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.

The queene of England hir anſwer.

The lord Ruthwen repented.

An ambaſſage from the king of France.

In the moneth of June, the queene perceiuing the time of hir deliuerance to approch, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir realme, to come and remaine within the towne of Edenburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they aſſembled: and the king hir huſband, with the earles of Argile, Murreie, Atholl, and Mar, remained with hir in the caſtell; and the earle of Huntleie, Bothwell, and the remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And vpon the nintéenth day of the ſame moneth of June, betwixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before none, hir grace was deliuered of a goodlie man-child, to the great comfort of hir highneſſe, and all hir ſubiects, whereof the nobilitie did greatlie reioiſe. And incontinentlie all the artillerie in the caſtell was ſhot off, and all the lords and people came togither in the church of ſaint Giles, to giue thanks to almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodnes ſhewed to them, in giuing to them a prince, and withall made their humble praiers vnto his diuine maieſtie, to indue him with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the realme and ſubiects thereof, when ſoeuer the ſame ſhould fall into his hands.

A prince borne.

The ſame night at éeuen, there were great fires for ioy made in the towne of Edenburgh, and in all the

the countrie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by aduertisements were certified therof. The queene remained still in the castell of Edenburgh all the moneth of Julie following, till shée had recouered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August, she passed vp the water of Forth to Allowais, where she remained certeine daies, the earles of Murreie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Maluoisir came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the quéene, who was conueied by the bishop of Rosse to Allowaie, where he was ioifullie receiued, courteoustie interteined, and highly rewarded. The queene of England sent maister Henrie Killegrew to the quéene with the like message, reioising for hir safe and happie deliuerance, who likewise was receiued in most thankefull maner, and well rewarded.

The earle of Bothwell.

The earle of Bothwell was euen at the first vehementlie suspected to be the principall offendor in this most heinous and detestable murther. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquit by an assise, as they call it; but also shortlie after maried the quéene. By reason wherof, the suspicion that men had alreadie conceiued, that she should be also priuie to the murther, was nothing diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scotish nobilitie, sore repining and maligning at such the spéedie aduancement of Bothwell, who (as euerie man persuaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murther) got them to armes on the sudden, before the quéene or Bothwell were aduertised of their meaning, they being then at Borthwike castell, eight miles distant from Edenburgh.

The lords get them to armes.

* Thus leauing the lords awhile at Edenburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things done by Bothwell & the quéene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, hauing at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whome she had caused to be buried not farre from Dauid Richeo hir secretarie, slaine (as was thought) by the meanes of the king of Scots: the queene (I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murther of hir husband, was forceablie taken (as she was on hir iournie) by the earle Bothwell, and carted to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorablie interteined. Which fact of his bred great mislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life, had not the queene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 17.

This done, there was a consultation had for a mariage to be solemnized betweene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a diuorse had betweene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the iudges spirituall & temporall; and after the solemne bands asked betweene the said earle James Hepborne, and the quéene Marie Steward) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie (by their hands in writing consenting thereunto) consummat at Edenburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Orkenie was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassador then in Scotland would not be present: being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edenburgers to mislike of the quéene.

Which mariage breeding some euill opinion of the said quéene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of forreine nations, she wiselie consulteth with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and prouide to saue hirselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and insurrections. Wherupon, first she determineth to send an ambassador into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this marriage. Which office of ambassage was laid vpon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

"First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our mariage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by ante messengers. This excuse (as it were to a foundation) doth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chiefflie to the offices and duties of the duke or capteine of the Orcades towards vs, euen vnto that day in which it séemed good to vs to take him to husband. For the opening of the historie whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescencie (youth, or yéres of discretion, as wée terme it) in this sort.

"That when he first began to manage his owne affaires

The princes godfathers & godmothers.

Fr. Thin. I. Stow pa. 1131 in quart.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 17.

1567.

The king murthered. 1566. Stow.

In Januarie the king came to Glascow, where he fell sicke, and remouing from thence went to Edenburgh, and the quéene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rod house, but hée was lodged at a house within the towne, neere to the kirke a field, within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of Februarie in the night he was shamefullie murthered, together with one William Parat. He was cast into an orchard, and herewith the house was blowne vp with gunpowder. [Some giue report of his death, but touch not the maner thereof, onelie saieng that he was shamefullie murthered in a morning (a heauie breakefast) by his owne (but vnnaturall and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood crieth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in iustice will (when he séeth due time) giue them their portion with malefactors agréeable to their merits.

"faires (being from the death of his father one of the
"chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himſelfe
"to the dutie and ſeruice of the princes and kings of
"Scotland, as one borne of a famous familie for his
"ancient nobilitie, & of great reuenues in this king-
"dome which he poſſeſſeth by right of inheritance. At
"that time alſo he did eſpeciallie and altogither con-
"ſecrate himſelfe to our mother, whileſt ſhe had the
"gouernement of the realme.

"In which dutie towards hir, he did ſo conſtantlie
"perſeuere, that although the greater part of the no-
"bilitie, and almoſt all the townes were fallen from
"hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet hée
"would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a per-
"ſon that could not be woone by anie promiſes or be-
"nefits, or feared with anie threats, or loſſe of his li-
"uings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but
"that he wold rather ſuffer his principall houſe, which
"was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull
"and pretious ſtore of furniture thereof to be taken
"from him, and all his other lands to be left for ſpoile
"to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother.
"Beſides which, being deſtitute of helpe both of vs
"and our people (when the Engliſh hoſt was brought
"by our domeſticall enimies into the bowels of our
"kingdome, which directed their weapons to none o-
"ther marke, than that our now husband at that time
"earle Bothwell, ſhould by force be inforced to flie) he
"fled into France, forſaking all his patrimonie, where
"he honored me with all dutie and ſeruice (that hée
"might) vntill my returne into Scotland.

"Neither are thoſe exploits to be omitted, which
"were done by him in the warres againſt the Eng-
"liſh before my returne into mine owne countrie,
"where he ſhewed ſuch parts of warlike valure and
"graue wiſedome, that he was iudged (being then ve-
"rie yoong) méet to haue the gouernment of ancient
"perſons, to be made chiefe capteine of the armie of
"the countrie, & alſo to be choſen or ſubſtitute depu-
"tie and chancellor: as in truth he was. In which of-
"fice he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which
"men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires valiant-
"lie atchiued) he left a ſingular praiſe and fame of
"him, as well amongſt his owne people, as amongſt
"the enimies.

"After our returne into Scotland, he employed
"all his indeuor to the inlarging of our authoritie, and
"ſpared not to put himſelfe in danger, in ſubduing
"thoſe rebels which dwell about the borders of Eng-
"land. The diſpatch whereof being ſhortlie perfor-
"med, and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to
"do the like in all the other parts of the kingdome.
"But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, ſo
"the Scots repining thereat, and deſirous of innoua-
"tion, did labor to diminiſh our fauour towards him
"(for his great labors imployed in our behalfe) in miſ-
"conſtruing his good deeds.

"By which in the end they wrought ſo much with
"me, that we committed him to priſon; partlie to ſa-
"tiſfie the minds of ſuch as were emulous againſt
"him, and could not brooke the increaſe of his follow-
"ing honor and greatneſſe; and partlie to appeaſe ſuch
"ſeditions as were likelie then to breake forth to the
"deſtruction of the whole kingdome. But he (eſcaping
"out of priſon) got him into France, to giue place to
"the power of his enimies, where he remained almoſt
"two yéeres next following. At what time the authors
"of the former ſedition, forgetting my clemencie to-
"wards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raiſe
"warre, and toke weapons againſt their quéene.

"From thence was he called backe into Scotland,
"& being reſtored to his former honors & poſſeſſions,
"he was againe made generall of all the armie: by
"whoſe helpe our authoritie began afreſh ſo to flouriſh,
that all the rebels (ſuddenlie forſaking their coun-
trie) were inforced to flie into England, vntill part
of them vpon humble ſubmiſſion were receiued a-
new into our fauour. But how traitorouſlie I was
handled by the reſt that were reſtored (and eſpeciallie
ſuch, whoſe anceſtors I had with benefits moſt pro-
moted) our vncle is not ignorant, and therefore we
will touch that no more.

Neither is it to be ouerpaſſed in ſilence, with what
diligence he deliuered me from the hands of ſuch as
deteined me priſoner, and with what ſpeed (and ſingu-
lar prouidence of his) I did both eſcape from priſon,
and recouered my former authoritie: after that I
had diſperſed the factions of the conſpirators and ſe-
ditious perſons. In which truſtie I am inforced to
confeſſe, that his dutie and diligence at that time
ſhewed towards me, was ſo acceptable vnto me,
that I could neuer after forget it. Theſe things al-
though they be great of themſelues, yet he hath hi-
therto increaſed them with ſuch diligence and careful-
neſſe, that we cannot deſire greater dutie, or wiſh
more aſſured truſt in anie man, than we haue found
in him; vntill theſe laſt times which followed the de-
ceaſſe of our husband.

But from that time, as his thoughts did ſéeme to
tend higher, ſo his actions did after a ſort ſéeme to be
more inſolent. And although the matter went ſo far,
that we were to take all things in the beſt part: yet
theſe things did then moſt greuouſlie offend me; but
eſpeciallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that
there were not other ſufficient abilities in vs, to re-
compenſe his deſeruings, vnleſſe we gaue our ſelfe
to him in mariage. Touching which, at the firſt he v-
ſed ſecret reaſons and counſels: but in the end, when
he ſaw them not to ſucceed after his mind, at length,
ſhewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled
to the benefit of violence, and vſed force (to the end
his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me
vnder his gouernement.

Wherefore all this courſe of his life maie be an
example, to ſhew how craftilie they can contriue
their drifts (in attempting great things) vntill they
haue obteined their purpoſe. For I did ſuppoſe, that
all this his continuall dutie and carefulneſſe in ſpée-
die obeieng of my commandements, had not iſſued
from anie other founteine, than of a vehement deſire
to ſhew his obedience and good will towards me:
neither did I hope that a little more fauourable coun-
tenance (which we are accuſtomed to vſe to the more
worthie perſons, to the end to win their minds to be
more obedient to vs in dutie) ſhould ſo haue raiſed
his ſtomach (more than anie others) that he would
promiſe to himſelfe anie larger good will to proceed
from me towards him, than he had before.

But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing
all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his
purpoſe, and keeping all his counſels ſecret from me,
did ſtill ſhew his accuſtomed dutie, nouriſhed my old
fauour to him, & ſecretlie attempted a new thing by
the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to paſſe
with ſuch ſpéedie diligence, that (vnknowen to me)
he obteined of the péeres of the realme (in the aſſem-
blie of the parlement héere) a writing with all their
hands ſet therevnto, for the more credit of the ſame.
In which writing was conteined, that they did not
onlie aſſent vnto the mariage; but that they alſo fur-
ther promiſed to ſpend their life and goods (offered to
all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they
would be vtter enimies to all ſuch as ſhould labor to
hinder it. For the more eaſie obteining of whoſe con-
ſents in this ſort, he had perſuaded the ſaid nobilitie,
that the ſame was not done againſt my mind and
conſent. At length, when he had purchaſed this writ-
ing from them, he began by little and little (with ear-

" neſt intreaties & flatteries) to obteine our conſent.
" But when at the firſt our anſwers did not content
" his deſire, he began to laie before me almoſt all thoſe
" things, which are accuſtomed to happen in the at-
" tempt of ſuch matters.
" Firſt, the outward tokens of our good fauour to-
" wards him, the reaſons by which our friends or his e-
" nimies might hinder the ſame, & manie other things
" which being obiected or willinglie happening, might
" fruſtrate his hope, or change the minds of ſuch as had
" before ſubſcribed. At length (fortune fauouring him
" therein) he determined to purſue the matter, & in one
" inſtance to hazard his hope and life about the ſame.
" Wherefore, when he had determined with himſelfe,
" with all importunitie to attempt the ſucceſſe of his
" determination, he foure daies after hauing conue-
" nient time and place therefore in the high waie, ſet
" vpon me with a ſtrong hand, as I was comming
" from ſéeing of my déere ſonne, and with great ſpéed
" caried me to Dunbar.
" Which euill déed how gréeuouſlie we take (eſpe-
" ciallie done by him, from whome all our ſubiects ne-
" uer looked to haue ſuch things to procéed) euerie bo-
" die maie eaſilie conſider. For there I did vpbraid
" him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vſed him,
" what honorable opinion I haue had of him and of
" his conditions in my ſpéech vſed to others, and of his
" vnthankefulneſſe to me therefore; with all other
" things that might deliuer me out of his hands. Theſe
" matters I laied againſt him with bitter words. But
" his anſwers thervnto were more mild, and tempe-
" red with gentler ſpéeches, in this, that he would ſtill
" vſe all honor and dutie towards vs, and labor by all
" means to haue our good will, whom he would not of-
" fend.
" As touching this, that he had againſt our will cari-
" ed vs into one of our own caſtels, he humblie craued
" pardon therefore (in that he was inforced therevnto)
" although in the ſame he had forgotten that reue-
" rence and dutie, which euerie ſubiect owght vnto vs.
" Wherevnto he added, that he did the ſame for our
" ſafetie and defenſe. At which time alſo he began to re-
" peat vnto me the whole courſe of his life, lamenting
" his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) ſo
" gréeuouſlie offended with him, that their malice had
" not ouerpaſſed ante occaſions vniuſtlie to hurt him
" withall.
" But eſpeciallie in this, that their great enuie had
" burdened him with the murther of the king, and that
" his power was vnequall to reſiſt the ſecret conſpira-
" cies of his enimies, whome he could not know; be-
" cauſe they did in ſhew and ſpéeches diſſemble their
" friendſhip: & not knowing them, there was no waie
" for him to foreſée and auoid their deceipts. Whoſe ex-
" treme hatred was now growen to ſuch height, that
" he could not liue in ſafetie in ante place, or at ante
" time, except he might be aſſured of the quéenes vn-
" changeable fauour towards him. Which certeintie of
" hir fauor could not be ſhewed but by this one meane,
" to perſuade hir ſelfe to receiue him into the mariage
" bed. At what time he did moſt holilie ſweare, that he
" gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement,
" or that he would leape to the higheſt ſtep of ſupreme
" rule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that
" he might ſerue and obeie hir as long as he liued, in
" ſuch ſort as he did before. Wherevnto he added the de-
" lights of ſuch ſpéeches as that matter required.
" But in the end, when he ſaw that we could not be
" moued therevnto, either with praiers or promiſes,
" he ſhewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole
" nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what
" they againe had promiſed vnder their hands. Which
" being ſuddenlie and vnhoped for laied againſt vs,
" whether it did with iuſt cauſe greatlie aſtoniſh vs, we
leaue to the conſideration of the king, the quéene, our
vncles, and the reſt of our friends. Wherefore, when "
I perceiued my ſelfe a priſoner vnder the power of "
an other man, farre from the helpe of all thoſe whoſe "
counſell I did and ſhould haue vſed; yea and that I "
ſaw them before my face, in whoſe former faith and "
wiſedome I did repoſe my ſelfe; whoſe ſtrength did "
defend our authoritie, and without which our power
was but ſmall or none: when (I ſay) I had ſéene "
all theſe to haue vowed themſelues to ſerue his de-
ſire, and that I was alone left a préie for him, I did "
with my ſelfe in my mind conſider manie things, "
but could bring none of them to effect.
Beſides which, he gaue to vs but ſhort time to take "
anie aduiſe, but incontinentlie and importunatlie did "
ſtill vrge the ſame vnto me. At length, when I ſaw "
no waie to eſcape by flight, nor anie perſon of all our "
kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we "
well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their "
deepe ſilence at that time, that they were all drawen "
to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a lit- "
tle pacified mine anger & diſpleaſure againſt him) to "
refer my ſelfe to the diſcuſſe and conſideration of his "
demands, & to laie before my ſelfe his dutie in times "
paſt, and the hope which we had of the following con- "
tinuance of the ſame towards vs. "
And further, how greeuouſlie our people would "
ſuffer a ſtrange king, and heauilie receiue one vnac- "
quainted, and not inured with their lawes and cu- "
ſtoms, that they would not ſuffer me long to liue vn- "
maried, and that the people (being by nature facti- "
ous) could not be kept in obedience, except our au- "
thoritie were ſupported and practiſed by a man which "
could equall them in bearing labor, and were able to "
bridle the inſolencie of rebels in the adminiſtration "
of the common wealth: the weight of which charge, "
our power (being weakened and almoſt brought to "
nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, ſince "
our comming into Scotland) was not able anie "
longer to ſuſteine. For by reaſon of theſe ſeditions, "
we were inforced to appoint foure or more deputies "
in diuerſe parts of our realmes, which afterward al- "
ſo did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they "
were permitted to vſe vnder vs) inforce our owne "
ſubiects to take armes againſt vs. "
For all which cauſes, when we well perceiued that "
if we labored to preſerue the dignitie of kinglie ma- "
ieſtie, that they would inforce me to mariage, that "
our people could not abide a forren prince, and that a- "
mongeſt our owne ſubiects, there was not anie "
which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wiſdome "
and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, "
might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, "
I commanded my ſelfe to ioine with the whole con- "
ſent of the parlement, and aſſemblie of the nobilitie "
before mentioned. After that my former conſtant de- "
termination was thus ſomewhat mollified by theſe "
and other reaſons, he did wring from me partlie by "
force, and partlie by intreatie, a promiſe to him of "
mariage. "
Which done, we could not yet by ante meanes and "
perſuaſion obteine of him (fearing an alteration in "
our mind) that the time wherein this mariage ſhould "
be performed, might be deferred ſo long, as that we "
might participat the ſame with the king and quéene "
of France, and ſuch other friends as we had remai- "
ning in thoſe parts. For he beginning with a bold at- "
tempt (after that he had once thereby atteined the "
firſt ſtep of his deſire) did neuer after that ceaſſe to "
ioine importunat praiers to his perſuaſions and ar- "
guments of reaſon, vntill he did without violence "
inforce vs to ſet end to the woorke begun, and that at "
ſuch time, and after ſuch order, as ſeemed moſt con- "
uenient vnto him for the execution of his determi- "
nation

"nation. In which matter I cannot diſſemble, but
"that I was otherwiſe intreated by him, than either
"I would or had deſerued.
"For he was more carefull to ſatiſfie them, by
"whoſe conſent (ſhewed at the beginning) he thought
"himſelfe to haue obteined his purpoſe (though he did
"both deceiue them and mée) than to gratifie me, or
"to weie how méet it were for me, being brought vp
"in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which,
"neither he nor anie man liuing, whileſt I did liue,
"could draw me awaie (aliue) by anie action. In which
"thing trulie, though we dow acknowledge our error,
"yet we willinglis deſire, that the king and quéene
"his mother, our vncle, or anie friend of ours, dow not
"expoſtulat with him, nor anie waie laie the fault vn-
"to his charge.
"For ſith things be now ſo ended, as that they
"cannot be againe vndone, we take all things in the
"beſt part: & as he is in déed, ſo he is to be accounted
"our huſband, whome from henceforwards we haue
"determined both to loue & reuerence. Wherefore all
"they which profeſſe themſelues to be our friends,
"muſt alſo ſhew the like to him which is ioined vnto
"vs with an indiſſoluble knot. And although he hath
"in manie things behaued himſelfe leſſe diligentlie, &
"almoſt ouer-raſhlie, which we willinglie impute to
"his immoderat affection towards vs; yet we deſire
"the king, the quéene, our vncle, and the reſt of our
"friends, no leſſe to loue and fauor him, than if all
"things had till this day béene done after their aduiſe
"and determination; in the behalfe of which our huſ-
"band, we promiſe that he ſhall in all things (which
"ſhalbe required of him hereafter) alwaies grati-
"fie them in what he maie.

Theſe remedies being found to defend the quéens credit amongſt forren princes, other remedies were to be ſought for defenſe of hir owne perſon againſt hir owne ſubiects. Wherefore (after that the earle of Murrete was appointed to remaine as baniſhed be-yond the ſeas in France, whither he toke his iour-nie through England) the quéene (deliuered of ſuch a feare as he was to hir, & therfore better able to rule, or at leaſt to make better ſhift, with ſuch other as were conſured, to vſe Buchanans word, againſt hir) vſed what diligence ſhe might to gather forces, eſpe-ciallie in the Mers and eaſt Louthian.]

The quéene gathereth forces.

And thinking that the enterprize of the lords had béene broken and diſappointed, they marched from Dunbar on ſaturdaie the fourth of June, firſt to Hathington, & there reſting till the euen, ſet forward to Gladiſmore, and taking there deliberation in the matter; they lodged that night at Seiton, and in the morning marched in order of battell towards Carbarrie hill, and there choſe forth a plot of ground of great aduantage, appointing to fight on foot, be-cauſe the power of the lords in number of horſſe-men, was ſtronger than the quéens, and of greater experience. There were with the quéene and Both-well, the lords Seiton, Peſter, and Borthwike; al-ſo the lards of Wauchton, Bas, Drmiſton, Wea-derburne, Blackater, and Langton. They had with them alſo two hundred harquebuſiers waged, and of great artilleric ſome field péeces. Their whole number was eſtéemed to be about 2000: but the more part of them were commons & countriemen.

Carbarrie hill.

The number of the quéens power.

The earles of Morton, Atholl, War, Glencarne, the lords of Hunte, Lindſeie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Sanquhar; the lards of Drumlangrig, Tulibar-den, Grange, and yong Seſford, were aſſembled togither at Edenburgh with a power like in num-ber to the quéens, but for the more part conſiſting of gentlemen, although not furniſhed with anie num-ber of harquebuſiers, except a few of the townſmen of Edenburgh, that willinglie ioined with them in

The power of the lords.

that quarrell. Upon the fifteenth of June, they came forth of the towne, and approched their aduerſaries. But there was monſieur la Croque, the French kings ambaſſadour, who toke great paine, in tra-uelling betwixt the parties to reduce them to ſome a-gréement. * Who by his interpretor laid before them how carefullie he had ſtudied for the commoditie & tranquillitie of the publike ſtate of Scotland before this; and that now alſo he caried the ſame mind with him. Wherefore he did vehementlie deſire (if it were poſſible) that the matter might be ſo taken vp, for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be ended without force or bloudſhed. For the compaſ-ſing whereof, he would imploie all his trauell, ſith the quéene alſo did not refuſe to heare the counſell & perſuaſion of peace. For the more certeintie wherof, he did at that time promiſe them pardon and vtter forgetfulneſſe of all things paſſed before time; & did with great holineſſe there pledge him ſelfe, that no hurt ſhould fall vnto anie man there, for taking weapon againſt the higheſt gouernor.

Fr. Thin. Bucha. lib. 18.

After that the interpretor had deliuered theſe things, the earle of Morton anſwered, that he did not take armor againſt the quéene; but againſt him that had killed the king. Whome if the quéene would deliuer to puniſhment, or ſeparat him from hir; ſhe ſhould well vnderſtand, that they & the reſt of hir ſub-iects held nothing more déere vnto them, than to con-tinue in their dutifull obedience: without which gran-ted to them, there could be no agréement made; be-cauſe they came not thither to craue pardon for anie offenſe which they had committed (wherevnto the earle of Glencarne added) but rather to giue pardon to ſuch as had offended.]

Wherfore the ambaſſador Croque returned backe to Edenburgh, and the quéens part began to de-creaſe, diuerſe ſhrinking awaie from hir; ſo that af-ter it began to grow towards the euening, Both-well fled to the caſtell of Dunbar. But the quéene deſirous to talke with William Kircadie the lard of Grange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one capteine, and after ſome talke with him, ſhe paſſed to the lords, who toke hir with them to Edenburgh, [ſhe being in a ſhort garment, baſe, & worne, com-ming a little beneath hir knees (as ſaith Buchanan) of which lords ſhe requeſted that they would ſuffer hir to depart, & not to kéepe hir in that ſort.] The Ha-miltons were on the waie comming to aſſiſt the quéene, with ſeuen or eight hundred horſſemen; but before they could reach to the place, the quéene was in the hands of the lords, and ſo they returned.

The quéene commeth to the lords.

Fr. Thin.

The lard of Cragmiller [then prouoſt of Eden-burgh] and ſir James Balfure alſo the capteine of the caſtell, were ioined in this confederacie with the lords, as ſhortlie after it appeared. The quéene after this was conueied ouer the Forth, and brought to Lochleuin, where ſhe was appointed to remaine in ward vnder the ſafe kéeping of William Dowglas lard of that place. The earle Bothwell, eſcaping to Dunbar, found meanes to flée into Denmarke, where he was ſtaied and committed to priſon, where-in at length he died. Diuerſe perſons afterwards were apprehended as parties to the murther of the king, and thereupon condemned, were executed, confeſſing the ſaid earle to be the principall executor of the ſame murther. * Leauing the quéene therfore in this miſerable plight, we will not yet forget (for the honor ſhe once had) to ſet downe certeine verſes made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commen-dation of hir anceſtors, and of hir; who in the firſt yeares of hir gouernement vſed hir ſelfe to the good liking of all hir ſubiects. In which verſes Seton doth further meane, that Leſle ſhould hereafter ſet forth hir gouernement, as he hath done that of the

The quéens is ſent to Lochleuin.

Fr. Thin.

other king before hir. The verſes be as followeth.

Leſleus be-fore the pre-face of his eight booke.

*Clara atauis, genus antiquo de ſanguine regum,*
*Nympha Caledonij gloria rara ſoli,*
*Maiorum hic laudes, totos quos inſula ab orbe*
*Diuiſit, toto cernis ab orbe legi.*
*Hoc illis peperere decus, non gloria regni,*
*Non genus, aut diues gaza, fauórque virûm:*
*Sed pietatis honos, fidei conſtantia, morum*
*Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;*
*Queis tua maiores ſuperet quum viuida virtus:*
*Quæ tamen meritis laus fuit æqua tuis?*
*Vnum hoc Leſleo ſupereſt, tua fortia facta*
*Scribere, conſiliis multa peracta ſuis.*
*Et mihi ſunt verbis ſaltem tua facta canenda:*
*A proauis ne ſim degener ipſe meis.*]

*Iames the ſixt.*

The nineténth of Julie, Charles Iames the yong prince of Scotland, after a ſermon made by Iohn Knor, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certeine letters of commiſſion and procuration, with the quéens priuie ſeale at them for the eſtabliſhing of the ſame coronation. The firſt, for hir reſignation of the crowne and gouernement of the yong prince hir ſonne. The ſecond, to authorize the earle of Murreie to be regent during the kings minoritie. The third, to giue authoritie and power to ſeuen other ioining with the ſaid earle of Murreie, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to exerciſe the ſame alone; that is to ſay, the duke of Chaſtelerault, the earls of Lennor, Argile, Atholl, Morton, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commiſſion and procuration do héere inſue, as we find them imprinted at Edenburgh by Robert Lekpreuic printer to the king of Scots, the firſt of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edenburgh, the fiftéenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by Iames earle of Murreie lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the ſaid king.

## The tenor of the commiſſion, where-*by Marie the queene of Scots reſigneth* the crowne to hir ſonne, appointeth *his gardians, and maketh the earle of* Murreie regent.

MArie be the grace of God quene of Scottis, to all and ſindrie our iudgeis and miniſteris of law, liegis and ſubiectis, quhome it effeiris to quhais knalege thir our letteris ſall come, greting. Forſamekle as by lang irkeſome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme and liegis thairof, we are ſa verit and weritit, that our bodie, ſpirit, and ſenſis are altogeddir become vnhabill langer to trauell in that rowme: and thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernament of this our realme and liegis thairof, in fauouris of our anelie maiſt deir ſonne, natiue prince of this our realme. And becauſe of his tender zouth and inhabilitie to vſe the ſaid gouernament in his awin perſoun, during his minoritie, we haue conſtitute our derreſt brother Iames earle of Murreie, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our ſaid ſonne, realme and liegis foirſaidis.

And in reſpect that our ſaid derreſt brother is actuallie furth of our realme, and cannot inſtantlie be preſent to accept the ſaid office of regentrie vpon him, and vſe and exerce the ſamin during our ſaidis derreſt ſonis minoritie; we quhill his returning within our relme, or in cais of his deceis haue maid, conſtitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, conſtitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traiſt conſingis and counſalouris, Iames duke of Chatelerault, earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, Matho earle of Leuinar, lord Dernleie, &c: Archibald earle of Argile, lord Campbell and Lorne, &c: Iohn earle of Atholl, Iames earle of Mortoun, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and Iohn earle of Mar, regentis to our ſaid derreſt ſon, realme and liegis; & in cais our ſaid brother Iames earle of Murreie cum within our realme, and refuſis to accept the ſaid office of regentrie vpon his ſingular perſoun, we make, conſtitute, name, appoint, and ordeine, our traiſt conſingis and counſallouris foirſaidis, and our ſaid brother regentis of our ſaid deir ſonne, realme, and liegis.

Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie fiue of thame coniunctlie full power for our ſaid ſonne, and in his name to reſaue reſignatiounis of landis, make diſpoſitiounis of wairdis, nonentreſſis, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, eſchetis, officis, and vtheris caſualiteis and priuilegeis, quhat ſumeuer concerning the ſaid office, ſignatouris thair vpon to make, ſubſcriue, and cauſe be paſt throughe the ſeillis. And to vſe and exerce the ſaid office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegeis, and commoditeis, ſiclike as frélie and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouernor to vs or our predeceſſouris vſit the ſamin in onye times bigan. Promittand to hald firme and ſtabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatſumeuer thingis our ſaidis traiſt couſingis dois in the premiſſis.

Charging heirfore zow all and ſindrie our iudgeis and miniſteris of law, liegis and ſubiectis foirſaidis, to anſwer and obeie to our ſaidis traiſt conſingis, regentis foirſadis in all and ſindrie thingis concerning the ſaid office of regentrie, during our ſaid derreſt ſonis minoritie, and ay and quhill he be of the age of ſeuentæne zeiris compleit. As ze and ilke ane of zow will declair zow luiſing ſubiectis to our ſaid maiſt deir ſon, zour natiue prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offenſe that ze and ilke ane of zow maie commit and incur agains his maieſtie in that pairt. Subſcriuit with our hand, and giuen vnder our priuie ſeill, at Lochleuin, the foure and twentith day of Julij, and of our reigne the fiue and twentith zeir.

## The commiſſion, authoriſing certeine *noble men in the queens name, to re-*nounce the kingdome to hir ſonne, and authoriſing others to receiue the ſame in hir ſons name.

MArie be the grace of God quéene of Scotis, to all and ſindrie our iudgeis, and miniſteris of law, liegis, and ſubiects; quhome it effeiris, to quhais knalege thir our letteris ſall cum, greting. Forſamekle as ſen our arriuall, and returning within our realme, we willing the commoun commoditie, welth, profeit, and quietnes thairof, liegis, and ſubiectis of the ſamin, haue emploit our bodie, ſpirit, haill ſenſis, and forcis, to gouerne the ſamin in ſic ſort, that our rotall and honorabill eſtate micht ſtand and continue with vs, and our poſteritie, and our luiſing and kind liegis micht inioie the quietnſſe of true ſubiectis. In trauelling quhairin, not anelie is our bodie, ſpirit, and ſenſis ſa verit, brokin, and vnquietit, that langer we are not of habilitie be onie meanis to indure ſa greit and intollerabill panis and trauellis, quhairwith we ar altogidder weritit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis be ſindrie occaſiounis in the meintime hes enſuit thairin, to our greit greif.

And ſeing it hes béene the pleſour of the eternall God,

God, of his kindlie luſe, mercie, and gudnes to grant vnto vs, of our awin perſoun, ane ſone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be veſeit, will, and of richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to ſucceid to vs and to the gouernement of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar ſubiect to that immutabill decreit of the eternall, ains to rander and gif vp this life tempozall (the hour and time quhairof is maiſt vncertane) and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this life, during the time of his minozitie, it maie be dowtit greitlie, that reſiſtance and troubill maie be maid to our ſaid ſon, now natiue pzince of this our realme, in his tender zeires (being ſwa deſtitute of vs) to ſucceid to that rowme and kingdome, quhilk maiſt iuſtlie of all lawis apperteneis to him. Quhilk inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud pzouidence we mene to pzeuent, in ſick maner, that it ſall not lie in the power of onie vnnaturall ſubiects to reſiſt Godis ordinance in that behalfe. And vnderſtanding that na thing eirdlie is mair ioious, and happie to vs, noz to ſee our ſaid derreſt ſonne, in our awin life time peciablie placit in that rowme, and honozabill eſtate quhairto he iuſtlie aucht and man ſucceid to: we of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our ſaid onlie ſonne, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris freelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and ſubiects thairof, and all intromiſſioun and diſpoſitioun of onie caſualiteis, pzoperties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis apperteining, oz heirtofoir is knawin, oz heireftir ſall happen to appertein thairto, in fauouris of our ſaid derreſt ſone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & poſſeſſit thairin, vſe & exerce all thingis belang and thairto, as natiue king, and pzince of the ſamis, & ſiclike as we oz onie our pzedeceſſouris, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypaſt.

Attour, that this our dimiſſioun maie tak the mair ſolempne effect, and that nane pzetend ignozance thairof, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commiſſioun full, fre, and plane powar, generall, & ſpeciall command, to our traiſt couſingis, Patrike lozd Lindeſaie of the Biris, and William lozd Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctlie and ſeuerallie, to compeir befoze ſa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgeſſis, and vther pepill of our realme, as ſall happin to be aſſemblit to that effect in our burgh of Striuiling, oz anie vther place, oz placis quhair it ſall be thocht maiſt conuenient, at onie daie oz daiis, and thair publikelie in thair pzeſence, foz vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and ſubiects thairof, all intromiſſioun with the pzopertie, caſualtie, oz vtheris things apperteining to vs thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, oz maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our ſaid ſon, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne roiall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the ſamin, as we, oz our pzedeceſſouris hes beene in times bypaſt.

And in likewiſe be thir pzeſents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane powar, to our richt traiſt couſingis, James earle of Mozton, lozd of Dalkeith, Johne earle of Atholl, &c: Johne earle of Mar, &c: Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Menteith, Johne maiſter of Grahame, Alexander lozd Hume, Adam biſchop of Orkneie, the pzouoſtis of Dundie, Montrois, oz onie of thame, to reſſaue the ſaid renuntiatioun, and dimiſſioun in fauouris of our ſaid ſon, and thair efter the reſſauing thairof, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requiſit to put the crowne roiall vpon his heid, in ſigne and takin of the eſtabliſing of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the ſaidis nobilitie, clergie, burgeſſis, and vtheris our liegis, his pzincelie and kinglie aith deitfullie, & lauchfullie as effeiris: and to reſſaue thair aithis, foz due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times cuming, as becumis ſubiects to thair natiue king and pzince. And generallie all and ſundzie vther thingis to dow, exerce, and vſe, that foz ſure perfozmance and accompliſhment heirof maie, oz can be done, firme and ſtable haldand, and foz to hald all and quhat ſumeuer thingis in our name, in the pzemiſſis leidis to be done, in the wozd and faithfull pzomis of ane pzince. And ozdanis thir our letteris (gif neid be is) to be publiſt at all places neidfull. Subſcriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our pzeute ſeill, at Lochleuin the foure and twentith daie of Julij, and of our reigne the fiue and twentith zeir, 1567.

## The commiſſion, in which the earle of *Murreie is alone appointed to be regent* of the yoong king, and of *his kingdome.*

MArie be the grace of God, quéene of Scots, to all & ſindzie our iudgis, and miniſteris of our lawis, liegis, and ſubiects, quhome it effeiris, to quhais knalege thir our letteris ſall cum, greting. Foz ſamekle as efter lang, greit, and intollerable panis, & labouris takin be vs ſen our arriuall within our realme, foz gouernement thairof, and keeping of the liegis of the ſame in quietnes, we haue not anelie beene berit in our ſpirit, bodie, and ſenſis thairby, bot als at lenth ar altogidder ſa berit thairof, that our habilitie, and ſtrenth of bodie is not habill langer to indure the ſamin: thairfoze, and becauſe nathing eirdlie can be mair confoztabill and happie to vs in this eird, noz in our life time, than to ſe our deir ſon, the natiue pzince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thairof, and the crowne roiall ſet on his heid, we of our owin fre will, an ſpeciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, giding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and ſubiects thairof, in fauouris of our ſaid ſon, to that effect: that in all times heirafter, he maie peciablie, and quietlie enioie the ſamin, without troubill, an be obeit as natiue king, and pzince of the ſamin be the liegis thairof.

And vnderſtanding that (be reſoun of his tender zouth) he is not of habilitie in his awin perſoun to adminiſtrate in his kinglie rowme and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that heireftir he cum to the zeires of diſcretioun; and als knawing the pzoximitie of blude ſtandand betuirt vs, our ſaid ſone, and our derreſt brother James erle of Murray, lozd Abirnethie, &c; and hauand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie luſe he hes in all times bozne, and pzeſentlie beires towardis vs, the honour & eſtate of our ſaid ſone; of quhais luſe and fauour towardis him we can not bot aſſure our ſelfe: to quhome na greter honour, ioy, noz felicitie in eird can cum, noz to ſe our ſaid ſone inaugurat in his kingdome, feirit, reuerencit, and obeit be his liegis thairof. In reſpect quhairof, and of the certanetie, and notozitie, of the honeſtie, habilitie, qualificatioun, and ſufficiencie of our ſaid derreſt brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our ſaid ſone, realme, and liegis foirſaidis, during our ſaid ſonis minozitie: we haue maid, namid, appointit, conſtitute,

tute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris namis, appointis, makis, conſtitutis, and ordanis our ſaid derreſt brother James erle of Murray, regent to our ſaid derreſt ſone, realme, and liegis foirſaidis, during his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of ſeuintene zeiris compleit. And that our ſaid brother be callit, during the ſaid ſpace, regent to our ſaid ſone, his realme, and liegis.

Swa that our ſaid ſone efter the completing of the zeiris foirſaidis, in his awin perſoun may tak vpon him the ſaid gouernement, and vſe, and exerce all and ſindrie priuilegis, honouris, and vtheris immunitetis that appertenis to the office of ane king, als weill in gouerning his realme and pepill, accoirding to the lawis, as in repreſſing the violence of ſic as wald inuaid, or iniuſtlie reſiſt him or thame, or his authoritie roiall. With power to our ſaid derreſt brother James erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and behalfe of our ſaid maiſt deir ſone, to reſſaue reſignatiounis of quhatſumeuer landis haldin of him, or zit of offices, caſtels, towris, fortalicis, milnis, fiſchingis woddis, beneficis, or pertinencis quhatſumeuer; the ſamin againe in our ſaid ſonis name to gif, and deliuer ſignaturis thairvpon: and vpon the giftis of wairdis, nonentreſſis, and releuis of landis, and mariageis of airis falland, or that ſall happin to fall in our ſaid ſonis handis as ſuperiour thairof.

And als vpon preſentatioun of landis, beneficis, eſchetis of guids mouabill and vnmouabill, dettis and takkis, reſpittis, remiſſiounis, ſupерſedereis, and vpon the diſpoſitioun of officis vacand, or quhen they ſall happin to vaik, to ſubſcriue, and cauſe be paſt the ſeillis the ſaid office of regentrie, to vſe and exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, ſicklike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony regent, or gouernour to vſe, or our predeceſſouris vſit in ony times bigane, and ſicklike as gif euerie heid, priuilege and article concerning the ſaid office wer at lenth expreſſit and amplifiit in thir our letteris. Promiſand to hald firme and ſtabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatſumeuer thingis our ſaid derreſt brother in the premiſſis happinnis to do. Chargeing heirfoir zow all, and ſindrie our iudgeis, and miniſteris of law, liegis, and ſubiectis foirſaidis, to anſwer and obey to our ſaid derreſt brother, in all and ſindrie thingis concerning the ſaid office of regentrie, as ze and ilke ane of zow will declair zow luiſing ſubiectis, to our ſaid maiſt deir ſone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offenſe that ze and ilke ane of zow may commit, and incur againis his maieſtie in that pairt. Subſcriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our preuie ſeill, at Lochleuin the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the twentie fiue zeir.

The kings oth.

These commiſſions being read, the biſhop of Argile, with two ſuperintendents, proceeded to the coronation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume toke the oth for the king, that he ſhould rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteine the religion then preached and exerciſed in Scotland, and to perſecute all aduerſaries to the ſame. The whole ceremonie was done in the Scots Engliſh tong, the quéene mother to the king remaining at

Fr. Thin. that time priſoner in Lochleuin. ✻ But before we enter into the augmentation of the hiſtorie of this kings time, I thinke it not vnmeet to deliuer one thing, which I haue with ſome wonder obſerued in all the kings of Scotland deſcended of the Stewards: that neuer anie one of them except the firſt & ſecond king of that name was of the age of man, or of one and twentie yéeres when they put on the kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnméet to be conſidered of, although we can not enter into the ſecret iudgements of God. The proofe of which matter, being after this ſort, I haue ſet downe in a catalog of the orderlie deſcent of thoſe kings. In the computation of the yéeres of whoſe age and firſt comming to the crowne I haue followed Leſleus.

Robert Steward the firſt king of that ſurname, was 57 yéeres old when he began his reigne, in the yéere of our redemption 1370. Iohn Steward ſon of the ſaid Robert began his reigne 1390. These two alone were of full age, when the title of the kingdome deſcended vnto them. James Steward, the firſt of the name of James, & the third of the name of Stewards, was within age at the death of his father, when the title and crowne deſcended vnto him: who although he receiued not the crowne at Scone (becauſe he was about eightéene yéeres honorablie kept as a priſoner in England) vntill hée was of mans age: yet being king in right, and the crowne inueſted in him when he was within age, I doubt not to make him king from the death of his father, and ſo within age to haue obteined the kingdome, though not the kinglie vſe thereof, beginning his reigne in the yéere of our redemption 1424.

James the ſecond, and the fourth of the Stewards, was ſix yéeres old when he was crowned, in the yéere of Chriſt 1436. James the third, and fift of the Stewards, being ſeuen yeares old, was crowned king of Scotland in the yéere that the word became fleſh 1460. James the fourth, and ſixt of the Stewards, being ſixtéene yeares of age, was adorned with the enſignes of the kingdome, in the yéere of our ſaluation 1488. James the fift, and the ſeuenth of the Stewards, being one yéere, fiue moneths, and ten dais old, was crowned king of Scotland, in the yéere from the birth of Chriſt 1513. Marie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but ſeuen daies old, was crowned quæne of Scots, in the yéere of Chriſt 1542. Henrie Steward, ſonne to Matthew earle of Lennox, and huſband to the ſaid Marie Steward, was not one and twentie yéeres old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife Marie: for he was not paſt one and twentie when he was ſlaine, as before in the yéere 1567. Charles James Steward, the firſt of the name of James, and the ninth of the ſurname of Stewards, ſonne of the ſaid Henrie Steward and Marie Steward, being about a yéere old, began his reigne in the yéere that God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Melvine (this yéere 1585 in England) did whileſt he was in Scotland dedicate theſe verſes following:

*Dum tu, magne puer, patribus das iura vocatis,*
*Et populi penſas crimina lance pari,*
*Iura tibi, tuus ille Solon, tuus ille Lycurgus,*
*Quæ recti è puris fontibus hauſta dedit,*
*Nobilium regum exemplis obſignat auitis,*
*Hîc, vbi quid fugias, quídue ſequaris, habes.*
*Felix, ſi fugias fugienda, ſequenda ſequaris!*
*Felix cum populo túq; patréſq; tuo.*

Out of the booke printed thereof.

There was order taken by the magiſtrates of the reformed churches, aſſembled for that purpoſe, touching the diſcipline of excommunication, and the excommunicated, diuided into theſe heads: that is to ſay, what crimes be worthie of that ſeuere cenſure of the church by excommunication: how the miniſter ſhall behaue himſelfe in publike audience of the people: of confeſſion of the penitent: of the offenſes which merit publike repentance: of the order to proceed therein: the forme and the order of publike repentance: an admonition to the church: a thankeſgiuing for the conuerſion and repentance of the cenſured: the forme of the excommunication: the praier for the obſtinate that will not repent after that cenſure: the praier before the excommunication:

cation: the maner to inuocate the name of Jeſus, with the ſentence of excommunication: the order to receiue the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the abſolution: and laſtlie the praier for the church. Which booke conteining the diſcourſe of theſe matters at large, with authoritie of ſcriptures and reaſons, was ſet forth by John Knox miniſter, and commanded to be printed by the generall aſſemblie, in the yéere of Chriſt 1569, being ſéene and allowed by thoſe which follow, appointed to that function by the ſaid aſſemblie: whoſe names were John Willike, maiſter John Crage, Robert Pont, John Row, Dauid Lindſcie, William Chriſtiſon, James Greg, &c.

A parlement holden at Edenburgh.

On the fifteenth of December a parlement begun, being holden at Edenburgh before the earle of Murreie lord regent, in the which diuers acts and ſtatutes were deuiſed, made, and ratified: as firſt concerning the quéenes demiſſion of hir crowne, and reſignation thereof made to hir ſonne king James the firſt. And likewiſe concerning the inſtituting of the earle of Murreie in the regencie of the realme, which he tooke vpon him the two and twentith day of Auguſt laſt paſt, according to hir letters of commiſſion and procuration aboue ſpecified. Alſo there was an act made for the aboliſhing of the pope, and his vſurped authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parlement for maintenance of ſuperſtition and idolatrie. And hereto was annexed a confeſſion of the faith and doctrine receiued by the proteſtants of the realme of Scotland, authoriſed in the ſame parlement. There was alſo an act made for the indemnitie of thoſe that had leuied warre, and apprehended the queene at Carbarrie hill, the fiftéenth of Julie laſt paſt, and concerning the deteining of hir in Lochleuin.

An act for the aboliſhing of the popes authoritie in Scotland.

The caſtell of Dunbar and the fortreſſe of Inſketh to be raced.

Moreouer, it was ordeined by an act paſſed in this parlement, that the caſtell of Dunbar, and the fortreſſe of Inſketh, ſhould be demoliſhed and raced downe to the earth. To be briefe, there were one and fortie acts or ſtatutes made and ſtabliſhed in this parlement, as by the regiſter thereof it maie appéere.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 19.

* In the firſt beginning of the ſpring, the gouernor determined to make a progreſſe ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to adminiſter law: which he ment to do, to the end that he might amend and eſtabliſh ſuch things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yéere before. Which matter working diuerſe opinions in thoſe of the quéenes faction, did cauſe that Metellane and John Balfurie ſought meanes to deliuer the quéene out of priſon. Touching which matter alſo the Hamiltons labored who (being next to the crowne, if the yong king were gone, and the quéene made awaie, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did ioine with the queenes faction and fauourers. Whoſe part in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntleie refuſed not to take, becauſe the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

William Murreie of Tillibartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuerſies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, being eſtranged and grieued from and with the gouernor, did not onelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he ſhewed great diligence in taking the quéene) but did alſo draw with him a great companie of his friends intiſed thereunto with no ſmall hope of benefit to riſe vnto them thereby. And as theſe were heads and chiefe of ſuch as ſought the quéenes deliuerance: ſo there were a great manie other, whom priuat neceſſitie, ſecret grudge, deſire of reuenge, hope of aduancement, and néereneſſe of aliance to thoſe which are before named, procured to follow, and to further the cauſe of the quéenes libertie. In the meane time, whileſt the regent was at Glaſcow to miniſter law to ſuch as required it (and that he had there heard of theſe things) this determination of ſetting the quéene at libertie was put in execution, the manner whereof was in this ſort. There was in the caſtell of Lochleuin, wherein the quéene was kept as priſoner, the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by an other father, with a great troupe of women: but none were admitted to ſee the quéene, ſaue ſuch as were well knowen or ſent thither by the regent.

Of all this houſhold companie, there was none that ſéemed ſo meet to the queene to execute anie matter, as was George Dowglas the yongeſt brother of the regent, being a man of a pleaſant wit, and eaſilie to be ouertaken with the faire ſpeeches of women. This man had acceſſe vnto the quéene to plaie at cards, and to vſe hir with other courtlie paſtimes: who determining to ſet hir at libertie, did with promiſes and gifts win the ſeruants of the caſtell to fauour him and his enterpriſes. Whereupon this Dowglaſſe (not vnwitting as was thought to his mother) omitteth nothing that might ſéeme to ſerue for the queenes libertie: the which although manie there did perceiue & tooke not in verie good part, giuing intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue ſuch credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the kéepers in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Iland. This ſaid George, when he paſſed into the nert countrie adioining to the lake, in which the caſtell ſtood, did more liberallie than before (by corrupting the kéepers with monie) conſult with the quéene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the preſent ſtate of things did miſlike) being drawen into that faction; but alſo the Frenchmen by James Hamilton (which had béene regent not manie yéeres before) and James archbiſhop of Glaſcow ſollicited thereunto, the Scots promiſed their bodilie force, and the French promiſed their helping purſe. Now about the end of Aprill, an ambaſſador came out of France requiring in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quéene: which if he were denied, he made ſhew that he would preſentlie depart. Whereunto the gouernor anſwered, that it was not in his power to grant it: that the quéene was not committed to priſon by him, and that he could not determine anie thing herein without their knowledge which firſt reſtreined hir of libertie, and after by decrée confirmed that déed: but he would not ceaſſe in pleaſuring his ſiſter, and ſuch a frend as the king (his maiſter) was, to do all that he might: and further, that he would take order for an aſſemblie of the nobilitie the twentith daie of the nert moneth. Vntill which time the ambaſſador ſéemed ſomwhat appeaſed, and the regent applied the adminiſtration of the lawes.]

1568. The quéenes eſcape out of Lochleuin.

On ſundaie the ſecond of Maie, in the yeere 1568, at ſupper time, the quéene eſcaped out of Lochleuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas brother to the lard of Lochleuin. The lard Seton, the lard of Ricarton, and James Hamilton of Orbiſton, were readie to receiue hir, and conueied hir ouer the quéenes ferrie, firſt to Nudrie the lard Seton his houſe, and from thence to Hamilton caſtell, where ſhe remained till the thirtéenth daie of Maie being thurſdaie, gathering in the meane time ſuch forces as ſhe might from all places. The earle of Murreie lord regent was in Glaſcow, at what time ſhe thus eſcaped out of Lochleuin; and vpon knowledge had therof, ment at the firſt to haue withdrawen himſelfe to Sterling: but ſuddenlie changing his purpoſe in that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glaſcow,

The quéene gathereth a power.

The regents determination to staie at Glascow.

cow, which is not past eight miles from Hamilton, because he was persuaded, that if she should shrinke backe neuer so little, he should incourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequentlie weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Boid (vnto the quéenes part) hauing vntill that time wone a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 19.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decaie of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kinred did) was now content to séeke meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernement was posted ouer from them to the quéene mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Boid firmelie continued vntill the quéenes returne out of France. By meanes whereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdome, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had coniured or conspired (to vse Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defense of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argile (which hong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quéene euerie thing that was done in the same assemblie, from which time this Boid was partaker of all the quéenes secrets against his old friends, who with the queene did yet obteine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongest others of lightnesse and inconstancie. But after that the queene was imprisoned, and the earle of Murreie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whome he shewed such proofe of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the priuie counsels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betweéne the regent & the quéene (after hir escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the queene.] All which notwithstanding, the thirtéenth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quéene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clede toward Dunbreton; and out of Glascow on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, néere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glascow.

The armies met at Langside.

Lords on the quænes part.

There were on the quéenes part the earles of Argile, Cassiles, Eglinton, and Rothes, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chatelerault, the lords Seton, Summeruill, Yester, Borthwike, Leuingston, Herries, Marwell, Sanquhar, Boid and Rosse, lards and knights, Lochinwar, Bas, Wlauchton, Malhousie, Rosien the shiriffe of Aire, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne, Menteith, the maister of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindsie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Ogiltrœ and Cathcart, of lairds and knights, Bargawy, Blacquhan, Drumlanrig, Sesford, Lus, Buchanan, Tulibardin, Peteur, Grange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and sir James Balfour. At the first ioining there was a verie sharpe incounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swords. But at length, after thrée quarters of an houres fight, the quéenes part was put to flight.

The quéenes part discomfited.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs: among the which were foure téene of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about thrée hundred, of which number the principall were these: the lords Seton and Rosse, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltrœ in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindsete, and the lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themselues verie valiantlie that day, failing not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie capteins. The quéenes part was thought to be néere at the point of six thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, what vpon the one side and the other.

Fourténe of the Hamiltons slaine.

Prisoners taken.

The earle of Huntlete comming forward to haue assisted the quœnes part, but the battell was striken, and hir people discomfited (as ye haue heard) yer he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the valiancie of an Yieland gentleman named Macferlane, stood the regents part in great stéed. For in the hottest brunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countriemen, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quéenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macferlane had béene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obteining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Murreie) he recompensed that clemencie by this péece of seruice now at this battell, [which was (as saith Buchanan) fought the third daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quéene had escaped out of prison.]

The earle of Huntlete comming forward to aid the quœne.

Fr. Thin.

The quéene perceiuing the ouerthrow of hir people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawford towne, and so by the Sanquhar to Dundrenan in Gallowaie: and after she had taried there two or thrée daies, she tooke ship and passed to Workington in England, where she was staied & conueied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewesburie. * The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quéenes part, vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deceiued of his former hope, changed his copie, and with horsse and guides hasted all he could into England, without bidding the regent farwell. In which iournie he was robbed by théeues: but James Dowglasse, capteine of the marches of Drumlanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

The quéene of Scots flieth into England.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 19.

They ioine in battell.

But now to the doings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the nert daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glascow, and offered the keies to the regent. The castell of Draffan was also yéelded at the same time to the regent. The eightéenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Perns, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, should prouide themselues of vittels for fiftéene daies, and to méet him at Beggar the tenth of June, to ride with him into the southwest parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine théeues, and other disobedient persons. Héerevpon, the eleuenth of June, the regent marched forth of Edenburgh, and came that night to Beggar. The armie being assembled, conteined foure or fiue thousand

The regents iournie into the southwest parts of Scotland.

ſand horſſemen verie well appointed, beſide a thouſand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of boies and yoong men that went with the cariage, there were about foure thouſand.

The caſtell of Boghall. Skirling caſtell. Crawford.

The caſtell of Boghall, perteining to the lord Fleming, was ſurrendred to them. The twelfth of June Skirling caſtell was raced (a faire houſe) to the end that other vnderſtanding therof, might be put in greter feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the caſtell was to them ſurrendred; it belonged vnto ſir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands.

Saucher.

The thirteenth of June they marched to Saucher, a caſtell, the which being rendred they ſpared, becauſe the lord Creichton the owner thereof, promiſed at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edenburgh.

Barbacaſt.

The fourteenth of June they came to Barbacaſt, where they laie that night, and the lard Wederborne was ſent to ſpeake with the lard of Louchinware. Wedneſdaie the fifteenth of June, they marched to a

Saint Johns Sclaghan.

place called ſaint John Sclaghan, ſtaieng there in truſt of the lard of Louchinwares comming vnto them, but he came not: wherevpon, the next daie being the ſixteenth of June, they raced the houſe of

Kenmure.

Kenmure, and an other houſe alſo, for that the owners were freends to the ſaid Louchinware.

The water of Ur. Dunfreis.

The ſeuenteenth of June they came to a gentlemans houſe, ſtanding by the water of Ur, where diuerſe gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The eightéenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the nert daie. A ſtrong houſe ſtanding in that towne, & apperteining to the lord Warwell, was offered vnto them. Diuerſe of the Warwels, Johnſtons, Prewins, Grahams, and Bels, came vnto the regent, and offering themſelues to be obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the lord Warwell, the lards of Johnſton, Cowhill, and Louchinwar, had beene at Dunfreis with a thouſand men, and ſpent all the bittels. It was thought that the lord Warwell would haue come in, if the other had not counſelled him to the contrarie. The twentith of June they marched to

Hoddom yeeldeth to the regent.

Hoddom, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thouſand of the broken men were aſſembled and offered ſkirmiſh; two or three were taken, they laie within a mile of the regent that night.

The lard of Drumlanrig.

The one and twentith the houſe was yeelded, and the cuſtodie thereof committed to the lard of Drumlanrig that was appointed warden of thoſe marches. It was thought verie ſtrong, ſo that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had beene diſpoſed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of wine was ſold at ſeuen ſhillings Scotiſh, and no bread to be had for anie monie. The regent ſent forth the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thouſand men, to trie if they might haue drawen the broken men to a chaſe: but it would not be, for they went their waies, and would not tarrie it. The two and twentith of June the campe laie ſtill, but the regent with a thouſand men went to Annand, and had

Annand deliuered to the gouernor.

it deliuered vnto him. Heere he met with the lord Scrope, and after returned to the campe. The three and twentith of June they went to

Lochmaben.

Lochmaben and receiued the caſtell, the which the regent deliuered to Drumlanrig: but ſome of the Warwels being cloſelie hid within an od corner of the houſe, after the regent was gone, brake out and ſeized the houſe againe into their hands.

Two houſes of lard Johnſton taken by the regent.

The ſame daie, two houſes belonging to the lard of Johnſton, the one named Lochwood, and the other Lowhouſie, were taken, but not burnt: becauſe the lard Johnſton had put in ſuertie to come in by a day vnto the regent. The ſame daie they take great ſtore of cattell, and that night with a ſhot of the great artillerie, they ſlue two théeues among three ſcore o-

thers that came and approched verie neere to the armie, as the maner of the prickers is. The armie laie that night at Milton holms. The foure and twentith of June they came to Peeples, and the nert day to Edenburgh, ſo ending that iournie; in the which they had paſſed through the countries of Clideſdale, Gallowaie, Niddeſdale, Annandale, & Tweedale. Much a doo and great trouble aroſe within Scotland, by reaſon that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts againſt the regent, and thoſe other lords that gouerned vnder the king; whereof as I haue no certeine notes, ſo I muſt paſſe the ſame with ſilence. Great trouble in Scotland.

* Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, letters came to the regent from the queene of England: for ſhe was perſuaded by ſuch as were fled with the queene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie done vnto the queene of Scots, being burdened with high matters, through the enuie of hir euill ſubiects, in which chiefſtie the kinglie authoritie was reuiled, and the regiment of ſacred maieſtie defaced. A thing which did not alone perteine to the priuat perſon of the queene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which euill of erpelling kings, was ſpeedilie and ſoundlie to be preuented, leaſt it might creepe anie further. By which and other perſuaſions, the queene of England required of the regent to ſend ſufficient men, that ſhould declare to hir the order of all things as they were done, and that ſhould anſwer all ſuch reproches as were laied againſt him. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 19

Touching which matter, although it appeered grieuous and heauie in it ſelfe, to call things in queſtion which before were by parlement eſtabliſhed; and to bring in vſe a new kind of iudgement of their cauſes before forren iudges and kings who were their enimies, and firſt perſuaded againſt the regent by ſuch as maliced him and his faction; and that after a ſort the ſame ſeemed dangerous and full of ſhame: yet on the other ſide there were manie things that inforced him to accept that requeſt of the queene of England, although it were vniuſt. Wherefore when he had determined to ſend ambaſſadors, and that they could not agree who they ſhould be, ſith the chiefeſt, and thoſe of the nobilitie refuſed it: at length the regent profeſſed that he would take that iournie vpon him. For the performance whereof he choſe certeine perſons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Metellan, which onelie denied and ſtood againſt it. Wherefore he caried the ſaid Metellan with him (fauoring the queene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The reſt that went willinglie with him, were James Dowglas, Patrike Lindſeie, being of the nobilitie; the biſhop of Orknie, & the abbat of Fermlindon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henrie Balnaue, lawiers of the college of iudges. To whome as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan author of the Scotiſh hiſtorie: with whome the regent accompanied to the number of 100 horſſes, take his iournie into England, and came the fourth nones of October to Yorke, to the aſſemblie appointed there by the queene of England. On which day, and almoſt at the ſame houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither alſo; to which duke were aſſociat in commiſſion, to heare the controuerſie of the Scots, the earle of Suſſex, and ſir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither ſuch as were ſent by the queene of Scots, which did complaine of hir vnkind ſubiects, and required helpe to reſtore hir to hir kingdome. Theſe men being heard ſundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had proteſted that they came not vnto them as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to bind

bind them) with manie words open the iniuries which the Scotiſh ſubiects had done vnto their quéene, and required of the quéene of England, that either ſhe would perſuade hir vnkind people to receiue their prince againe; or if they refuſed the ſame, that ſhe would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them thereunto.

In few hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbitrators) did contend (ſith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient cuſtome of their countrie, by the determination of the aſſemblie of parlement, and by the ſubſcription of manie ſuch as were there preſent to accuſe them) that he alone by his authoritie could not vndo the ſame: but when the Engliſh commiſſioners had denied that they could be ſatiſfied with thoſe things done at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except ſome cauſe were ſhewed that inforced them ſo ſeuerelie to pronounce againſt their queene; the regent anſwered that he did chieflie flee that matter, leaſt he ſhould be driuen to accuſe his quéene and ſiſter. Which he denied to do, not willing to laie abroad to forren nations hir wicked deeds, as Buchanan tearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be inforced, vnleſſe the quéene of England would promiſe to defend the cauſe of the now king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifeſtlie prooue, that the quéene of Scots had murthered the king of Scots hir huſband. Whereunto the Engliſh anſwered, that they had authoritie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole requeſt vnto their queene.

By reaſon whereof, in the end they wrote to the queene of England all the ſtate of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Murreie ſhould ſend one or more to the Engliſh court, fullie to informe hir thereof, ſith ſhe would do all therein that belonged vnto hir. Which letters receiued, the earle of Murreie ſent Petellan (a man before ſuſpected, and that did after ſome in conference with John Leſle biſhop of Roſſe) to the court of England, aſſociated with James Macgill. Now after theſe men were come to the quéene at London, it was thought moſt conuenient by hir and hir councell, that the regent himſelfe ſhould be preſent, when all matters of controuerſie were intreated vpon. For which cauſe, ſending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a ſmall traine to London: where the ſame difficultie was obiected againſt him which was done at Yorke: to which he anſwered as before. Whilſt theſe things were doing at London, the queene of Scots did by James Balfure moue warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, ſhe wrote letters to hirs and Bothwels friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent ſaw himſelfe thus beſet on euerie ſide, he determined to returne with all ſpéed into Scotland aſwell as he might, without diſpatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the Engliſh ſtill inſtantlie vging him to tell the cauſe (which being vntold, they could not determine ante thing therein) that moued them to do thoſe things in Scotland: the regent (loth to offend the quéene of England) made a long proteſtation how vnwilling he was to accuſe the quéene, and his ſiſter; and therefore requeſted one thing, that they which were the occaſion to lead him into this battell might be preſent thereat, for becauſe he would vſe their witnes in the weightieſt matters. Which for manie great reaſons being denied by the Engliſh, the queene of England required, that the quéene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be reſtored home; & therewithall giuing the regent a day, to ſhew cauſe whie the reuengers of the kings death had taken armes againſt the queene; although the erle of Murreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the déed done. Wherefore the regent ſhewing all he could againſt the quéene of Scots for the defenſe of hir aduerſaries; in the end, the quéene of England deferring the ſame to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appeaſe the troubles there, and that he ſhould leaue ſome one of his behind him, to anſwere all ſuch euils as ſhould be obiected againſt him.

But the regent deſired them whileſt he was there, that his accuſors might be brought out. Whereupon the accuſors being preſent, and ſaieng that they had not then anie thing to ſaie; but that they would further ſhew their accuſation where it pleaſed the quéene: the matter with much controuerſie ended on both parts, & the councell brake vp without anie finall ſentence therin. But whileſt the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without ſucceſſe attempted by the queene of Scots followers. For James Hamilton (who a little before had béene gouernor) being grieued with the miſhap of things at home, falling out contrarie vnto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (remoued from all companie, and onelie attended vpon with a man or two) he did ſecretlie liue to himſelfe.

But when the quéene of Scots was eſcaped the priſon of Lochleuin, and that ſhe was after ſubdued in battell, being within a few daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not draw the earle of Murreie (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it beſt for manie reaſons (ſith they might not for the troubles in France ſend him ſuccor or monie) to raiſe vp the ſaid Hamilton againſt the earle of Murreie, and eſpecialie at that time whileſt the regent was in England. Wherefore he comming out of his den abrode into the world, inriched by the French with a few golden crownes, and ouercharged with manie faire promiſes, was importuned by his friends and kinſmen, whileſt he haſtened from England into Scotland, that the quéene of England with the authoritie of the quéene of Scots, would induce the earle of Murreie to deliuer vp his regentſhip of Scotland vnto him; ſith that place was of right due vnto him (by the maners and lawes of all nations, but chiefelie by the cuſtome of his countrie) as néereſt in bloud, and next in ſucceſſion.

For the proofe whereof, it is not neceſſarie to reckon vp the memorie of hiſtories from the firſt times, conſidering it is knowne to all men, that gouernors haue béene giuen to thoſe of yong yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of ſuch as haue béene néereſt of bloud. For ſo, after the death of James the third, Robert his vncle had the gouernement in the abſence of James the firſt; and Murdac the ſon of the ſame Robert ſucceeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, John duke of Albanie did gouerne the yong yeares of James the fift; and Hamilton himſelfe, in the minoritie of Marie the queene that now is, being as then neither fit for a huſband or a kingdome, did a few yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certeine rebels, was through vnlawfull voices excluded thereof with force and violence, and that (which is worſe) a baſtard is aduanced thereunto in contempt of lawfull bloud. Which honor, if it were reſtored vnto him, he would ſhortlie appeaſe all thoſe ciuill broiles, and reſtore the queene of Scots vnto hir kingdome, without anie force or tumult of armes.

Whereunto the king of Scots legats did anſwer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite

contrarie

contrarie to the lawes and old cuſtoms of Scotland; but alſo a thing moſt vniuſt, if no authoritie of law were againſt it. For our anceſtors (by reaſon of many murthers committed by thoſe of the kings bloud) almoſt a thouſand three hundred yeares paſt, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusius, the firſt king of that name, were in the life of the king choſen after to reigne, not as neereſt of bloud; but as perſons moſt worthie to weild a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murthers of kinreds amongeſt themſelues) did eſtabliſh that order which is now obſerued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in bloud ſhould be aduanced to the place of the deceaſſed king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the ſucceſſe of things, that it could ſcarſe be choſen; but that in ſuch inconſtancie of fortune, the right of the chiefeſt magiſtrat muſt ſometime light vpon children and vpon heires alſo vnfit for gouernement, they did ordeine, that he ſhould be choſen to the adminiſtration of the publike wealth; which did excell others in wealth and wiſedome. Which courſe our anceſtors haue kept almoſt theſe ſix hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & ſound to poſteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruſe was dead, there were gouernors choſen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Murreie, Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Murreie, John Randolph, & Robert Steward. For ſometime, as manie were choſen gouernors togither; ſo when James the ſecond was a child, Alexander Leuingſton, being no kin to the king, no not ſo much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the yong king.

Which may not be excuſed, in ſaieng that the ſame was then ſo done, becauſe there wanted men of the kings bloud to ſupplie thoſe places. For at that time were liuing John Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinſman by the ſiſter of James the firſt; and the vncle by his fathers ſide: James Kennedie alſo, biſhop of ſaint Andrews, a man of moſt account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt: and Dowglas alſo, earle of Angus, with Archembald earle of Dowglas, both of the kings bloud; whereof the laſt was in riches and power almoſt equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whome, none did euer complaine to the parlement, when they were put beſides the gouernement, and others not ſo neere of bloud appointed therevnto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in reſpect of bloud; but choſen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeeres of James the firſt, and confirmed in the ſame by publike decree of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in reſpect of neereneſſe of bloud. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did ſometimes reach after that place. But in the abſence of James the firſt, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted therevnto for neereneſſe of bloud? No trulie.

What then? Was he choſen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not ſufficient to rule the kingdome, either for ſtrength of bodie or mind, he did ſubſtitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his children to his gouernment; who in the end famiſhed Dauid the eldeſt, and alſo threatened death vnto the yonger ſonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the poſſeſſion of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the ſame to Murdac his ſonne. So that it cannot be doubted what the mind of the laſt king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and beene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he curſſed as the butcher of his children.

That time alſo, in which this Hamilton gouerned, doth remember vnto vs manie things (though what ſoeuer was then done, is no proofe that it was well done) which are to be conſidered of. For when the cardinall Beton did labor by ſubtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beton, than truſting to the fauor of the people towards himſelfe, did leape into the emptie place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetouſneſſe, and in few yeeres after, both ſold the gouernment (obteined by force) and the queene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was ſhewed the fauour which the people bare vnto him, when they preferred the gouernement of a ſtrange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You ſee now (I hope) the requeſt of the Hamiltons to be againſt our countrie lawes, and decrees of our anceſtors, and that ſo contrarie vnto them, that wanting other ſufficient arguments, he is conſtreined to confirme the ſame onelie with lies. But if there were anie ſuch cuſtome, I ſuppoſe there is none but doth ſee how vniuſt it were. For what can be more vnrightfull, than to commit yong, weake, and faultleſſe yeeres to his faith, which doth dailie either looke or wiſh for the death of the pupill? Whoſe whole familie hath alwaies beene at dailie and deadlie warre with the houſe of the king that now is? What defenſe can be here by neereneſſe of bloud againſt old malice, vnmeaſurable couetouſneſſe, and the headie violence of (alreadie taſted) tyrannie? Laodice the queene of Cappadocia is ſuppoſed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeers of diſcretion, and to haue bought the ſmall continuance of hir gouernement with the bloud of hir ſonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother ſpared not hir owne fleſh, for the gaine of ſhort authoritie; what will old enimies do, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetouſneſſe (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not do) againſt a child, which deferreth effect of their hope of gouernement? If this example ſeeme ouer old or obſcure to anie man, or to be ouer farre fet, I will lay downe ſome nearer home, and thoſe moſt notable. Who is ſo ignorant of this late-lie done, that he knoweth not that Galeas Sforzia (growne to diſcretion, a husband, and ſonne in law to a moſt mightie king) was ſlaine by his vncle Lodowike? Or to whom are the calamities vnknowne, which followed ſo cruell a parricide and kin-ſlaier? For the moſt beautifull countrie of Italie was almoſt brought thereby to vtter deſtruction: the familie of the Sforzies, the mother of manie a valiant perſon cleane deſtroied, and the barbarous people (from whoſe crueltie and couetouſneſſe nothing was ſafe) brought into the pleaſant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) againſt the children of his brother? But with what bloudſhed was that in the end purged?

Now, ſith theſe did not feare to do ſuch euils to their

their neereſt bloud, by the onelie inforcing deſire to gouerne, being otherwiſe worthie perſons: what ſhall we loke for from him, whoſe inconſtancie of mind all the Scots do know? Whoſe vnſkilfull gouernement they haue tried with manie ſlaughters? And (which is more) whoſe familie not content with the murther of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers ſide, whileſt he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers ſide, he thruſt the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be ſlaine as a ſacrifice, & ſold hir kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to ſtrangers: out of which bondage ſhe (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themſelues into theſe troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may eaſilie vnderſtand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that thoſe men do now ſéeme to be deliuered out of a priſon of miſerable bondage, and to behold the ſwéet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did ſell their gouernment to a ſtrange woman.

Theſe things being thus heard on both ſides before the councell of England, the quéene thereof by hir ſaid councell declared to Hamilton, that he required an vniuſt thing, and that he ſhould not hope for anie aid from hir; and that ſhe hath promiſed the kings ambaſſador, that Hamilton ſhould not depart England, before that the ſaid ambaſſador had leaue likewiſe to go home. After that theſe things were done, and that the regent ſomewhat indifferentlie diſpatched his affairs in England, he obteined leaue to depart, and was honorablie conducted home with the Engliſh, who ſufficientlie garded him: but eſpeciallie the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, ſith it was great honor for hir maieſtie ſafelie to returne him home, who (vpon hir letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edenburgh the next day after the kalends of Februarie, hée was there receiued with great pompe.

Buchanan. lib. 19. Few daies after this, thoſe of the kings faction aſſembled at Striueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had done in England; which being well liked; was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the quéene of Scots authoriſed with a new and arrogant letter: in that ſhe called him hir father, and made him hir vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his firſt comming made proclamation, that no man ſhould obeie anie other than ſuch as were ſubſtituted by him. Whereupon thoſe of the kings part (beſtowing ſummes of monie vpon ſouldiers, to make them readie, if néed required, to the vttermoſt conflict) met on a day appointed at Glaſcow.

But when there was a great aſſemblie of the common people at Hamilton, more than they loked for, a meanes of agréement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glaſcow, ſhould acknowledge the king for chiefeſt gouernor: which if he did, all other things ſhould eaſilie be agréed; but if he denied that, he ſhould come in vaine: all which he promiſed to do, and the kings armie was diſmiſſed. When he came to Glaſcow, they obteined their former goods and honors the ſame day, in which he and his friends profeſſed themſelues ſubiects to the king: but yet ſo, that in the meane time they ſhould remaine in priſon, or elſe giue pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if anie of the ſaid part would ſo do, they ſhould alſo be receiued on the ſame couenants, whereunto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntleie refuſed to ſubſcribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edenburgh, did deferre the performance of his promiſes, deuiſing manie delaies; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the couenants might be eſtabliſhed by all their conſents, for which he praied day till the tenth of Maie: and that in the meane time he might vnderſtand the mind of the impriſoned quéene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Whereupon Hamilton (confeſſing the truth) ſaid, that he conſented to thoſe conditions by compulſion; and that (if he were frée) hée would not allow of anie of them. For which anſwer, Hamilton & Parwell were committed priſoners to the caſtell of Edenburgh. The earle of Argile was ſuffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntleis was more hardlie dealt withall, bicauſe that in the abſence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Crawford and Ogiluie.

Whereupon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the aſſemblie at ſaint Andrews, whither the earle of Argile firſt came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, bicauſe he ceaſed to trouble the realme anie more, was of kinred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendſhip togither euen from their yoong yéers. But when the cauſe of Huntleie (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults done to him, or to the king: but that hée neither could nor would pardon anie iniuries done to any other. And if Huntleie, or his friends that followed his faction, could paſſe away with thoſe ſpoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitrators choſen by both parts, ſhould temper the value of the damage. At what time alſo there grew a further miſchiefe, whether all they which toke part with Huntleie ſhuld alſo be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things ſéemed indifferentlie well pacified.

During theſe things, the queene of England ſent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the impriſoned queene, either that ſhe might wholie be reſtored, or ſointlie rule with hir ſonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in hir owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots ſent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wiſedome and fidelitie, to deliuer their anſwer vnto the quéene of England. Buchanan, lib. 19.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the gouernor fearing the power of the impriſoned quéene, which now waxed great, did call William Pettellan before him, from Perth to Striueling; who requeſted the earle of Argile to go with him for his better ſuertie. Afterwards, this William ſitting in the councell, was accuſed by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, whereupon he was commanded priſoner to a chamber in the caſtell, and others were ſent to apprehend James Balfuris.

But in the end, the gouernors mildneſſe ſuffered no great hurt to fall vpon them; for Balfurie by his friends ſuite obteined pardon; and Pettellan being led to Edenburgh, was left in a houſe there not farre from the caſtell: to whome certeine horſſemen were appointed kéepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble yoong man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Kircadie, capteine of the caſtell of Edenburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters ſigned with the hand of the earle of Murreie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Pettellan, which he did accordinglie. Whereupon Pettellan was caried by Kircadie into the caſtell, to the great miſlike of the nobilitie, being almoſt vncerteine whether they ſhould impute the déed to Kircadie, or to the gouernor, not being vnacquainted with the boldneſſe of Kircadie: in ſuch ſort, that the ſame was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie

of

of the gouernour had not before béene ſufficientlie knowne.

1569. Rebellion in the north of England, by the earles of Northumberland & Weſtmerland.

In the yeare 1569, the earles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland raiſed a rebellion againſt the quienes maieſtie of England; but by the good diligence and prouident circumſpection of the earle of Suſſex, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by ſuch direction as was giuen by hir maieſtie and hir councell, for the leuieng of an armie vnder the leading of the earle of Warwike, and the lord admerall Clinton, the ſaid two earles were kept ſo in feare, that they durſt not aduance farre forward in their wicked begun enterprize, but were conſtreined to retire backe towards Durham. Wherevpon the earle of Suſſex, ſuppoſing that their meaning was for their laſt refuge and ſafegard to take the caſtels of Alnewike and Warkeworth, he wrote vnto ſir John Foſter lord warden of the middle marches, either by force, policie, or ſome other means, to get into his hands the poſſeſſion of thoſe two caſtels, and the ſame to fortifie with ſuch number and gariſons of men, as to his diſcretion ſhould be thought conuenient, for the ſafe cuſtodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Foſter, being at his houſe neere to Alnewike, when he receiued theſe letters, accompanied with his ſeruants, friends, and tenants, & ſome ſouldiers that were come to him from Berwike, marched vp to the caſtell on foot, where finding the houſe garded with a great number of the earle of Northumberlands ſeruants, reteiners, and tenants, he made proclamation before the caſtell gate, that euerie of them within the caſtell ſhould come forth, and withdraw to their owne houſes, vpon paine to be reputed rebels to the quienes maieſtie: and that which of them ſoeuer did refuſe to obeie this proclamation, ſtaieng either in the caſtell or elſewhere in anie vnlawfull aſſemblie, it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man to ſpoile his goods, and him to kill if he made reſiſtance.

Proclamation made at Alnewike by ſir Io. Foſter.

This proclamation notwithſtanding, they within the caſtell, at the firſt refuſed to yéeld it vp. And thervpon ſir John Foſter marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the like proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that were the earle of Northumberlands tenants, for their repairing home to their houſes. And comming herewith backe towards the caſtell, they within perceiuing themſelues deſtitute of ſuccor, and ſir John Foſter to increaſe in power, did vpon better aduiſe yeeld themſelues vnto him, who ſaued all their liues. After the ſame maner he got alſo the caſtell of Warkeworth, and fortified them both with ſufficient number of men. This done, he aſſembled ſuch forces as he was able to make, ſo that he got together to the number of eleuen hundred horſſemen, and toke order to forlaie and ſtop the paſſages, ſo as the earles friends and tenants in Northumberland ſhould not go vnto him.

The caſtell of Alnewike and Warkeworth fortified by ſir Io. Foſter.

Sir John Foſter kéepeth Newcaſtell againſt the rebels.

Sir Henrie Perſie againſt his brother the earle of Northumberland.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord Ogle, and Thomas Foſter his brother, and other gentlemen, he went to Newcaſtell, where, with Thomas Gower eſquire, that had the principall rule therof at that time, he toke order for the defenſe of that towne againſt the rebels. Hither came to him ſir Henrie Perſie, offering his ſeruice againſt his brother, and other the rebels, to the vttermoſt of his power. Herevpon diuerſe excurſions were made forth of Newcaſtell into the biſhoprike, where the two earles were incamped, and ſundrie ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed thereof. The erles yet on a day came from Durham, and with their armie marched towards Newcaſtell. Sir John Foſter, and ſir Henrie Perſie, hauing intelligence thereof, iſſued forth of Newcaſtell with all their forces, and certeine péeces of great ordinance. They had alſo with them certeine bands of the ſouldiers of Berwike, meaning verelie to haue ioined battell with the earles: ſir Henrie Perſie ſhewing himſelfe as willing and forward thereto as anie other in all the companies.

At Cheſter deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and Newcaſtell, the armies approched the one neere to the other, a ſmall broke running in a hollow diuiding them aſunder, ſo that there was no paſſage for them to conuete their ordinance ouer, the bankes on either ſide being ſo ſteepe and cumberſome. Wherevpon the erles, perceiuing that they were diſappointed of their purpoſe, after ſome ſkirmiſhes betwixt the horſſemen, they returned vnto Durham: and from thence the next day they went to Yerham, and after being in vtter deſpaire, fled into Scotland: where the erle of Weſtmerland lighted among thoſe that ſhifted him awaie ſo from place to place, that he eſcaped out of that realme, when he could no longer remaine there in ſuertie. But the earle of Northumberland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto the regent, who thought he could do no leſſe than put him in ſafe kéeping, conſidering the amitie that was betwixt the two princes, the quienes maieſtie of England, and the king of Scots.

Cheſter deane.

The earles of Northumberland & weſtmerland flée into Scotland.

But ſhortlie after, the regent (as he was riding through Lithquo) was wickedlie ſhot in with an harquebuſe, by one James Hamilton, and ſo wounded, that the next day he died of the hurt [as ſaith Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clothes hanged as it were to an other vſe.] * But the night before the ſlaughter of the regent, Walter Scot, and Thomas Kar alſo of Fernihirſt entered into England to ſpoile the borders, which they did more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for deſire of reuenge of ſome iniurie, than for the gaine of anie booties. Beſides which, the captéine of the caſtell where Pettellan was priſoner, was now commanded to ſet the ſame Pettellan at libertie: who vpon oth before the nobilitie (which allowed and confirmed the ſame) did purge himſelfe of the death of the king, and of the ciuill warres moued in England (wherewith he was charged) adding that he would proue the ſame at anie time when day ſhould be appointed to him therefore. After which, there was an aſſemblie made for the election of a new gouernour.

1571. Buch. 1570. The earle of Murrete lord regent ſlaine. Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 20.

At what time Thomas Randolph, being ſent thither ambaſſador for the queene of England in the life of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whoſe meſſage was to demand, the deliuerie of ſuch rebels of England as had fled thither: which ambaſſador the deceaſſed gouernour had before refuſed to heare at Striueling. Wherevpon, ſith all things were then in a turmoile by his death, they departed. But now, when there was a parlement for the chooſing of a new regent, Randolph which had béene in Scotland ſome yéeres before, becauſe he ſeemed beſt to know the men and their conditions of Scotland, and becauſe he had before diſpatched ſome other ambaſſages for the benefit of the realme, was held déere and well eſtéemed of the nobilitie, and therfore was brought into the councell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of his prince had béene vnto the Scots, he ſhewed that ſhe would not now abbate the ſame vnto them in theſe troubleſome times, no more than ſhe had before done. After which he remembred the inuaſions made into England, with the ſlaughters, ſpoiles, and burnings committed a little before: all which he well knew was not done by the counſell or labor of the publike ſtate: and therefore his queenes fauor was not diminiſhed to them, but that the ſame good will

did remaine to them now, as ample as euer it was. And where ſhe was grieuouſlie offended (and that without hir deſert) yet ſhe was not now determined (although by right ſhe iuſtlie might) to demand publike reſtitution and recompenſe for ſuch euils: nor to exact puniſhment of the whole nation for the miſdoing of a few.

For ſhe was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raiſed amongeſt them. Notwithſtanding this euill, ſhe did not yet anie whit doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that ſhe would not onlie for their cauſe ſeparate the offenſe from the publike conſent: but alſo (if they themſelues for the domeſticall ſeditions could not inforce the diſturbers of the quiet to make reſtitution of ſuch ſpoiles) that ſhe would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counſell they might take iuſt puniſhment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then do by that meanes, that yet ſhe would proſecute thoſe iniuries with hir owne people, whoſe armie ſhould without anie damage to them paſſe through ſuch places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The reſt of the parts of his ambaſſage did conteine admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull aſſemblies, but moſt neceſſarie for the preſent ſtate of Scotland.

Whereof the firſt aduiſe was for the defenſe of religion, with an eſpeciall care of diligence therein: ſith the ſame alone doth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equall & chriſtian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it ſelfe can long continue: for which cauſe they muſt chieflie labor with all their power, with might and maine, with ſaile and ores, that peace and quiet maie be holilie and vertuouſlie nouriſhed at home amongeſt their people. For ſith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie gouernement ouer this nation, it is iuſt and meet that they obeie their princes; and in dutifull ſort beſtow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; ſith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vſe) is moſt acceptable to God, and doth take awaie (or at the leaſt hinder) the thirſt and ſhedding of mens bloud, a fault which God of all others doth moſt hate.

Which vnitie increaſing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations more fearefull to their enimies, and is the preſeruer of iuſtice: whoſe chiefe part conſiſting in puniſhing the euill, is eſpeciallie to be imbraced: when contrarilie diſſention and treaſon is a thing moſt deteſtable to all lawfull gouernement: ſith ſuch kind of people are to be purſued with all extremitie, and not be ſuccored with anie fauor, with anie mercie, or with anie pardon, into what countrie ſoeuer they flee for refuge of their hated wickedneſſe. All theſe things did Randolph both godlie and wiſelie admoniſh vs of, and iuſtlie and modeſtlie require from vs.

But becauſe there was no regent choſen for the ſupreme gouernement, there could no certeine anſwer be giuen therevnto: for which cauſe he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Maie. At laſt, William and James Dowglaſſe, brothers of the ſlaine regent by one mother, were heard in this parlement, who required that the vnworthie death of their brother might be reuenged, ſith the ſame was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cauſe. Upon the opening whereof men were of diuerſe opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offendors ſhould be puniſhed: for ſome would haue a day giuen to ſuch as were ſuſpected of the murther: for the names of manie perſons were there ſhewed to anſwer the ſame. But it better pleaſed other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had alreadie taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had alreadie done; & that they ſhould not onelie raiſe their weapons againſt them, but alſo againſt all ſuch as were condemned in that aſſemblie of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and ſouldiors did ſome agree, who yet could not hold their determination, eſpeciallie ſith the earle of Atholl and Morton did diſſuade them from it: whereof the firſt would haue them tarrie, vntill there were a greater aſſemblie of the nobilitie: and the other ſuppoſed that it would come to paſſe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would periſh and come to nothing, and the matter would burſt out to ciuill wars, whereby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of ſuch as were guiltie of the murther. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were poſſible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing ſhould be done or changed vntill the kalends of Maie, on which there was an aſſemblie or parlement appointed.

Upon which perſuaſion the companie was diſſolued, though the greateſt part of the nobilitie did condemne this delaie, as moued thervnto: becauſe that the other would ſaie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enimies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vaniſh in the meane time, and the aduerſe faction gather greater power togither. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For preſentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie ſpread abroad) James Hamilton (mortgaging his lands to John Sommeruill of Caninethame) borowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the reſt of his friends, he ſent to his fauorers (to hire ſouldiors) being warned before, that they ſhould alwaies be readie at all times, and for all cauſes which ſhould happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enimie, the earle of Murreie: neither after that time did the quænes factions ceaſſe from meeting in diuerſe diſtant places.

On the fiftéenth kalends of March, there did aſſemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton doth Buchanan alwaies terme thoſe that toke the quænes part) to deuiſe of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argile, and the lord Boid did write vnto earle Morton, that they would willinglie (ſith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were conſenting thervnto) conſult with the other nobilitie about the ſame matter, both to ſearch out and to puniſh the ſame: and that they would not come to Edenburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be ſo perſuaded, they would willinglie come to Lithquo, to Faukirke, or to Striueling, there to meet with them. Whervpon, the earle of Morton, conſulting with Petellan about the ſame (for ſo it was deſired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the ſame time, Thomas Bar wrote to Limnch (to vſe Buchanans word) to the gardian of the caſtell, to ſee if he could obteine of the quéene of England to ſtate hir armie: which if he brought to paſſe, that then he would take ſuch order, that he would eaſilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they ſhould remaine in that dutie which they were wont: but if ſhe did refuſe this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the good ſubiects would ſhew their obedience towards their impriſoned quéene, & would ioine themſelues togither, becauſe aid would ſhortlie come out of France vnto them.

On the fift nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argile, and Boid came to Lithquo; but the murther of one hired ſouldior did trouble all their deuiſe by a ſudden tumult that was raiſed therevpon. Wherefore the next day after the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes did bring the Hamiltons home, the reſt of the quéenes faction, eſpeciallie the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogiluie, Hume, Seton, and Petellan, met at Edenburgh: in which the earle Morton was accompanied with a ſmall traine, vntill the earles of Glencarne and Mar were come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March the chiefe of the factions met togither to conſult of the eſtate of things: but the ſame did proceed verie ſlowlie, by reaſon of the abſence of the earle of Argile, whoſe power and authoritie was then verie great.

This man did Huntleie ſéeke to perſuade to ioine with the reſt of the faction, but he returned without doing anie thing (as it was ſuppoſed by moſt men) through the ſubtiltie of Petellan, which would haue things long deferred, that more conuenient meane might be had in that troubleſome ſtate of the kingdome, for the innouation of things. The greateſt thing done in this aſſembling, was the argument for the choiſe of a new gouernor, which (as it ſéemeth) came to no effect. Now when all theſe aſſemblies tended to little purpoſe, thoſe of the quéenes faction returned to ſowe ſedition by procuring Engliſh warres, thereby to draw the common-people to aſſiſt their part. Wherefore they ſend the capteine (that before had done the like) afreſh at this time to execute the ſame, who left nothing vndone that might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction do reproch the quéene of England, and ſlander the nobilitie of Scotland, as though they were the clients and followers of the Engliſh; further threatning abroad in euerie place, that they would vſe the aid of the French and Spaniſh, if the lord of the congregation praied in aid of the Engliſh. Much about that time, (as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at Dunbreton, Meriacke, one of the chamber to the French king, which aduanced the mindes of the quéenes faction, with manie large promiſes: by meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an aſſemblie of their people at Lithquo the firſt ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great aſſemblie was made of the quéenes faction, they began there openlie to treat of thoſe things which before were whiſpered in ſecret: which was, that the death of the king and regent might be either forgotten, or at leaſt war cold in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making warre vpon the Engliſh. After which conſultation, they determined to go to Edenburgh the third ides of Aprill, there (beſides manie other commodities which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vnto them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe of good ſucceſſe to be receiued. Which they thought they might eaſilie bring about, by reaſon that William Kircadie was gouernor both of the caſtell and towne, againſt which deuiſe the citizens did yet contend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the quéenes part was admitted into the towne. After which, not thus contented, they perſuaded the citizens to deliuer vp the keies of their towne, which they moſt wiſelie refuſed.

All this while there was a great reſort to Petellan then lieng of the gowt, for which cauſe his houſe was commonlie called the ſchoolehouſe, and himſelfe the ſchoolemaiſter. In which meane time, the earle of Atholl did not ſpare to trauell hither and thither, to draw thoſe of the other faction to that aſſemblie at Edenburgh. But they would not come thither at all, vntill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appointed for the parlement) vnleſſe they knew ſome iuſt neceſſitie which might preuent that day: and then if there happened anie thing of moment, which might not ſuffer anie delaie, they would communicate the ſame to the earle Morton, whoſe houſe was but foure mile from thence, & he ſhould giue other knowledge thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle of Atholl, in which a few of both factions ſhould meet at the towne of the earle Morton, called Dalketh, which place did not like the quéenes faction, whoſe ſtrength was much holpen by ſuch priſoners as Kircadie had ſet at libertie out of the caſtell of Edenburgh.

But all the deuiſes and helps of the quéens faction were quailed, by the rumor of the Engliſh armie comming to Berwike. Wherevpon, Alexander Hume, and John Parwell latelie deliuered out of priſon, without anie publike authoritie, or leaue to ſet them free, went home to defend their owne poſſeſſions; and a portion of that monie, which they had gathered to hire ſouldiers, was giuen to the ſaid lord Hume, to ſtrengthen his caſtell of Hume. Thomas Kar, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue made ſome roads into England by the perſuaſion of the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, whereby wars ſhould riſe in England) being forſaken of thoſe which inhabited neere theſe places, & fearing their owne eſtate, ſent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requeſting helpe of them: or if they would not do ſo, that at leaſt they ſhould come to Lowther the next towne; and from thence ſhew or make warre vpon England. Which when they could not obteine (nor anie of the publike monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands in great anger.

After this, whileſt manie other things paſſed, as that the quéens faction ſent an ambaſſador to the earle of Suſſex, to ſtaie his iournie into Scotland; that they alſo ſent letters to the quéene of England concerning their cauſe; and that a ſeruant of monſieur Lauſac in France, had brought letters to the quéens factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) directed alſo vnto other that were indifferent, to ioine with the impriſoned quéene; and that he promiſed them aid out of France; and that the quéens people were aſſured, that the kings part would come to Edenburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all theſe things (I ſay) they of the quéens ſide departed to Lithquo, ſuppoſing that place moſt commodious to aſſemble their confederats. Whither when the Hamiltons and their clients were come, they beſet all the way to Edenburgh: for when they vnderſtood that John Areſkin earle of Mar was comming thither, they laid ambuſhes vnder the nert hils to intrap him.

But he knowing the iniurie of the place, paſſed the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Edenburgh the third day of Maie about euening. Shortlie after, the kings part remaining at Edenburgh, and the quéens at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argile, and Huntleie appoint a parlement at Lithquo, the three nones of Auguſt. The other faction ſent Robert Petcarne ambaſſador to the quéene of England, to intreat with hir about the ſuppreſſion of the common enimie; and further to let hir vnderſtand, that ſuch were the good minds of the Scots vnto hir, that they would chooſe a regent by hir appointment.

Beſides which, the ſaid lords of the kings part with generall conſent wrote letters vnto the erle of Lennor, then remaining in England, to repaire home with all conuenient ſpéed into Scotland. ¶ We maie read in the hiſtorie of England, in what ſort the erle of Suſſex lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring into Tiuidale the ſeuen & twentith of Aprill, burnt

the Moſſe towèr, the towne of Crawling, the caſtell of Fernitherſt, the towne of Hawike, and the caſtell of Bzaurton, that belonged to the laird of Buclewgh, with diuerſe other caſtels, piles, towns, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernitherſt, Buclewgh, and others in thoſe parts: alſo how the lozd Scrope inuaded the weſt bozders of Scotland at the ſame time: and likewiſe how the ſaid earle of Suſſex wan the caſtell of Hume, with diuerſe other matters which here I paſſe ouer, referring you to the ſaid hiſtozie.

The earle of Lennox ſent fozward to returne into Scotland.

But now about the ſame time, the earle of Lennox, hauing got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was ſet fozward, and came to Berwike towards the latter end of Apzill, where being viſited with ſickeneſſe, he remained by the ſpace of fourtéene daies oz moze. In the meane time the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, and Caſſils, the lozd Fleming, and ſundzie others of that faction, ſéeing the time ſerued well foz their purpoſe, now that the regent was ſlaine and diſpatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of thzee thouſand men, and came downe to Edenburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennox was comming out of England with a power of Engliſhmen, by the quéens maieſties appointment; aſwell foz the ſafegard of the yong king, as alſo foz the ſafe conduct of the earle of Lennox home into Scotland: the duke and earles afozeſaid retired themſelues from Edenburgh to Glaſcow, where they beſieged the caſtell by the ſpace of fiue oz ſix daies, vntill the earle of Lennox approched thitherwards. Foz ye haue to vnderſtand, that after the earle of Lennox was recouered of his ſickeneſſe, there was appointed a power of hozſſemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of ſir William Dzurie; as in the Engliſh ſtozie ye may read moze at large.

The duke of Chatelerault gathereth a power.

The duke retireth to Glaſcow.

There were diuerſe valiant capteins and gentlemen that went with him in that iournie, aſwell ſuch as had charge, as thoſe that went with him of their owne good wils, to ſée the ozder of things, and to helpe to aduance their pzinces ſeruice. With charge there were theſe; ſir Geozge Carie capteine of an hundzed lances, Henrie Auſſell capteine of fiftie lances, William Gurleie capteine of fiftie lances, maiſter Henrie Carie capteine of two hundzed light hozſſemen, capteine Caſe lieutenant of the generals band of light hozſſemen, being alſo two hundzed: ſir Robert Conſtable ſergeant maioz of the footbands, ſir Thomas Paners, capteine Bzikwell, capteine Carnill, capteine Game, capteine Lambard, capteine Erington, John Conſtable, and Humfreie Berwike leaders of the footmen. Capteine Erington was alſo lieutenant to ſir Geozge Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diuers; as maiſter Geozge Deuereur, ſir Jerome Bowes, maiſter William Knolles, maiſter Robert Knolles, maiſter Michaell Carie, maiſter Gawdie, maiſter William Dzurie of Suffolke couſine to the generall, maiſter Greuill, bzother to ſir Fulke Greuill, maiſter Conweie, bzother to ſir John Conweie, maiſter Edmund Uerneie, and manie others, whoſe names I could not learne.

Capteins and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennox into Scoland.

The footmen laie the firſt night at Coldingham. The nert day the earle of Lennox himſelfe with ſir William Dzurie and the hozſſemen ouertooke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The nert day they made ſuch ſpéed in their march, that they came thzough to Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Mozton, Murreie, Glencarne, the lozds Ruthwen, Lindſeie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltrée, and Cathcart, with diuerſe gentlemen of the kings ſide; who receiued the ſaid earle of Lennox, and the Engliſhmen verie courteouſlie. From Edenburgh they paſſed to Lithquho, as in the Engliſh hiſtozie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen paſſed to Faukirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennox, and the Scotiſh lozds, with ſir William Dzurie and the hozſſemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the cuſtodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glaſcow, where the duke had beſieged the caſtell, which was valiantlie defended by the lard of Winto and his bzethzen, with their ſeruants, being not paſt eightéene perſons in all; and yet they kept it fiue oz ſix daies againſt the duke and his whole power, ſlaieng (as hath béene repozted) aboue foztie oz fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue béene taken, if they had not béene the moze ſpéedilie relieued. But the duke and his adherents, vnderſtanding of the comming fozward of the erle of Lennox with the Engliſh fozces, bzake vp his ſiege and fled awaie, with loſſe and diſhonoz, as in the Engliſh hiſtozie we haue likewiſe noted.

Faukirke.

The earle of Lennox and ſir William Dzurie ride to Stirueling.

The caſtell of Glaſcow beſieged by the duke of Chatelerault.

He breaketh vp his ſiege.

After that the earle of Lennox and his friends were thus come vnto Glaſcow, finding the ſiege raiſed, he remained there by the ſpace of fiue oz ſix daies. During which time, there came to him of his kinred and friends, which owght him their ſeruice, according to the vſe of the countrie, the number of foure thouſand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the moze part out of the countries of Lennox and Darneleie, which muſtered befoze the ſaid earle, and ſir William Dzurie, generall of the Engliſh there. This done, the earle of Lennox, accompanied with the earles and lozds befoze mentioned, & likewiſe with the Engliſhmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

A muſter of foure thouſand Scots.

Sée moze hereof in England.

The nert day they beſieged the caſtell, whereof Andzew Hamilton of Merinton was capteine, hauing vnder him fiftie ſouldiers to defend it; and would not therefoze deliuer it, till that two péeces of great ozdinance being bzought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. Foz then perceiuing themſelues in danger to be taken by fozce, the capteine offered to yéeld the houſe to the Engliſhmen; but not to the lozds of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within ſaued. Which was granted, vpon pzomiſe, that they ſhould neuer after beare armes againſt their king, and to depart the realme within a certeine terme, and herevnto they were ſwozne. But they kept not long their oth, foz the night nert inſuing, they did beſet the lozd Sempill that was lodged at that pzeſent in a houſe not far off, and not able to keepe it till reſcue came, yéelded it and himſelfe pziſoner, ſo that he was kept by the Hamiltons in ſafe cuſtodie by the ſpace of twelue moneths after. The caſtell of Hamilton being yéelded (as ye haue heard) was blowen vp with powder. Diuers other houſes there in the countrie about were burnt alſo, as Roplocke, the abbat of Kilwinnings houſe, with diuerſe other of the Hamiltons houſes in Clidesdale.

The caſtell of Hamilton beſieged.

It is deliuered to the Engliſhmen.

The lozd Sempill taken.

The caſtell of Hamilton blowen vp and raced.

After the caſtell of Hamilton was thus wonne and ouerthzowen, the lozds returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the mozrow, they ſet fire both vpon the ſame palace, and alſo vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Engliſhmen taking leaue of the lozds in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the Engliſh hiſtozie ye may reade moze at large. The erle of Mozton went with them; but the earle of Lennox and the other earles and lozds with their companies toke their way towards Glaſcow, and from thence euerie of the

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

The earle of Lennox with the Engliſhmen come to Edenburgh.

the noble men departed home to their houſes. Shortlie after, there was a conuention of the lords at Striueling, where the earle of Lennox was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in Auguſt following, there was an other conuention at Edenburgh, where, by the conſent of the three eſtates of the realme, the ſaid earle was made regent of Scotland.

A conuention of the lords. The earle of Lennox made regent.

And about the ſame time, the earle of Huntleie tooke vpon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the quéene of Scots that remained ſtill in England, and therevpon in hir name ſummoned a parlement to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentith of September then next following. Vnto the which parlement, aſwell the earle of Lennox then regent, as all the reſidue of the lords of both parties were ſummoned. Whereof the regent being aduertiſed, cauſed a parlement to be ſummoned in the kings name to be kept at Lithquho, at the ſelfe ſame day which was appointed by the earle Huntleie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & alſo ſundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thouſand, verie well furniſhed, looking for the earle of Huntleis comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no néerer than Bzechine.

The earle of Huntleie.

A parlement proclamed by both the factions at one day and place.

The earle of Huntleie commeth no néerer than Bzechine.

Wherevpon it was decréed by the regent and nobilitie there, to purſue him: and to that end, James Dowglas earle of Morton was ſent before with a thouſand horſſemen to haue taken him vpon the ſudden in the towne of Bzechine, before he ſhould haue anie warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie hauing warning of their approch, eſcaped their hands, although verie narrowlie; in ſomuch that ſome of his footmen were ſo put to their ſhifts, that they were driuen for their refuge (being ſo beſet on the ſudden) to take the caſtell of Bzechine: the earle of Huntleie promiſing before he went from them, to ſuccour them within eight daies; but they being ſtreictlie beſieged, and the earle not kéeping promiſe with them, after thoſe eight daies were expired, they yéelded themſelues and the caſtell vnto the regents mercie.

The earle of Huntleie eſcapeth.

They were in all about thrée hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefeſt were executed. Some of them had borne armes againſt the king before that time, and had bæne pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthie to die. After this, the regent returned to Striueling, and from thence paſſed to the caſtell of Downe, and beſieged it; being kept by the ſeruants of the lord of ſaint Colmes Inch, who yéelded it to the regent after thrée daies ſiege. During the time of the regents being there, he ſent one of his ſeruants called John Pone, with letters into England, directed to the quéene of Englands councell: who (for his ſecret practiſing and conference had with ſuch as were enimies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiuing of their letters to be conueied alſo, and herewith diſcouering ſundrie ſecrets to them, the which were committed vnto his credit and truſt) was apprehended, and the ſame letters which he had ſecretlie receiued being found vpon him, and the matters aforeſaid proued againſt him, he was by law executed.

Execution.

The caſtell of Downe yéelded.

About the ſame time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, clearke of the regiſter, were ſent into England commiſſioners vpon the kings partie; the biſhop of Roſſe, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Leuingſton, appointed for the quéene then being in England. In Januarie following, the regent then being at Edenburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Chaſtelerault ſonnes, entred the houſe of Paſleie, then being kept by the ſeruants of the lord Sempill: and ſeizing vpon all things which they found as ſtood with his pleaſure, he fortified the houſe with men, munition, and vittels, ſuch as he could get either in the towne of Paſleie, or neere thereabouts. The regent aduertiſed thereof, repaired thither with a power in all ſpéedie wiſe, and laid ſiege to the houſe. They within ſued for a truce, which was granted to them for the ſpace of ſix daies, the better to aduiſe of their owne eſtate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yæld the houſe, ſo manie of them as had not borne armes before that time againſt the king and regent, ſhould haue their liues ſaued, the reſt to remaine at the regents pleaſure.

Commiſſioners ſent into England.

Paſleie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent beſiegeth Paſleie.

Herevpon contention roſe among them within the houſe: for whereas the more part of them hauing not ſerued in anie iournie or exploit againſt the king before that time, would néeds yéeld; the other, being the leſſe number, were not able, to defend it of themſelues. Wherevpon they were readie to drawe their weapons one againſt another; but yet in the end they agréed to ſurrender the houſe, and yéelded themſelues, vpon ſuch condition as the regent had preſcribed: wherevpon fiue of them were executed, & all the reſt were pardoned of their liues. The capteine John Hamilton, lard of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were ſent to the caſtell of Glaſcow, there to remaine in priſon, and ſhortlie after the ſaid John Hamilton was executed.

Paſleie is furrendzed to the regent.

1571.

In March following, the regent returned to Glaſcow, and for that Gilbert Kennedie with the erles of Caſſils & Eglenton refuſed to ſhew themſelues obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had ſent for them by letters at ſundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glaſcow, and with the ſame marched towards Vrwin and Air, and ſo forward to the earle of Caſſils countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, ſent forth his brother to offer his ſubmiſſion. Wherevpon it was concluded, that the meſſenger ſhould remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the ſpace of twentie daies; and then the ſaid earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striueling, to anſwere ſuch matters as ſhould be laid to his charge.

The regent goeth againſt the earle of Caſſils.

The ſame time alſo Hugh Montgomerie earle of Eglenton, and Robert Boid leuied their bands alſo to appeare and anſwer in like ſort: and as well the one as the other (according to their aſſurance giuen) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agréeing to ſuch articles as were required of them, they were both committed to priſon, the one in the caſtell of Dunbzeton, & the other in the caſtell of Downe. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwéene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for twentie daies, to wit, vntill the laſt of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himſelfe to giue an attempt to the caſtell of Dunbzeton, which had bæne long kept by the lord Fleming againſt the king, and the earle of Murreie late regent, who had beſieged it for the ſpace of halfe a yéere or more, but could not by anie meanes compaſſe to win it.

The earles of Caſſils and Eglenton committed to ward.

A truce for twentie daies.

But now on the firſt of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forward with his purpoſe, cauſed all the paſſages round about the countrie to be ſtopped, as well by land as by water; and the ſame night ſent thitherward captein Thomas Crawford, and capteine Hume, with an hundred ſouldiers, choſen out for the purpoſe: who the ſecond of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the caſtell, where the ſouldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deuiſes, found meanes to clime vp the rocke, which

which is of an exceeding great heigth, and so with great paine, and more danger, at length got vp to the wall of the castell, standing vpon the heigth of the rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Ramsie, ensigne-bearer to capteine Crawford, & leaping ouer the wall, was streightwaies assailed by three of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Wederborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

The castell of Dunbreton taken by a policie.

Herewith capteine Crawford & capteine Hume got ouer the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, stroke vp the drum, & cried; A Derneleie, being their watchword; and seizing vpon the ordinance, manned the same. The lord Fleming capteine of the castell, hearing that sudden fright and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argile. The souldiers of the castell, perceiuing their captein fled, and the castell possessed by the enimies, yeelded themselues, and were pardoned. There were taken within the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Veriacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lard of Boghall. Alexander the sonne of William Leuingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proued against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

Capteine Crawford & capteine Hume.

The lord Fleming escapeth.

John Hall.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbreton was thus strangelie wone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the capteins and souldiers togither, caused them with him to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterprise, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, sith the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in maner to be wone, by reason of the great heigth of the rocke, and the strange situation, being inuironed almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was ioifull to the townes and countries about, which before had béene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants there abouts, as well by land as by water.

The strong situation of the castell of Dunbreton.

The regent dealt verie honorablie with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as apperteined either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Veriacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangerouslie to atchiue so high an enterprise, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloudshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next insuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cuninghame lard of Drumwhassell, a man of good seruice, and seruant to the regent, to be capteine of that castell, and leauing him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined vpon certeine articles, as well touching the murther of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Murreie the late regent.

The ladie Fleming honorablie intreated.

At what time there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath béene said) and before the regent declared, that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sicknesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with three others to the murther of the king. And as touching the murther of the erle of Murreie, the bishops flat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Herewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had bene forfalted afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edenburgh the fourteenth of Maie next insuing, and passed from Striueling to Lithquo.

The archbishop of saint Andrews executed.

A parlement summoned.

Here the earle of Morton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edenburgh, where they thought to haue béene receiued, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lard of Grange, who after the death of the earle of Murreie, was reuolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate stréet, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quéenes part were forfalted. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

The castell of Edenburgh kept by the lard of Grange against the regent.

In the meane time the earle of Morton, hauing certeine stuffe come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lard of Carmichell with his houshould seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalketh, being fiue miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the stuffe, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntleie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edenburgh with their power: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntleie, & the lord Hume were constreined to flie, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, some of their men béeing slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortlie after the earle of Huntleie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edenburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

The lard of Carmichell.

The earle of Huntleie and lord Hume put to flight.

But the earle of Morton, hauing knowledge of their intention and comming, sallied forth of Dalketh with the power which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morton was put to the worse, fourtie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should haue succoured them. About the fiue & twentith day of Maie following, capteine Cullen issued forth of Edenburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Forth, vnto the earle of Morton, who kept still at Dalketh.

The earle of Morton put to the worse.

Wherevpon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterprise, aduertised the regent therof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his comming thither,

thither, Cullen had met with a bote vpon the water, wherein were aboord fiue and twentie ſhot, whome he toke priſoners, and led them awaie with him to Edenburgh. The nert day the earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with ſir William Drurie, and there they lodged that night. The nert morning ſir William Drurie paſſing forth of Leith towards Edenburgh, accompanied with ſundrie capteins, and other gentlemen for his conuoie thither, they within Edenburgh perceiuing them comming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a ſkirmiſh, wherevpon they iſſued out of the towne and caſtell to incounter them.

So that being readie on either ſide to begin the ſkirmiſh, ſir William Drurie, being come to talke with the parties for ſome accord to be had, toke in hand with great diligence to appeaſe them: and at length procured them to agrée vpon a truce to indure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts ſtaied in the fields for the ſpace of an houre, becauſe they could not agrée whether companie ſhuld firſt retire from the field, they fell at length in ſkirmiſh (notwithſtanding the truce) and fought verie ſharplie for the time, till in the end they of the towne and caſtell had the ouerthrow: the abbat of Kilwinning being ſlaine, with diuerſe other; and there were taken aboue an hundred priſoners: amongeſt the which the lord Hume, and capteine Cullen were accounted principall. Thoſe that eſcaped were chaſed, & conſtreined for their ſafetie to flee into the towne of Edenburgh, & capteine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

A ſkirmiſh.

The abbat of Kilwinning ſlaine.

The lord Hume and capteine Cullen taken.

The regent immediatlie after this ſkirmiſh came with all ſpéd to Leith, as well to fortifie the towne, as to make ſome further attempt againſt his aduerſaries within the towne and caſtell of Edenburgh. Herevpon was Leith [whoſe capteine was Patrike Lindſete] intrenched round about, being eſteemed a place of great importance, ſtanding both in the face of the enimies, and ſo readie to annoie them, and alſo ſeruing well to preuent them of ſuch ſuccour as they loked for dailie out of France. In this meane time, the lard of Grange, then capteine of the caſtell, and prouoſt of the towne of Edenburgh, cauſed proclamation to be made, that all thoſe inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, ſhould depart out of the towne. Wherevpon, manie of them departed thence, togither with their wiues and children, and toke with them alſo ſuch goods as they could ſecretlie conueie: and comming to Leith, offered their ſeruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and ſo they remained at Leith, ſeruing againſt the contrarie faction vpon their owne expenſes.

Fr. Thin. Leith fortified.

A proclamation.

After this, the lard of Grange, vnderſtanding that report had bene made by ſome of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enimie to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would iuſtifie the ſame. Which being aduertiſed to them within Leith, diuerſe gentlemen were deſirous to vndertake the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lard of Garliſch, being a Steward, & his kinſman, who had earneſtlie requeſted it. Wherevpon, after diuerſe meſſages by heralds ſent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuſe being made on the behalfe of the lard Grange, that by reaſon of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought conuenient that he ſhould hazard the whole cauſe vpon his owne perſon.

The challenge of the lard of Grange.

The lard of Garliſch.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one John Cheſeholme, who was ſent with monie to the lard of Grange for the paiment of his ſouldiors: he brought with him alſo a certeine quantitie of powder, and three hundred caleuers. Vpon his entering into the water of Fourth, and comming vp the ſame, he learned how the regent was in Leith: wherevpon he landed at Brent Iland, and afterwards for feare hid himſelfe betwixt two cliffs of a rocke, not farre from the queenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of ſaint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the ſaid regent laie aboue two moneths, vſing ſundrie meanes, as well by practiſe and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edenburgh. In the meane time ſundrie ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt them, and diuerſe priſoners were taken on either part.

John Cheſeholme.

At length, the regent cauſed a parlement to be ſummoned, appointing the ſame to be holden at Striueling the two & twentith of Auguſt nert inſuing. And when that day approched, he left the lord Lindſete at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himſelfe to Striueling, where at the preſtired date did aſſemble the earles of Morton, Mar, Crawford, Sutherland, Montroſſe, Eglenton, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Glamis, Methwen, Sempill, Ogiltree, and Cathcart, with manie lards and gentlemen. The firſt day of this parlement the king was conueied thither, the crowne, ſcepter, and ſword being borne before him.

A parlement ſummoned.

When he had taken his place, he vttered a certeine ſpeech as had béene taught him, touching the aſſembling of that parlement, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole houſe: and this done, they proceéded further to other affaires, conterning the ſtate of the common-wealth. Moreouer in this parlement, the duke of Chatelerault with his two ſonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Huntlete, the lard of Grange and ſundrie others were forfalted. This parlement continued by the ſpace of ſeuen daies: at the end whereof, to wit, vpon the ſecond of September, Claud Hamilton, the lard of Bouclugh, the lard of Dumiſton, and diuerſe others, to the number of three hundred horſſemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Striueling, and ſuddenlie beſet not onelie the regent, but alſo the reſt of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The duke of Chatelerault forfalted.

The regent hearing a great vprore raiſed within the towne [in which George Ruthwen was ſlaine] and not vnderſtanding the cauſe, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceiued how the houſe wherein he lodged was beſet on ech ſide, he defended the ſame againſt the enimies for a good ſpace: but at length deſpairing of ſuccours, and doubting leaſt the houſe had béene vnderlaid with ſome barrels of powder, and that it would be blowen vp if he yéelded not as ſome told him: and the enimie to increaſe that doubt, crieng ſtill; Blow vp the houſe, what ſhuld we ſtand longer about him? at length he was contented to yéeld to the lard of Dumiſton, but not before he ſaw that ſome of his ſtouteſt capteins had yéelded themſelues before his face. He yéelded, with condition to haue his life ſaued: but promiſe in that behalfe was not long kept. For thoſe that had thus taken him, when they perceiued reſcue comming downe from the caſtell, ſo that they ſhould not be able to carrie him awaie, capteine Cauder with a piſtolet ſhot him into the bodie, before he could be recouered out of their hands.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

The reſt of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Morton, Eglenton, and Glencarne, and diuerſe other being taken priſoners, were preſentlie reſcued by thoſe that iſſued out of the caſtell. The earle of Morton being in the hands of the lard of Bouclugh, toke the ſame lard priſoner, he yéelding himſelfe vnto him:

and

and likewiſe the earle of Glencarne toke his képer priſoner, and ſo did ſundrie others take their takers: but Claud Hamilton, with others their companies, hauing firſt gotten all the horſſes that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the reſcue was comming, ſhifted for themſelues, and fled awaie. The regent, being mortallie wounded, but yet deliuered from his enimies, rid vp to the caſtell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approch, he vſed theſe words (or the like in ſubſtance) as followeth.

The earle of Lennox his words before his death.

My lords, it is not vnknowen vnto you all, that my comming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne ſéeking, but at the requeſt of you all. And that which chiefliе moued me heerevnto, was, for the defenſe of the kings perſon, being yet (as you ſée) an infant; of whome by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull conſideration, and that in his minoritie, the good and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced, and iuſtice executed vpon thoſe that moſt cruellie did murther the late king, my ſonne the kings father, and his vncle the good earle of Murreie, late regent: whoſe miſchéeuous and diuelliſh deuiſes if in time you doo not preuent by your wiſedoms and diſcretions, they will procure the finall ouerthrow and deſtruction of you all. In this action (as you ſée) I haue ſpent my bloud, and haue plaied the laſt part of my tragedie, and now I féele death to draw néere at hand.

Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, firſt to almightie God, and next to the king your moſt lawfull and naturall prince now in theſe his tender yéeres, wholie to imploie your ſeruice in his defenſe, with care to maintéine the ſtate of this common-wealth, whereby you ſhall not onelie accompliſh your duties towards God, but ſhall be aſſured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can iuſtlie require. And I ſhall further commit to your friendlie protection, my poore ſeruants, who for their good ſeruice haue well deſerued, and yet remaine vnrecompenſed, deſiring you all to be good to them. And laſtlie, I deſire you to commend me vnto the ladie Margaret my déere wife, now being in England: vnto whome I beſéech God to be a comforter. And now ſith my ſpirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth néere to an end, I take my leaue of you all, deſiring you to praie to God for me. Theſe words being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in praier vnto the end, within a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the caſtell of Striueling.

The earle of Lennox departeth this life.

¶ Thus haue I hitherto continued this hiſtorie of Scotland, not ſo largelie nor perfectlie as I could haue wiſhed, but ſkambled forward with it in ſuch ſort as you maie ſée; hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credit of the Scotiſh nation, otherwiſe than I haue found in authors, or learned by credible report (as I take it) hauing put off the partiall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this reſpect, that I ſhuld not ſéeme to wreſt the words of writers, either to the aduantage of the Engliſh people, or diſaduantage of the Scots, ſpeciallie in politike gouernement, warlike exploits, ciuill demeanor, and other vertuous exerciſes: which as I haue found them either in anie one perſon particularlie, or in the multitude in generall; ſo haue I reported the ſame, not ſparing the truth herein, as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuie: but yet in no wiſe preſuming (as elſe-where I haue ſaid) to vſe mine owne cenſure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reports vnto the readers diſcretion. To whome I wiſh ſuch vnderſtanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie ſatiſfie himſelfe, and redound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleaſure of the almightie; in whoſe hands are the hearts of kings & gouernors, guiding the ſtates of realms and common wealths, as to his diuine wiſedome ſéemeth moſt expedient. To whome be glorie, honor, and praiſe for euermore; Amen.

Thus farre the painefull induſtrie of *Raphaell Hollinſhed*, and others.
The ſequele, concerning the continuation of this Scotiſh hiſtorie, is a new addition before this time neuer in Engliſh publiſhed.

# THE ANNALES OF

## Scotland in ſome part continued

### from the time in which Holinſhed left,

*being the yeare of our Lord* 1571, *vntill the yeare of our* redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie *called Thin.*

SOcrates (good reader) being demanded how a man might ſpeake that which ſhould be beſt and acceptable to all men, moſt wiſelie (as one in all his life wholie giuen to ſerch and ſaie the truth in euerie thing) anſwered: That we then ſpeake beſt & moſt to be allowed, when we ſpeake nothing but that which we beſt and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellentlie well, but ſuch things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our ſelues; and that which is commonlie receiued, imbraced, approoued, and vſed by all men. Now thoſe things are moſt vſed which concerne publike affaires, and ſuch publike affaires are moſt knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, ſo farre foorth as it concerneth the thing doone, muſt needs be true that the ſame was ſo doone in that order, as it was openlie ſene to be doone. Wherby might be concluded, that in chronicling and treating of publike affaires, we ſhould ſpeake that which is beſt, which is moſt acceptable, & moſt true: bicauſe we report things doone in the eies of all men. But how trulie that is performed in ſome new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement. For ſuch is the affection of our age, that ſome of malice, and ſome for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne diſpoſition, doo ſo gloſe things publiklie doone, as with a certeine witcherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things doone in publike ſhew to be of other ſhapes than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now ſeeme to be confuted, in ſaieng, that they ſpeake beſt that ſpeake things receiued of all men, and that be common to the world: for ſo ſhall miſreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vſed of all men, be the beſt ſpeech; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue ſeene and knowne in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbeare to write; and for that cauſe alſo might moſt iuſtlie reſtraine my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of ſuch publike affaires, to the end my ſelfe ſhould not run into the danger of a like falſifier or miſreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other expoſition of the ſame ſaieng of Socrates, that he ſpeaketh beſt, that ſpeaketh that which he beſt knoweth, and that we beſt know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue thoſe for ſoundeſt which time trieth to be moſt true, and thoſe things which be moſt true are ſuch as are knowne to be publikelie doone; I ſuppoſe I ſhall ſpeake beſt and moſt acceptablie in writing publike affaires; conſidering that I am not ſworne to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitched with promiſe of gaine or honour, nor inforced to turne to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: ſith the end of labor, of contemplation of ſtudie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the atteining of truth, and not that perpetuitie or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies ſought by me to be auoided, being onlie content in ſecrecie to relie my ſelfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is moſt pleaſant, bicauſe the ſame is alwaie a conqueror. For as ſaith Nehemias, Truth is great and dooth mightilie preuaile. Wherefore, as I ſaid, ſith thoſe things be moſt true & beſt knowne which are publikelie doone, and that they are publikelie doone that ſort to anie action in the common-welth: we then conclude that we write beſt and moſt acceptablie, when we trulie ſet downe a common truth of common occurrents doone in the common-wealth; bicauſe that ſuch things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we ſpeake and write beſt in declaring a deed trulie doone, in that order (without ambages, gloſes, or parcialities) as the ſame was moſt trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therfore (good reader) that which I doo ſuppoſe I haue beſt ſpoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whoſe commanding friendſhip it had beene ſacrilege for me to haue gainſaid. And therefore rather careleſſe to hazard the hard opinion of others, deſcanting vpon my ſudden leaping into the printers ſhop (eſpecialie at the firſt in a matter of ſuch importance) than the loſſe of the long and aſſured friendſhip of thoſe which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake ſhoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I ſhall not in euerie reſpect ſatisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of perſons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleaſure make black ſeeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie ſhape, & curiouſlie carping at my barrennes in writing, bicauſe I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than ſome mens humors would haue had me to doo: I muſt deſire thee to conſider for the firſt that the Scots themſelues, beſides manie others of our owne nation are the cauſe thereof, who either for feare durſt not, or for prentended aduiſe and conſultation in the matter would not, or for the reſtreint of others might not, impart to me ſuch things as ſhould both concerne the honour of the Scotiſh nation, and the ſubſtance of their owne cauſe. For the other matter, if I ſhould bind my ſtile to the affections of ſome, I ſhould breake the rule of Socrates, and not ſpeake the beſt, ſith I ſhould then ſpeake publike and common things, publikelie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publikelie ſeene to be doone of all men; and ſo by that meanes fall into the reproch of a diſdeined reporter.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnacquainted with mattets of ſtate, eſpeciallie in an other countrie, better knowne to all men than to my ſelfe) am far vnable to breake the dangerous ice of ſuch matters, and ſo more vnmeet to enter into the boſome of princes (whoſe harts as Salomon ſaith are vnſearchable) ſhould for my vnaduiſedneſſe ſeeme worthie the puniſhment of Prometheus, that ſtale the fier from Iupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, bicauſe the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be ſubmitted to the cenſure of their ſubiects, nor to be written vntill the aſhes of all thoſe whome the things concerne were vtterlie conſumed: thou muſt yet remember that men haue eſcaped puniſhment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of ſuch like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in puniſhing thereof vpon Prometheus, Iupiter went beyond himſelfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the ſoule, went not onelie free from puniſhment, but receiued eternall reward, as after ſhall appeare, how much more ſhould Prometheus haue beene ſpared, that but onelie medled with the bodie? Now it is manifeſt that in diuinitie and matters of the ſoule (a thing that ſo far exceedeth the bodie as the ſunne dooth the moone, as angels doo inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkeneſſe) there be manie which haue lept into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongſt the ſonnes of God in writing, and laieng abrode to the world (as much as in them laie) the vnſearchable works of the Almightie, whereof we cannot comprehend the leaſt cauſe, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not receiued puniſhment, but eternall reward both in bodie and ſoule; as Enoch was tranſlated to paradiſe; Elias taken vp in a fierie chariot; Paule rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others. For which cauſe I ſaie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men, to expreſſe in the meaneſt degree of perfection, were not puniſhed for medling therein, and writing thereof; much leſſe ought I to be puniſhed with Prometheus in medling with the diſcourſe of matters vpon the earth, and ſuch as concerne the actions of mortall creatures, as battels, mutations of kingdoms, death of princes, and ſuch other earthlie accidents. Into which yet I would not haue ſo raſhlie deſcended, or taken ſo hard a prouince in hand, had not (as before I ſaid) the commandement of ſuch as I durſt not gainſaie, interponed it ſelfe as a ſhield to receiue and beat backe the ſharpe darts of enuious toongs. For which cauſe ſith I was bound to him by deſart, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cauſe whie; I feared not (though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wiſer ſort, not to haue hazarded his credit) to enter into this dangerous ſea, being not ſo much furniſhed with hope to performe it well, as deſirous to diſcharge the requeſt of him, and to ſhew the hope I conceiued at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which diſcourſe I had rather good reader thou ſhouldeſt complaine of want of ſufficiencie in me to performe ſo hard a thing: than that he ſhould miſlike of my goodwill in anſwering his deſire. And ſhould I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onelie for great councellors and men priuie of matters of eſtate; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace? Did the ſingularitie and ampleneſſe of Platos knowledge in philoſophie feare Ariſtotle to write in the like argument? Or hath Ariſtotle ſtaied the pen of others? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeuxis, or caruers or grauers but Phidias and Lyſias? Shall no man be orators but Cicero, Quintilian, aud Demoſthenes? Shall none write hiſtories but Cæſar, Liuie, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or ſuch like? Or ſhall none deliuer their trauell to the world bicauſe they cannot write in Engliſh as did ſir Thomas Moore, ſir Iohn Cheeke, Roger Askam, Gefferie Fenton, or Iohn Lilie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their beſt, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euen of and in that wherein they haue beſt trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euen by the ſelfe ſame thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canſt not doo either vpon the baſenes of my ſtile, the diſorder of the matter, or the barrenneſſe of ſupplieng of things requiſit for the furniſhing and maieſtie of an hiſtorie, than to ſuppoſe and ſaie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample diſcourſe for the matter, and a ſweeter ſtile for the manner might haue beene had for the hiſtorie of Scotland, than that which I haue ſet downe. Wherefore if the beſt writers be ſubiect to theſe faults, that when they haue ſpent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet ſomewhat to be deſired in them, as well as in me the meaneſt writer, I am content to beare all ſpeeches, and deſire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I ſhould doo; to excuſe me by others, and not to condemne me with others; to accept this in that ſort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildneſſe to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Beſides which, if thou ſhalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been conſecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the firſt volume was dedicated; I anſwer (beſides that I am to him an eſtranger, and not to beg vndeſerued fauour of anie perſon, and that the firſt patrone of this Scotiſh hiſtorie is now in the low countries beyond the ſeas) this is a thing by me ſo ſlenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue beſtowed the ſame vpon thoſe to whom I haue alreadie conſecrated my ſelfe, whatſoeuer I am, hauing long before this couenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to ſerue and offer it ſelfe to manie perſons, conſidering that where is but one heart, there muſt needs be but one waie: and he that will beſtowe one heart vpon manie perſons, muſt diuide the ſame into manie portions, and ſo diſmember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he muſt go to the ſhambles to prouide manie ſheepes hearts, to beſtow vpon thoſe manie to whom he will bind his manie ſeruices: for which cauſes I may neither chooſe a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may ſeeme to thee in reſpect of the following hiſtorie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occaſioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to ſhut thoſe great gates, leaſt that little towne did run out thereat) I am to admoniſh thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the hiſtorie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor ſentence for ſentence, ſet downe the writings of Leſleus or Buchanan, but haue choſen out the matter as I thought beſt and apt to my deſire. After which ſort I haue likewiſe in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not ſet downe or deliuered things to the world in that ſort and ſtile as I haue receiued intelligence thereof, but onelie culled foorth ſuch matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and chalenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth beſt that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this ſand: that I cannot diſcourſe of this hiſtorie as I willinglie would: that I ought not to forbeare to write bicauſe I cannot in ſtile and matter equall the beſt: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purpoſelie in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable perſon: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I ſparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being ſuch as thou maiſt be content to read, and I am contented to write) in this ſort as heere followeth, making my firſt entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinſhed finiſhed his chronicle, and ſo to the matter, after this long and tedious deteining of thee from the ſame.

**Francis Thin.**

# THE CONTINVANCE of the annales of Scotland, from

## *the death of the regent Matthew earle of Leneaux.*

1572
*Lesleus lib.10. pag.387. Buchan.lib.20.*

THe earle of Lineaur slaine and buried at Stearlinge (as the state of that same troblsome time wold so permit) the noblemen which were there present of that faction, taking part with the king, assembled themselues for the creating of a new regent, to which function they named three, and those first by oth compelled to yeeld to the voices of the nobilitie. The three appointed by them were Gilspec Cambell earle of Argile, James Dowglasse earle of Mourton, and John Areskine earle of Mar. But in the end, vpon consultation which of these for most causes (both beneficiall and honorable to the realme and king) were meetest to weeld so troublesome and dangerous an office; in the end it was laid vpon the shoulders of the last of the three, to whome (they wholie inclining) gaue full authoritie to execute the office of a regent. At the first entrance into which place, this Areskine, hauing nothing more deere or desired to and of him, than the besieging and recouerie of the castell and town of Edenbrough (out of the hands of the queens faction) to the vse of his maister and pupill (whervnto the last calends of October he was appointed, with a sufficient armie by the last deceassed regent his predecessor) he was now hindered therof by sudden (and vnlooked for) turmoiles of the estates of the realme. Where vpon for that instant, the same was proroged to the ides of the said moneth of October. Which delaie was after occasion of great impediment for the recouerie thereof, because it ministred time, power, substance, and succor to the citizens and capteins, to mure and strengthen the castell and towne, when the sharpe winter, the long nights, the hard carriage for the wars, preparation, and the want of sufficient furniture therefore (at the same time with the said turmoiles) occasioned departure from thense, without dispatch of that for which he came.

Colen.

The earle of Mar made regent of Scotland.

Certeine moneths after that the regent was gone from thense, there were some few and small excursions and skirmishes vsed amongst them, the victorie inclining to neither part. For the free sight & watch out of the castell of Edenborough (towards euerie part of the countrie) so wrought, that the queenes faction should neither come to handstrokes, nor yet (being vnprouided) should be intrapped with the deceits of their enimies: because by a priuie token (giuen out of the highest towre of the castell) they were easilie warned to recoile and draw homeward in conuenient time. All which notwithstanding, they once felt the smart of the enimie, when all the horsse and footmen were come out of the towne to intercept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction (hauing first laid an ambush in the vallie) did with the rest come before the castell, in hope to traine the towne garrison vpon them out of the wals of their defense, which their expectation was not deceiued. For the said Edenburgers made hast out of the towne, to pursue the said part of the kings armie, which feined a speedie flight, to draw the other part further from defense of the castell. By means wherof, they of the towne did so egerlie pursue them so flieng, that in the end they went so far after their enimies, that they drew neere the ensignes of the other ambush, now shewing themselues out of the vallie to rescue their fellowes put to this feined flight. Which thing being well perceiued by the watch of the castell of Edenborough, forthwith it gaue the appointed signe, whereby those on the queenes part (before that they came neere to the place in which they were laid for) began fearfullie to recoile for their better safetie; whose flight was the more troublesome to them, because they knew they were in danger, and could not suspect from whense or how their hurt should come, although they were before warned therof by the said watch of the towre. In which recoile of the queenes part, the few horssemen which had before feined the flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made such hast on the backe of the footmen, that the footmen were inforced (with all the speed that might be) to flie vnto the citie, the nert waie that euerie man could find for his best defense: at what time yet manie of them were wounded, and manie taken prisoners, as well capteins and gentlemen of armes, as others.

Skirmishes about Edenborough.

An ambush laid by the kings faction.

The queenes part warned by the watch of Edenborough castell.

They which late in ambush pursue those that came forth to set vpō the kings part.

Whilest these things were thus slowlie performed, in that the towne of Edenbrough was with no more heat sought to be recouered, a miserable misfortune happened in an other part of Scotland: for a great slaughter was in the north end of the realme occasioned by this means. There were in that countrie two families of great power and authoritie, both valiant and wise, both harboring deadlie feed of long rooted betweene them. These two were of the sirnames of Gordon, and of Forboise, whereof the first liued with great concord and amitie amongst themselues,

A conflict betweene the Gordons and the Forboises

ſelues, and by the kings ſufferance had manie yeares gouerned the people adioining vnto them, whereby they purchaſed both ſtrength amongſt themſelues, and the helpe of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Fozboiſes were at wars one with another, dailie impaired their owne ſtrength by their owne ſlaughters, and in the end wrought their owne confuſion, for euerie diuided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this ſecret rancor did ſtill remaine amongſt theſe families, they did not in manie yeares before attempt anie open warres the one againſt the other; rather liuing in ſecret emulation, than open enuie, bicauſe they had (in waie of ſome ſhew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled both their families togither. Among theſe Fozboiſes there was one called Arthur (a man of ſingular wit, and of no leſſe readie hand to perfozme his deuiſe) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his vttermoſt, from the firſt time of theſe diſcozds. This man therefoze ſuppoſing this to be the time (now oz neuer) wherin he muſt honoz himſelfe and his name, increaſe the ſubſtance of that part which followed him, & ſuppreſſe the rage of the Gozdons, firſt labourred to bring his familie to vnitie and mutuall loue, foz all vertue gathered into it ſelfe is greateſt ſtrength. The which if he might compaſſe (as by anie poſſible meanes he would leaue no ſtone vnturned that might further it) he was then in ſo good ſafetie as he deſired. Foz then was there not anie faction oz familie in thoſe parts whatſoeuer, whoſe wealth oz ſtrength he doubted, and whoſe ſtate oz authozitie he did feare.

The Fozboiſes diſagree among themſelues.

Arthur Fozboiſe.

Foz furtherance of which vnion, when daie and place was appointed to aſſemble the Fozboiſes togither, Adam Gozdon, the brother of the earle of Huntleie (deuiſing by all policie he might to hinder the ſame, and hauing priuie intelligence thereof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armed men vnto the ſame place (at the time appointed foz the aſſemblie of the Fozboiſes) to breake off their vnion. And although there were two troopes of the Fozboiſes, which preſentlie appeered in their ſight, yet before they could ioine their ſtrengths, Adam Gozdon ſpædilie ſet vpon the one armie (not readie to be ſuccoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Fozboiſe; who being the hope of all that race and now ſlaine, his death did ſo amaze the other, that forthwith the reſt were ſone ouerthrowne, ſcattered, and fled each one as he might beſt ſhift foz himſelfe. In which vnhappie conflict ſome perſons of name were preſentlie killed, and manie others taken and reſerued foz ranſome. Wherupon the reſidue (fearing moze crueltie ſhould be vſed vpon the priſoners, loath to haue anie moze of their race to be cut awaie, and giuing place to the time preſent) withdrew themſelues from the fight, and neuer attempted anie thing afterward in the reuenge of their ouerthrow. Which feare and wiſe ſuppreſſion of reuenge grew not without iuſt cauſe, ſuppoſing that their aduerſaries (if they were further vrged) would ſhew no moze mercie to ſuch as they had priſoners, than they did to the houſe of Alexander Fozboiſe before time, which they burnt with his great bellied wife and the other of his childzen.

Adam Gozdon diſappointeth the vnion of the Fozboiſes.

Arthur Fozboiſe ſlaine.

The houſe, great bellied wife, and childzen of Alexander Fozboiſe burnt.

The eldeſt brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe of that familie) hauing his houſe ſo ſpoiled, and himſelfe hardlie eſcaping from his enimies hands, haſtned to the court, from whenſe (though the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be releeued. Foz which cauſe there were appointed two hundzed footmen to ſuch of the nobilitie as fauoured and followed that faction, with letters to the adioining nobilitie to aſſociat themſelues to the part of the Fozboiſes. Theſe thus confederat and come togither to the reſt of the Fozboiſes, with certeine other families of their affinitie & neighbours, ſo aduanced the ſpirit of this Alexander, that he now thought himſelfe ſufficientlie fenſed againſt all the fozces of his aduerſaries. But as their number increaſed, ſo there wanted amongſt them one perſon ſufficient to inioy the place of a capteine, whome the reſt might follow, ſith all the principals and heads of the families were almoſt yong men, and ſcarſe one better than others in degree of calling. Wherefoze the aſſemblie being drawen into diuerſe companies (foz they were inforced to follow ſeuerall leaders) John Keth with fiue hundzed hozſemen departed to his houſe not far from thenſe. Alexander Fozboiſe with his retinue and two hundzed footmen went to Aberden, to expell Adam Gozdon from thenſe, and to repare his armie in the iournie.

The Fozboiſes follow ſeuerall leaders.

John Keth departed.

Alexander Fozboiſe goeth to Aberden.

Adam Gozdon (not ſléeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Fozboiſes, and vnderſtanding the approch of his enimie ſo néere with ſo ſmall companie) aſſembled his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to make the number of his armie to ſéeme the greater. Shozтlie after, in a field next adioining to the towne, the two companies met, and a ſharpe conflict was committed betwéene them. In which the kings footmen (appointed to the Fozboiſes) deſirous (moze haſtilie than wiſelie) to fight, and aduenturing further in following of the Gozdons (than their ſhot of powder would continue) they went ſo far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defenſe oz helpe of their company) they were put to fearfull flight by the bowmen of the Gozdons, who purſued them egerlie, and continued the battell vntill night. At what time there were not manie of the vanquiſhed ſlaine, but moſtlie taken and reſerued as priſoners, amongſt which was the ſaid Alexander Fozboiſe taken, after that he had long and valiantlie defended himſelfe againſt his enimies in the ſame conflict, to the perpetuall glozie of that houſe.

The Fozboiſes ouerthrowen beſides Aberden.

After the ſuppreſſion of the Fozboiſes in the nozth parts, the quænes fauourers were highlie incouraged to attempt greater matters. Wherefoze aſſembling their power out of diuerſe parts of the kingdome, they bend their minds to the ſuppreſſing of Jedwozth, a towne which after the manner of the countrie is vnwalled and vnfenſed, but onelie with the ſtrength of the inhabitants: which towne (certeine yeares paſt had ſtronglie reſiſted the fozce of the quéenes faction. Néere vnto this towne were neighbours Thomas Car of Fernitherſt, and Walter Scot, both which beſides their owne retinue had ioined vnto them the people of the nert countries, being Lideſdale, Euian, and Eſkine, alwaies troubled with robberie and giuen to ſpoile, who at that time by the libertie of war freélie without reſtreint, did wander into further countries, to preie, ſpoile and catch what they could. Beſides whom there were alſo in Teuiot (aſwell by the infection of theſe countries, as by the cuſtome of ſpoiling in the wars, foz theſe things were by vſe made an other nature and priuilege, as it were from the note and paine of ſin) great families defamed with ſuch theft and rapines, and not theſe alone (ſith this poiſon had crept almoſt ouer all the land) but certeine of the next Engliſh pale (being allured with hope of preie, and ſuppoſing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) ioined togither; and (to make their number the greater, and their power the ſtronger) called from Edenbozough one hundzed and twentie harquebuſhers, choſen out of the cheefeſt ſouldiers, to be aſſiſtant vnto them.

Jedwozth defended from aſſault.

Thomas Car.

Walter Scot.

Buchan. li. 20.

The inhabitants of Jedwozth (not ignozant of their intent, and conſidering wherevnto all this pre-

The Fozboiſes receiue aid from the king.

paration

paration tended) with spéedie & fearefull messengers signifie vnto Iohn Areskine earle of Mar & regent, the present danger wherein they stood, craving some succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them, which forthwith was granted accordinglie. Whereupon Walter Car of Stefford, being called before the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid granted vnto him, as a person who both for valure & experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the countries adioining, for that season assembled themselues in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie with them at Iedworth. At what time also to strike more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies that William Ruthwine with a hundred shot and certeine horsmen (wherof he brought part with him, and part he gathered out of the marches adioining) were at the same time comming to Dirburge with the said Ruthwine. All which notwithstanding, the queenes faction trusting to their owne strength consisting in multitude (for they were in number three thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw towards the towne, to preuent the comming of such succours as both were promised, looked for, and then almost at hand. Which being by Ruthwine partlie before suspected, he hastened the people with more spéed to follow them at the héeles, and by continuall shot wearied the taile of his aduersaries with often assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Car ioineth with william Ruthwine.

Walter Car also ioining vnto him and to his complices the townes men (readie to defend their liues, their goods, their wiues, and their children) take the direct waie towards his enimies, to the end the better to suppresse them and their vnited force. Which when the aduerse part perceiued, forthwith they retired to places of more defense, lest they shuld incounter their enimies with doubtfull battell; and least being set vpon before and behind, they might be suddenlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne themselues, either to escape, or to preuent the approching enimie. At what time such as sought after spoile, and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine, being now by that means defrauded of their preie, when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and the kings part readilie and stronglie come forth to battell, left the field, and departed euerie man to his owne house, as it was nérest to the place where they then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any occasion of danger, being vnderstood of the chiefe of the rest of such as were of the queenes faction (supposing at the first nothing lesse than that the enimie would make vpon them) they also followed after the others, raised their campe, and departed to Hawike with the rest of their followers and companie of footmen, hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the sharpenesse of the winter and late fall of the snow, which would stale the following of the enimie.

The queenes faction flie awaie.

Ruthwine with his armie commeth to Hawike.

But Ruthwine, iudging it best to vse the opportunitie of time, did before daie so spéedilie lead his armie to Hawike, that he was within a mile of his enimies, before they could by anie means be certified of his comming. Whose spéedie and vnlooked for approch did strike such extreame feare into the hearts of those which possessed Hawike, that there was no place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that euerie one should shift for himselfe as well as hée might. Whereupon suddenlie bringing forth their horsses and footmen, and following the course of the nert riuer, they attempted to withdraw into places of more safetie for themselues, and further from their enimies. But the horssemen of Ruthwine spéedilie following at their héeles, so preuented their de-

The queenes faction ouerthrowne and dispersed at Hawike.

uise, that forsaking their footmen, they fled euer all the countrie to the places best knowne vnto them.

Upon which the footmen being thus left to the spoile and preie of their enimies, did (for their more safegard) hide themselues in a little wood adioining to the said riuer. In which, being on euerie side beset with the force of their aduersaries (fullie determined to preie vpon them) they did in the end wholie yéeld themselues with submission to their courtesie. Whervpon (sith they were not able like prisoners, for their number was ouer great to be caried about from place to place in that sharpe winter) they were (vpon their oth to returne and become true prisoners) suffered harmelesse of bodie, and lossesse of furniture to depart, some few being still reteined in that place as pledges for the others departed companie. But when the time of their returne approched, Kircawdie, deceiuing their faith with his light promises, forbad them to returne at their daie appointed, and made them incurre the note of periurie. The rest of the winter, and all the nert spring was passed forth with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings and quéenes factions, in which few lost their liues, and of that few more on the quéens than kings part. For the quéenes fauourers, remaining in the mounteins nert adioining to the citie, whilest they would take occasion and aduantage to performe anie thing well, would (scarse entring into the danger of the conflict) for the most part retire and flie into the citie for more defense.

Kircawdie causeth the prisoners not to returne at their daie appointed.

In the meane time, while these things were thus ordered, there came manie ambassadors out of England, to pacifie these discords growne to these great extremities, betweene the king and the imprisoned quéenes factions. But the same ambassage so well meant by the quéene of England, and reiected by the seditious of Scotland, sorted not to that end which was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required. Wherefore these ambassadors returned home without anie such dispatch as might answer their trauels, their mistresses care and loue, and the vnitie of that quarelsome people: by reason that the Frenchmen fauouring the cause of the banished quéene, did not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots, for the benefit of the realme; but also sought warres for the destruction of they naturall subiects, and to bring in their owne gouernement; who for the furtherance thereof, did with great promises interteine the apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kindle and mainteine the fire of continuall warre, vntill such time as by force they had gotten the vpper hand, and brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the better support whereof, the French king sent some portion of monie, which being of it selfe not great, or such as their necessitie required, seemed rather sufficient to nourish an hope of abilitie to mainteine the warres, than fullie to dispatch or defraie the charges or the affaires therein; and that the rather, bicause some part of that monie was euer deuoured by such as had the cariage thereof.

Ambassadors out of England.

The French king sendeth monie into Scotland.

Amongst these things there still continued, for a few monethes, certeine light skirmishes to little purpose betwéene the aduerse parties. But the greater companie, who could not satisfie their eagles minds with litle flies, abstained not from robbing and burning the countrie. For Adam Gordon, entring into Angus, besieged the house of William Dowglasse of Glemberuie: but after that long besiege, perceiuing that the man whome he sought for, was not to be found there, he cruellie destroied all whatsoeuer there was left, consuming it with fire and sword. Which tyrannie did strike such fearfull impression into the harts of those of Dundée, that they despairing of their owne abilitie to resist them, called their

Adam Gordon entreth Angus, and besiegeth the house of William Dowglasse.

They of Dundée crane aid out of Fife.

neighbours of Fife vnto their aid, ſith they were next adioining vnto them, vnto whom alſo Gordon was a perſecuting enimie continuallie in all that poſſiblie he might, becauſe they conſtantlie and ſubiect like did in all dutie ſupport the kings part.

Blackneſſe betraied.

At which time Blackeneſſe being betraied to the Hamiltons by the kéeper of that caſtell, did greatlie hinder the traffike and paſſage betwéene Leith and Sterling. For which cauſe the regent as a perſon that hædfullie loked into the dangers of that time, and with wiſe forecaſt ſought to prevent following euils, Edenburgh vnits broken. brake downe all the mils about Edenburgh, furniſhed all the noble mens houſes and places of defenſe with garriſons néere vnto the towne, and cloſed vp all paſſage to and from the citie. For now there was freſh ſkirmiſhing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the depoſed quéene were taken priſoners, Priſoners taken both on the king and quéens part. put to their ranſome, compelled to abiure their faction, kept in continuall priſon, or elſe preſentlie ſlaine.

These things thus depending, and the king and the depoſed quéenes faction contending ſtill to ſupport their parts, the matter did dailie more and more grow to great ſlaughters: which being well perceiued by forreine nations (pitieng the preſent calamities, and ſéeking to prouide to ſtaie the following diſſention of that countrie which was like to be at hand vpon theſe ciuill and vnnaturall warres, if better order were not taken therefore) The quéene of England & the French king ſend ambaſſadors into Scotland. the quéene of England as the kings next and louing neighbour, and the French king alſo the confederat of Scotland, ſent their ambaſſadors into the realme, to ſée what qualification might be had in theſe troubleſome and dangerous times of the kings minoritie; hoping either to ſet a finall end to theſe inconuenients, or at leaſt to mitigate and ſtaie that furie, that it ſhould not at that preſent, or during the kings minoritie paſſe anie further. For the accompliſhment whereof, ſir William Drurie knight, and Thomas Randolph eſquier, were ſent from the quéene of England: and monſieur de Croque, who had alſo béene ambaſſador out of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe ſent thither from the French king.

These much about one time arriuing in Scotland, and ioining togither concerning the execution of their ambaſſage, dealt ſo effectuallie therein, that in the end they concluded an abſtinence of warre to be had betwéene the parties of the king and quéenes faction, from that time which was about the firſt of Auguſt, to continue vntill the firſt of December following: and ſo brought both the parties in concluſion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarels to be ſet downe by the quéene of England, and the French king. Which being done the ambaſſadors returned home, monſieur Corque into France, and ſir William Drurie and maiſter Randolph into England.

An abſtinence of warre for a time.

Sir William Drurie and maiſter Randolph go into Scotland.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering ſickneſſe (as ſome affirme) but Leſleus ſaith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that *morte repentina concidit*) being buried in Allowaie a place of his owne, ſituat foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erledome ſuccéeded John erle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following diſcourſe ſhall appeare. Which John Areſkine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Murrie daughter to the lard of Tullebarton, by whom he had iſſue this John, which ſuccæded him in the earledome of Marre (as is before ſaid) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Dowglaſſe now earle of Angus: but ſhe died without iſſue. Of which deceſſed Areſkine earle of Marre, Buchanan compoſed theſe verſes commendatorie, expreſſing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour of the ſaid earle in this forme and maner following:

The death of the earle of Marre.

*Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,*
*Pace grauem nulli, tempore vtroque pium:*
*Si quis opes ſine faſtu, animum ſine fraude carentem,*
*Rebus in ambiguis ſuſpicione fidem,*
*Siquis ob has dotes, ſæuis iactata procellis,*
*Figit in illius patria feſſa pedem:*
*Vera quidem memoret, ſed non & propria: laudes*
*Qui pariter petet has vnus & alter erit:*
*Illud & proprium eſt, longæ quòd in ordine vitæ*
*Nil odium aut liuor, quod reprehendit, habet.*

Upon the death of which earle Marre the regent, there happened long conſultation for the election of a new regent to ſuccéed in his place, that might in all reſpects defend the kings perſon and the realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the noble men, aſſembling for that cauſe, did in the moneth of December, ons moneth and more after the death of that laſt regent, elect by one conſent the earle Morton to that office, a man no leſſe wiſe than prouident, and ſuch a perſon, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, good ſeruice to the realme and to the king, did well merit the ſame. After whoſe election, the two princes, the Engliſh quéene, and the French king, minding to make a full concluſion of peace and amitie, and to ſettle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vnitie, did in the meane time that the abſtinence of warre before named continued, ſend their ambaſſadors to the regent and ſtates of Scotland. Which ambaſſadors were maiſter Henrie Killigrew eſquire for England, and monſieur de Veracke for France. But as monſieur de Veracke was diſlodged from the coaſts of France, and vpon the ſea in his iournete to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could attaine to the ſhore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongeſt the Scots to performe his ambaſſage. Which being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their moſt aid & ſureſt friendſhip would come forth of England from that prince, whome religion, bloud, affinitie, and neighborhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end reſolue themſelues, that both the affection, aſwell of the yong king, and of the impriſoned quéene, ſhould referre themſelues to the quéene of England, to make a finall concluſion of all controuerſies and troubles which were then amongſt them.

Earle Morton made regent.

Maiſter Henrie Killigrew ſent into Scotland.

Wherevpon the ſaid Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betwéene all the lords of Scotland after this maner. In February following the new creation of this regent Morton, there aſſembled at Perth, or ſaint Johns towne (by eſpeciall edict therefore) the greateſt part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Atholl, and others: who pitieng the miſerie of their countrie, condeſcended that the quéene of England ſhould by hir ambaſſador, ſet a quiet end and order amongeſt them. Which the ſaid Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordinglie, extending the ſame vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except ſuch as were in the caſtell of Edenborough: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, ſecretarie Lidington, the lord Raſtalrege, and others: who rather deſirous of warre than peace, as perſons méetelie well inured therewithall, would not conſent to anie peace, other than ſuch as might ſtand with their owne liking, and ſupport of the impriſoned quéenes faction, which they earneſtlie followed, as after ſhall more appeare.

An aſſemblie at ſaint Johns towne.

But before this finall agreement, as I haue béene crediblie informed, there was a parlement called at Edenborough to begin the fifteenth of Januarie, in which were aſſembled the earle Morton regent, the earles of Angus, Argile, Glencarne, Caſſels,

1573 A parlement at Edenborough.

ſels, Eglinton, Mountroſſe, and ꝑong Marſhall, for the earle Marſhall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindſeie, Glames, Simple, Boid, Marwell, Herris, Graie, Oliphant, Sinclair, Forbois, Cachart, Ochiltrée, Somerwell, and others: with the commiſſioners of the borows of Edenborough, Striueling, Perth, Dundie, ſaint Andrews, Glaſcow, Lithgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this aſſemblie were choſen for to be lords and iudges, to determine the articles propounded in that parlement, the earles of Argile, Glencarne, and Mountroſſe, the lords Ruthwen, Lindſeie, Boid, Simple, and Herris, with the biſhops of ſaint Andrews & Orkeneie, the abbats of Aberbroth, Dunfirmling, Canbuſkineth, and Newbottle, beſides the ꝑior of ſaint Marie ile and Portintake, which were alſo adioined vnto them: all which perſons ſo paſſed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & paſſed theſe articles following.

## The articles and acts of the parlement holden at Edenborough the 25 of Ianuarie.

1 THe approbation and ratification of the regiment.

2 Annenſt the true and holie kirke, and deiering of the true miniſters & members thereof.

3 That nane of the aduerſaries and enimies of Gods truth ſhall intoie the patrimonie of the kirke.

4 That ſike of the diſobedients as ſhall be receiued to mercie and pardon, proteſt the true religion, and ſweare to reſiſt the decrées and execution of the councell of Trent.

5 The eſtabliſhing of the regiment, in caſe that charge ẏet baile during the kings minoritie.

6 Annenſt recouering of the iewels, houſholdſtuffe, munition, and moueables, ſuch as ſometime were the quhenes the kings mother, to his highneſſe vſe and behoſe.

7 A declaration, that all things done in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the inualiditie of all things attemptid in ane name, and vnder colour of quhatſoeuer other authoritie, ſince his highneſſe coronation.

8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhens maieſtie of England, for the defenſe of forren inuaſion, for the cauſe of religion; and that others profeſſing the true religion, may be drawne into the ſame.

9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annenſt maſſe and gleibis.

10 Annenſt the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet buls or prouiſion to benefices with antedats.

11 Approbation with ſome addition to the act of priute councell, made in the reigne of the quhens the kings mother, annenſt the diſpoſition of benefices to miniſters of the kirke.

12 Annenſt execution againſt perſons excommunicat.

13 Annenſt the reparation of pariſh kirks.

14 Annenſt proceéding in cauſe of diuorſe.

15 Annenſt the reparation of the deſtructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.

16 A confirmation of the infeftement of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glaſcow. All which acts thus fullie paſſed in this parlement, there was the ſame aduiſe giuen to the regent, touching the receiuing to pardon of perſons guiltie to the ſlaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching ſuſpenſion and delaieng of purſute of the murther of the kings father. Whereof much being ſpoken, and thought good to be followed; ẏet there was nothing enacted that might eſtabliſh the ſame.

During the time of which ſeſſion of this parlement, manie occurrents deſeruing remembrance happened after the ſaid fiftéenth of Januarie. For Edenborough caſtell being ſomewhat diſtreſſed, the caſtilians were put from ſallieng out of the caſtell gate, where capteine Craiford, and capteine Hume laie with their bands to kéepe them in. Notwithſtanding all which, they within repaired vnto a poſterne in the northſide of the caſtell beſides ſaint Cutberts church, and ſaint Margarets well, where they iſſued and fet water at their pleaſure: which being eſpied by their enimies, capteine Michaell and his band came from Dondiſke to ſtop their paſſage thereto. Who within thrée daies after ſuch his approch, deſtroied their well, and inforced them to kéepe within the wals of the caſtell: at what time the regent aduanced his trenches made againſt the caſtell, from the bulworke or ſpurre of that caſtell to the weſt part: and from thenſe, to ſaint Cutberts kirke: ſo that with the water lieng on the ſouthweſtſide, and the regents power on the other ſide, the caſtell was wholie inuironed. During which ſiege, the ſirtænth of the ſame moneth, the caſtilians, to feare ſuch as were aſſembled in the forenamed parlement kept within the towne of Edenborough, beſtowed foureſcore and ſeuen great ſhot vpon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a ꝑre dog that was ſlaine before the dore of the regents houſe: although men, women, and childꝛen did dailie frequent and paſſe the ſtréets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but ẏet not more ſtrange than this: that there was not ſlaine on the regents part (from the firſt of the moneth of Januarie vntill this time, either by great or ſmall ſhot in the towne or trenches, ſkirmiſhes or otherwiſe) aboue ſix perſons, and within the caſtell but thrée, with as manie hurt betwéene the tolbooth and the ſpurre of the caſtell. The cauſe whereof grew by reaſon of thrée trauerſes made ouerthwart the ſtréets to ſaue the people, beſides the other trenches made againſt the caſtell: at what time alſo the tolbooth and the church was fenſed with a rampier forced of turffes, fagots, and other ſtuffe fit for that purpoſe. Whereby the lords of the parlement did as ſafelie aſſemble and ſit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quietlie and ſafelie to the church to heare diuine ſeruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the caſtell was beſieged.

Skirmiſhes about Edenborough.

During which doings in the caſtell & the towne, there was an abſtinence granted at the ſute of the ambaſſadors of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the foure and twentith of Februarie: in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre with the ſaid ambaſſadors for an accord to be had betwéene the king and impriſoned quéenes faction. Whereupon ſir James Balfor̃d came to the regents grace, obteined pardon for his offenſe, and earneſtlie laboured to further this agrément. The earle of Argile was aduanced to the honour of the chancellorſhip. And Alexander Areſkine maiſter of Marre was appointed to haue the kéeping of the kings perſon vpon certeine conditions, for the performance whereof he was to find foure ſuerties, lords of the parlement, to be bound for him bodie and lands, hauing fiftéene daies appointed vnto him to conſider thereof, whether he would enter into ſo great a charge or no. And if in caſe he ſhould refuſe to accept the ſame, it was further reſolued and concluded, that the erles of Glencarne and Buquhan,

An abſtinence of war granted.

Sir James Balfor̃d ſubmitteth himſelfe to the regent.

Officers created.

quhan, the lord Glanes, and maſter Marſhall ſhould haue the keeping of the king quarterlie one after another. And if anie of the foure ſhould happen, during the time of his quarterlie gouernement, to be ſicke, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindſeie ſhould be aſſiſtant to him in that gouernement, during that time. Which being thus on all parts concluded, James Kircawdie arriued in the Blackeneſſe in a ſmall pinneſſe, and entred the caſtell of Edenborough, with ſuch monie as he had prouided to bring thither. Which occaſioned the caſtell of Edenborough to be reaſſeged and inuironed both by ſea and land, and was the cauſe that capteine Bruſe ſallieng forth with other of his companie to forage the countrie, and to prouide vittels, were taken by the regents companie. Notwithſtanding all which, yet the others within the caſtell continued their purpoſe, and defended the ſame againſt the regent and his companie, farre otherwiſe than was ſuppoſed that either they could or would do.

James Kircawdie entreth Edenborough caſtell.

1573

Whereupon the regent of Scotland ſolicited the quéene of England, in the behalfe, and for the ſuccor of the yong king of Scots hir couſine, thus grieuouſlie moleſted with the warres of his owne people. So that the quéene of England ſent a power of fiftéene hundred Engliſhmen to the ſiege of Edenborough caſtell, ouer whome ſir William Drurie knight and marſhall of Berwike was made generall, with ſuch capteins as follow; which were ſir Francis Ruſſell knight, third ſonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other capteins, as Read, Parleie, Wood, Brickwell, Pikeman, Gam, Caſe, Carew, Errington prouoſt marſhall, Aſtoll, Stærleie capteine of the pioners, and capteine Barton. To whom alſo to ſerue at their owne frée will theſe gentlemen of name, ſir George Carie, ſir Henrie Leie knights, Thomas Cicill eldeſt ſon of the lord treſuror of England, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Kelwaie, Dier, Tilneie, William Killegrew, & manie other gentlemen of good eſtimation did aſſociat themſelues with conuenient number to attend vpon them. Theſe with their generall paſſed from Berwike to Leith, where they met with maiſter Henrie Killegrew the quéene of Englands ambaſſador, whoſe care, trauell, & furtherance at that time deſerued no ſmall commendation; and with the Scotiſh nobilitie, & ſuch as they had aſſembled to ſome with the Engliſh in the behalfe of the yong king againſt ſuch as toke part with the depoſed quéene. Which Scotiſh nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Morton regent, and ſuch other earles and gentlemen as were tied and alied to him by kindnes and kinred, and ſuch as fauoured the yong king, diſtreſſed by the depoſed quéene, as was pretended. After the ioining of theſe two nations, they on the fiue and twentith of Aprill marched towards Edenborough: and the ſame daie ſir William Drurie the generall ſummoned the caſtell of that towne in forme as followeth.

The taking of Edenborough caſtell by the Engliſh and the regent of Scotland.

## The ſummons giuen to the caſtell of *Edenborough*.

SIr William Kircawdie, ſometimes of Grange knight, forſomuch as the queens maieſtie my ſouereigne ladie, vpon the earneſt requeſt of hir deere couſin the king of Scots your ſouereigne lord made to hir highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & eſtates of Scotland, after all good meanes vſed to haue reduced you to a dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not dulie harkened vnto, to the onlie hinderance of the vniuerſall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highneſſe caſtell, meaning (as it ſéemeth) to reſerue the ſame for a receptacle of forren forces, to the manifeſt dangers both of this realme and of my ſouereigns; and therefore neceſſarie to remoue ſo perilous a danger to both the realmes. For which conſideration hir maieſtie hath ſent hir aid and ſuccors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the ſaid caſtell to the ſaid kings vſe and behoſe. And therefore, according to hir maieſties commandement and commiſſion; this ſhall be in due maner to warne, require, and ſummon you, that you render and deliuer the ſaid caſtell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, iewels, houſhold ſtuffe, and ſuch other implements within the ſame to me, and to the vſe and behoſe of the king your ſouereigne and his regent in his name, immediatlie after this my letter of ſummons or knowledge of the ſame ſhall come to you. Which if you obeie, as of dutie you ought; then ſhall I in hir maieſties name interpone my ſelfe to trauell with the regent, councell, and nobilitie here for the ſafetie of your liues, &c: otherwiſe, if you continue in your former obſtinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the reſt within that caſtell, to be purſued to the vttermoſt, and holden as enimies to hir maieſtie, your owne ſouereigne, and countrie. Giuen at Edenborough by me ſir William Drurie knight generall of hir maieſties forces now in Scotland, this fiue and twentith daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Chriſt 1573.

This letter by the lord Grange capteine of the caſtell thus in due ſort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor conſidering the mild diſpoſition of ſuch as went about to ſpare their bloud, did vtterlie denie the ſurrender of the caſtell, and with all force determined to defend themſelues. Wherewith the Engliſh generall greatlie grieued, did incontinently redeliuer ſuch anſwer to the ſaid lord Grange as wrought an vtter diſcontent and miſlike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition aplied the caſting of trenches and erecting of mounts or fortreſſes to plant the artillerie therevpon againſt the caſtell. After which euerie one haſtening the cauſe of his comming, & ioining their force togither, began to inuiron the towne, & to laie ſiege to the caſtell in fiue ſeuerall places, where were fiue ſeuerall fortreſſes erected for that cauſe, intituled by theſe names. The firſt mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the ſecond the generall thereof the Engliſh ſir William Drurie did poſſeſſe, the third was in charge of ſir George Carie, the fourth was called ſir Henrie Leies mount, and the fift fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton maiſter of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie vnder paie was two thouſand, wherof fiftéene hundred were Engliſh, and the other fiue hundred Scots: beſides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie péeces of artillerie conteining ſix canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and ſix ſacres. Whileſt the armie without was thus preparing for to aſſaile the companie within, the capteine of the caſtell (to hinder their worke) liberallie ſaluted the pioners & other ſoldiors with ſuch artillerie as they had within the caſtell, and vpon and about the walles thereof; whereby manie were hurt, ſome ſlaine, but more hindered before the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defenſe of the aſſailants, and offenſe of the aſſailed. In which action alſo the aduerſe part forgot not to requite the caſtillians, but moſtlie after that the pioners and laborers had finiſhed

ſhed the mounts. At what time they gaue vehement and ſharpe aſſault to the caſtell, although that the extreame heat thereof began not vntill the ſeauentéenth daie of Maie following. In which ſiege on the ſaid ſeauentéenth daie of Maie, the caſtell was moſt roughlie aſſailed by thirtie ſhot of canon diſcharged againſt the ſame. At what time thoſe pæces ſo well perſormed their parts againſt Dauids tower, that the force of the Engliſh canons was eaſie to be then and long after ſeene therein. Which aſſalt continued vntill the one and twentith daie of Maie following, on which daie the whole batterie began not againe as before againſt part, but wholie round about on ech ſide of the caſtell. For vntill then Dauids towre was onelie the marke of the enimie: but after that daie they laid out their power in euerie place, offending and defending ech others ſoldiors, as well within the caſtell as within the mounts and trenches, in that ſharpe conflict hurting and killing manie of the Engliſh and Scots. Whereupon the diligence of the Engliſh began to be ſo great, that they forthwith diſplaced the ordinance in the caſtell, and ſtroke one of their greateſt péeces iuſt in the mouth: whereby the ſame was broken, and the caſtillians force somewhat abated.

After this, on the ſix and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth of Maie, there was a freſh aſſault giuen at ſeuen of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defenſe or blockehouſe before the ſaid caſtell) which by the aſſailants was taken, & forthwith vpon the entrance therin was the banner of the generall diſplated and ſet vp, to declare who poſſeſſed the ſame, to the great diſcomfort of them in the caſtell. For although before they had loſt the vſe of one of their great péeces, that their walles were battered, that ſome of their men were ſlaine, & that they had almoſt all their water taken from them: yet would they not yéeld, neither did anie whit begin to deſpaire of kéeping the caſtell, or repelling the enimie; vntill ſuch time as the Engliſh had now gotten the poſſeſſion of the Spurre.

Now, during the time that theſe gaue the aſſault to the Spurre, there was an other band of Engliſhmen and Scots, that had in charge to make ſhew of a freſh aſſault, at the weſt part of the caſtell; to the end that ſuch as laied batterie to the Spurre, might with more eaſe to themſelues, and leſſe ſuſpicion of the aduerſe part, obteine the ſaid Spurre. But this laſt named band, ouer haſtilie putting themſelues in aduenture beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and driuen to the recoile, with the hurt and loſſe of thirtie perſons, or thereabouts. All which notwithſtanding, the caſtillians (perceiuing their chiefeſt defenſe the Spurre to be loſt, and not greatlie reioiſing of this ſmall victorie ouer thoſe which aſſailed them on the weſt ſide) did the ſame daie by a drumme demand parlee: which they obteined with truce of peace from that daie, vntill the eight and twentith of Maie next following. For which cauſe the lard of Pittadrow was let downe by a rope from the caſtell, and after him the lard of Grange, capteine of the ſaid caſtell, with Robert Peluine; all which came to haue conference with the generall ſir William Drurie, & ſuch other perſons as were choſen to accompanie him about the ſame. In the end, vpon much conferrence had betweene the Scotiſh lards and the generall, the caſtell was the ſame eight and twentith daie (in which the truce ended) deliuered vp into the hands of the ſaid ſir William Drurie, which he kept in his poſſeſſion for a certeine time; during whoſe abode in the caſtell, he ſet vp and ſpred his enſignes and banners vpon ſundrie parts of the wals of the ſame.

This done, the generall (after quiet poſſeſſion had, not determining to reteine it vnto his miſtreſſe vſe, ſith he was onelie appointed by hir to aid the king of Scots, and ſuch of the nobilitie as toke his part) did after (according to his commiſſion) deliuer ouer the ſame caſtell to the vſe of the yong king of Scots; for which cauſe not meaning vtterlie to ſpoile the caſtell, he gaue but part of the ſpoile to the vſe of the ſoldiers, leauing the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleaſure. For before the ſurrender of the caſtell, it was agréed, that if the Engliſhmen had by force taken it, as they obteined it by compoſition, that then they ſhould wholie haue inioied the full ſpoile by the ſpace of thrée daies, the artillerie onelie excepted, which ſhould be carried awaie by the Engliſh. But ſith for theſe cauſes following, the ſame could not abide anie long ſiege, but muſt of neceſſitie yéeld it ſelfe, there was euerie part of the ſaid ſpoile giuen vnto the ſouldiers vpon the deliuerie of the ſame caſtell to ſir William Drurie. The cauſes of which ſurrender were manie.

First, for that they were depriued of water, bicauſe the well within the caſtell was choked with the ruines of the caſtell wals; & the other well without could not ſerue them, bicauſe there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was vnknowne to ſuch as were without the caſtell) and was taken from them by the loſſe of the Spurre, out of which they were wont to haue a pint a daie for euerie ſouldier. The other cauſes of ſurrender were theſe.

Secondlie, diuerſe perſons were ſicke, eſpeciallie thorough drinke of the water of ſaint Margarets well without the caſtell on the north ſide, which had béene poiſoned by ſome of their enimies.

Thirdlie, diuerſe others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the caſtell, and they not able to take anie reſt, being ſo plied and dailie wearied with batterie.

Fifthlie, diuerſe of the ſouldiers diuided in opinions.

Sixthlie, ſome were no ſouldiers at all.

Seauenthlie, that no aid was to be loked for by the waie of France.

The eight and chiefe cauſe was, that the regent and his forces planted in the ſtrengths round about, and the horſſemen daſtie and nightlie watching and riding, which held and toke from them all vittels, and had brought them to great ſcant of food before the ſiege began. All theſe eight cauſes moued the ſaid ſurrender of the caſtell.

After that the caſtell was thus gotten, the ſixtéenth daie of June following, the priſoners were deliuered by the ſaid ſir William Drurie, in the preſence of ſundrie Scots & Engliſhmen, vnto the regent; and that done, the ſame daie ſir William Drurie departed with his power to Berwike. The names of the priſoners were theſe; ſir William Kircawdie lard of Grange, and capteine of the caſtell of Edenborough, the lord Yume, William Metellan, lord of Lethington ſecretarie, the lard of Pittadrow conſtable of the caſtell, the counteſſe of Argile, the ladie of Lethington and the ladie of Grange, with others. But yet the priuat ſoldiers & others of meaner ſort were ſuffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the caſtell of Edenborough woone, as you haue heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; inſomuch as manie thought it toke the name of the maiden caſtell, for that it had not béene woone at anie time before except by famine or practiſe. Which opinion being common is ſo much the falſer, in that the common ſort do imbrace it, for that they iuſtlie incline to common fables. For this caſtell was not surnamed the maiden caſtell, bicauſe it was neuer taken

ken by force: but becauſe the princes children were there nouriſhed, as maie well appeare by that which I ſhall ſet downe touching the antiquitie of this towne & the name thereof; of which there be diuerſe opinions. For ſome will haue it to be built by Eboracus, of ſome called Ebrancus king of Britaines, called alſo in Britiſh Caſtle mynid Agnes, the caſtell of ſaint Agnes hill, afterward the caſtell of virgins. But Leſleus will haue it built long after the time of H. Lhoid, by the ſpace of ſix hundred foure ſcore and foure yeares, for thus he writeth. *Chrutnæus Camelodunum primariam Pictorum vrbem & Agnedam poſtea Ethinburgum ab Etho quondam rege dictam, cum puellarum caſtro, vbi regis & nobilium Pictorum filiæ dum nuptui darentur, ſeruari, & præceptis ad humanitatem & virtutem informari ſolebant, condidit.* A little before which, the ſaid Leſleus writeth that Fergusius died *Anno ante Chriſti in carnem aduentum* 305, & that *Hoc tempore Eſdadus Britonum & Chrutnæus Camelonus Pictorum imperium tenebant*. Now this king Chrutneus that built Agneda, liued before Chriſt three hundred and fiue yeares by the Scots account, and Eboracor Ebranke liued nine hundred foure ſcore & nine yeares before Chriſt: ſo that the Engliſhmen make this towne more ancient than the Scots. But as Leſleus hath miſtaken himſelfe, following Boetius, to place Camelodunum in Scotland: ſo hath he appointed Edenburgh to be built by the Scots, being built by the Britaines. But true it might be that Eboracor firſt builded it, & that being in the ſpace of ſix hundred foure ſcore and foure yeares waſted and vtterlie decaied, the ſame was afreſh erected by Chrutneus, and after repared by Ethus. The caſtell of which towne, being ſometime appointed for the bringing vp of the daughters of the noblemen of the Picts, vntill they were mariageable, was for that cauſe (and not becauſe it was neuer wone by force) called the maiden caſtell, as the ſaid Leſleus affirmeth. But after, when chriſtianitie came into Scotland, it was called (as I coniecture) Agneda, becauſe it was the caſtell that ſtood on ſaint Agnes hill, & not before the comming of Chriſt ſo called Agneda, as hitherto it hath beene ſet downe, but not rightlie; as I maie with reuerence ſpeake vnder correction of ſuch as by better authoritie can diſproue that I ſaie.

*Humfred. Lhoid. in bren. Brit.* I. Stow.

*Leſleus lib. 2. pag. 84.*

*Campdenus in Scotia* ſaith *ab Ebranco Britanno aut ab Hetho Picto Edinburgum deducere quid aliud eſt quàm ſeriò inepire?*

1574 The tragicall hiſtorie of the warres of the low countries lib. 3.

But here let vs a little leaue the countrie ſoile of Scotland, and ſuch things as were there then done; and talke ſomewhat of the perſons of that realme, who performed matter of valure in forren countries. Whileſt the towne of Leiden was ſtronglie beſieged (in the moneth of June) and that the townesmen (hauing a needfull and heedfull care) were altogither imploied about making of proviſion of all ſuch things as were deemed neceſſarie for the defenſe of the ſame towne; the principall part of the commandators armie arriued in Bommell quarters, Gorcum, and Lowieſtein. Howbeit the prince and the eſtates of the low countries made no great account therof, by reaſon that Bommell (which was well furniſhed of all things neceſſarie for the wars) was vnder the cuſtodie of capteine Baufoure, coronell of the Scotiſhmen, who had there attending on him the number of ſeauen Scotiſh enſignes. Which Scots deſirous to performe ſome matter of valure, dailie ſallied out of the towne with ſome of the citizens and gentlemen Hollanders; in which often iſſuing they valiantlie ſkirmiſhed with the enimies. Whereby in the end amongeſt their ſundrie conflicts there were manie warlike exploits performed by the Scots, which deſerued not to be forgotten: as well for that they often repelled the enimie, and kept their ſtrength togither; as for that they being few in number, aduentured (beyond the hope of good hap, by incountering with a greater troope of ſuch as came againſt them, than they were themſelues) either to returne victors, or to loſe their liues.

The Scots repelled their enimies at Bommell.

After which alſo the ſame Scots, continuing in thoſe low countries, performed manie other matters of martiall exploits, which I will ſet downe in this place. For ſith I haue béene denied of ſome of the Scots (whom theſe annales chiefelie concerne) ſuch things as might ſupplie the default of ſufficient matter of Scotland to furniſh the ſame; and for that I haue béene defrauded of the performance of promiſe made vnto me by manie others of that nation, who for dutie vnto that countrie ought, and for clearing ſome ſiniſter opinion conceiued againſt them of their actions in their owne countrie ſhould haue ſought to further me in theſe my labours: I muſt leaue things done in Scotland, and turne my pen to other places; producing matter to helpe my barren diſcourſe, which inforced therevnto doth deliuer an action performed by the Scots in the ſame low countries; where they which were then in ſeruice againſt the Spaniards, vnder the pale of the prince of Orenge, did that which deſerueth not to be forgot.

1576 The Scots denie their furtherance to the writing of the annales of Scotland.

Theſe Scots therefore remaining in thoſe countries, ſeruing vnder the conduct of their coronell ſurnamed Baufoure, did in Januarie ſet forth & meet with the Spaniards at a place called the Fotbale, diſtant not much more than a mile frõ Leige, where was a long and ſharpe conflict betweene theſe two nations. In which by the ſucceſſe of battell (for the moſt part yéelding victorie vnto the ſtronger ſide) a great multitude of them were left dead in the place, and the reſt driuen to ſaue themſelues by flight from their enimies: who yet felt not this ouerthrow ſo ſweet and gainefull, but that they loſt manie of their people before the Scots were put to the worſt.

The tragicall hiſtorie of the warres of the low countries lib. 4.

The Scots put to flight beſides Leige.

But leauing theſe Scots in the midſt of the wars of theſe countries vnder the prince of Orenge, we are to come to other matters following by ſucceſſion of time, which hath deliuered to vs that Margaret the daughter & heire of Archibald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March in the yeare of our redemption 1577, beginning the yeare at the Annuntiation of the virgin. Which ladie being borne at Harbotell caſtell in England in the yeare of Chriſt 1515, was afterward brought vp in England; and then being priuilie affianced in the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Chriſt 1536, to Thomas Howard yongeſt brother to the duke of Northfolke, ſhe was that yeare committed priſoner to the tower; but after ſet at libertie the laſt of October, in the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1537, & maried to Matthew Steward earle of Lennor by the conſent of Henrie the eight king of England, in the yeare of our ſaluation 1544. After which, being toſſed with both fortunes, ſometime in aduerſitie, & ſometime in proſperitie, ſhe was notwithſtanding alwaies honorablie interteined in England, as both hir birth in reſpect of hir kinglie bloud, and hir calling in reſpect of hir place, did worthilie deſerue. In the end, to cut off all hir other aduerſities, and to draw to things falling in mine owne knowledge, ſhe was on the two and twentith of Aprill in the yeare 1565 (vpon the mariage of hir ſonne Henrie Steward lord Darneleie vnto Marie Steward quéene of Scots) commanded by the quéene of England firſt to keepe hir chamber in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where ſhe remained vntill the two and twentith daie of June next inſuing; and was then by ſir Francis Knolles (one of the priuie councell and vicechamberleine to the quéene of England) and by ſome other of the gard conueied to the towre of London by water; in which place ſhe remained priſoner vntill

1577 Some part of the life of Margaret Dowglas.

I. Stow.

that

that hir ſonne the ſaid Henrie Steward was miſerablie and traitorouſlie ſlaine by the earle Bothwell and his complices (as ſome affirme, but how trulie I know not) vpon the twentith of Februarie one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore & ſir. In which yeare, on the two and twentith of the ſame moneth, the ſaid ladie Margaret was diſcharged out of the towre and ſet at libertie, who ſtill remaining in England did (as before is ſaid) in the three ſcore & ſecond yeare of hir age, and in the firſt yeare of hir widowhood, ſurrender hir ſoule to God, being moſt honorablie buried & anſwerablie to hir calling in the great chapell of Weſtminſter (built by Henrie the ſeuenth king of England) among the kings of that realme in an inward chapell ſtanding on the right & the ſouthſide of the ſaid great chapell. The yeare before whoſe death hir ſonne Charles Steward earle of Lennor (hauing before maried Eliſabeth the daughter of ſir William Candiſh, by whome he had iſſue Arbella) did alſo depart this life. Ouer the bodies of both which perſons, Thomas Fowler executor to the ſaid ladie Margaret, did with the goods of the ſaid ladie erect a coſtlie and ſtatelie tome of rich ſtone and curious workemanſhip, with the picture of that ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might afford it, about which monument is grauen this memorable epitaph declaring hir nobilitie, as inſueth.

At the head of the toome is ſet downe

*Memoriæ ſacrum.*

*Margaretæ Dowglaſiæ, Matthæi Stuarti Leuiniæ comitis vxori, Henrici ſeptimi Angliæ regis ex filia nepti, potentiſſ. regibus cognatione coniunctiſſimæ, Iacobi ſexti regis auiæ, matronæ ſanctiſſ. moribus, & inuicta animi patientia, incomparabili P.*

*Obijt Martij decimo Anno Domini* 1577.

On the right ſide of which toome is this ingrauen.

*Margareta potens, virtute potentior, ortu*
*Regibus ac proauis nobilitata ſuis:*
*Inde Calidonijs auſtralibus, inde Britannis*
*Aedita principibus, principibuſque parens:*
*Quæ mortis fuerant ſoluit lætiſſima morti,*
*Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.*

Henrie ſecond ſonne to this ladie and father to Iames the firſt now king. This Henrie was murdered at the age of one and twentie yeares, Charles the yongeſt ſonne was earle of Lennor father to the late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie yeares, and is here intoomed.

On the left ſide of the toome is this ingrauen.

This ladie had to hir great grandfather king Edward the fourth, to hir grandfather king Henrie the ſeuenth, to hir vncle king Henrie the eight, to hir couſine germane king Edward the firſt, to hir brother king Iames of Scotland the fift, to hir ſonne king Henrie the firſt, to hir grandchild king Iames the firſt; hauing to hir great grandmother and grandmother two queens both named Eliſabeth, to hir mother Margaret quéene of Scots, to hir aunt Marie the French quene, to hir couſines germane Marie and Eliſabeth quéens of England, to hir neece and daughter in law Marie quene of Scots.

At the foot of hir toome is this written.

Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret counteſſe of Lennor, daughter and ſole heire to Archibald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus, by Margaret quéene of Scots his wife, that was eldeſt daughter to king Henrie the ſeuenth, which bare vnto Matthew earle of Lennor hir huſband, foure ſonnes and foure daughters.]

Which honourable toome, with theſe ſuperſcriptions, was erected for the ſaid ladie, and finiſhed in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun and almoſt perfected in the life of the ſaid ladie Margaret. This ladie being (as before is ſhewed) counteſſe of Lennor and Angus, it will not be amiſſe to declare in this place, what became of both the ſaid earledoms, as well in hir life, as after hir and hir ſonne Charls his death. Touching Angus, this ladie Margaret, vpon the mariage of hir ſon Henrie lord Darneleie, which was ſolemnized the nine and twentith daie of Julie 1565, to Marie quene of Scots, did giue the ſaid earledome with all the rights and members thereof vnto the ſaid quene Marie, to diſpoſe as ſell beſt vnto hir liking. Whereupon the ſaid quéene beſtowed that honour and earledome vpon Archibald Dowglaſſe couſine to the ſaid ladie Margaret: who being exiled, was here in England at the writing hereof. The earledome of Lennor, after the ſlaughter of Matthew earle of Lennor (huſband to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571, but 1572 as hath Leſleus, was inueſted in Charles Iames the firſt king of Scotland, heire in blood to the ſaid Matthew earle of Lennor, father to Henrie lord Derneleie (that maried the quene) father to the ſaid Iames the firſt. Whereupon the yong king, mindfull of the aduancement of his vncle Charles ſonne to the ſaid Margaret, did inueſt the ſaid Charls with the honour of the ſaid earledome of Lennor, which Charles died in the life of his mother Margaret without heire male, by reaſon whereof the ſaid earledome reuerted to the crowne.

But here leauing the title and ſucceſſion of the earles of Lennor to an other place following (ſith I am entered into the diſcourſe of ſuch of the earles & counteſſes of Lennor as be dead) I thinke it better in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennor ſlaine at Sterling (as is before touched) in the yeare of Chriſt 1571. For although the ſame matter would more aptlie haue béene placed before at the end of the hiſtorie of Scotland, written by Holinſhed, or at the beginning of my continuance of the annales of that countrie, when I mention the death of the ſaid earle: yet ſith the note of that epitaph came not vnto my hands, vntill I had thus farre proceeded in the hiſtorie; and the ſame alſo at that time paſſed the print (whereby I could not ſet it downe in due place) I will here (hauing ſo good occaſion therfore) intreating of the tome of his wife (whoſe charge alſo wanted not in erecting of this tome of hir ſlaine huſband, and for that this doth alſo touch ſome part of hir epitaph) inſert the ſame in this place after this maner, as it is written vpon the ſtatelie tome of the ſaid Matthew Lennor, and now ſtanding in the chapell within Sterling caſtell, being as hereafter followeth.

*The epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennox.*

Lo here a prince and potentate,
whoſe life to vnderſtand,
Was godlie, iuſt, and fortunate,
though from his natiue land
His enmies thrice did him out thring,
he thrice returnd againe,
Was lawfull tutor to the king,
and regent did remaine:
Where he with rigor rebels rackt,
the right for to defend,
Till enmies old through tyrans trackt,
did worke his fatall end.
Lo thus reſpects the death no wight,
When God permits the time,
Yet ſhall the vengeance on them light
that wrought that curſſed crime.

Beſides which alſo on the ſame tome are theſe heroicall verſes ſet downe, declaring his name, his deſcent, his mariage, his iſſue, his offices, and ſuch o-

ther

ther matters belonging vnto him, as followeth.

Behold herein interred is,
Matthew of Lennox earle,
Who long of late in Britaine ſoile,
did liue a pearleſſe pearle.
And as he was of roiall bloud,
by roiall progenie,
From Stewards ſtocke of ancient time,
princes of Albanie:
His fortune was euen ſo to match,
with paſſing vertuous wight,
Whoſe race deriued from famous kings,
of wide renowmed might.
His mother queene of Scotland was,
and eldeſt daughter deare,
Of Henrie ſeuenth Engliſh king,
a princelie mirror cleare.
Hir father earle of Angus was,
ſhe ladie Margaret hight,
The onelie heire of Angus lands,
and all his fathers right.
Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,
for both by grace diuine
Are come of Northwales princes hault,
which were of Troians line.
And diuerſe goodlie imps there were,
that iſſued from them twaine:
Charls Iames now king, and *Charls the earle
of them dooth ſtill remaine,
King Henrie father to this king,
their firſt begotten ſonne:
Oh cruell fates! the which ſo ſoone,
his vitall thred vnſponne,
By whoſe deuiſe the grandſire came,
lord regent in this land:
And noblie bare the regall ſword
of iuſtice in his hand.
Whereby he did in tender age
of the kings maieſtie,
This realme protect with fortitude,
prudence and equitie.
But now dame fame with flickering wings
withouten anie let,
Shall ſpread abrode this worthie man,
and through the world him ſet.
And tearing time ſhall not conſume,
nor weare the ſame awaie,
But with the worthieſt reckned be,
vntill the latter daie.
After which time, eternitie
dooth triumph then by right:
Where he with angels ſhall reioiſe,
in Gods eternall ſight.

*This was Charles earle of Lennox buried in the towne which his grandmother the ladie Margaret Lennox before mentioned ſurvived after the death of this Matthew his grandfather.

Beſides which Engliſh epitaph theſe verſes were alſo compoſed by Buchanan vpon the ſame earle of Lennor, wherein is not onelie ſet downe (as before) the honourable birth of the man, but alſo ſome of the places of his education, with other things which right fortunatlie happened vnto him in this ſort.

*Regis auus, regis pater, alto è ſanguine regum*
*(Imperio quorum terra Britanna ſubeſt)*
*Matthæus, gemuit Leuinia, Gallia fouit,*
*Pulſo Anglus thalamum rémq; decúſq; dedit.*
*Cæpi inuicta manu, famam virtute refelli,*
*Arma armis vici, conſilióq; dolos.*
*Gratus in ingratos: patriam iuſtéq; piéq;*
*Cùm regerem, hoſtili perfidia cecidi.*
*Chare* nepos, ſpes vna domus, meliore ſenectam*
*Attingas fato, cætera digna auo.*

*James the ſixt king of Scots.

Thus ſetting end to the liues & deaths of this Matthew Steward erle of Lennor, of Margaret Dowglaſſe his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to their ſumptuous ſepulchres, we will come backe againe to ſuch others, either generall or ſpeciall, accidents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland, and which will touch the vniuerſall gouernement, or the particular occurrents as well of Scotiſh as of other forren affaires managed by them at home, or in other countries, therwithall ioining the diſcourſe of ſuch things as haue béne performed by other nations in that kingdome. Amongſt which accidents in Scotland this rarelie happened, that the earle Morton ſurrendered his protectorſhip or regentſhip of the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I maie worthilie count rare, ſith men in ſo great authoritie of commanding all perſons, can hardlie be brought to giue ouer ſuch honour, and to yéeld themſelues to the commandement of others, bicauſe *Qui primatus ſui authoritatem perdit, in deſpectionem & anguſtiam ſe mittit: qui autem locum ſuum ſapienter cuſtodit, ſe ac ſuos ad profectum dirigit.* And Bias the philoſopher knew, that it was a moſt hard thing of all other, and onelie ſauouring of great magnanimitie and wiſdome, *Fortiter ferre mutationes rerum in deterius.* But he being verie wiſe, feared not the alteration of his eſtate, but rather deſired to be rid thereof, conſidering the weightineſſe and danger which depended therevpon, and remembring that notable ſaieng of Gregorie in his Morals, declaring the ſingular good of ſuch, which doo ſhun the gouernement of temporall things, in theſe words. *Quaſi quodam iugo ſeruitutis premunt proſpera, dum appetuntur; premunt aduerſa dum formidantur. At ſi quis ſemel dominationem deſideriorum temporalium à collo mentis excuſſerit, quadam iam etiam vitæ libertate perfruitur, & dum nullo deſiderio fœlicitatis afficitur, nullo aduerſitatis errore coarctatur.*

*Gl. ſuper ill eccleſ. 23 melius eſt vt filij.*

This earle Morton (I ſaie) ſurrendred his office (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in this yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie & ſeuen, at what time alſo Robert Bowes eſquier was then in Scotland for hir maieſtie of England. Vpon the remouing of which erle Morton there were no more regents in that countrie, but the king toke vpon him to rule the realme by himſelfe & by ſuch curators as he ſhuld appoint therfore. For the king now about the twelfe yéere of his age thought he might aſwell take vpon him the gouernment of the countrie by himſelfe, and ſuch as he appointed at thoſe yeares, as manie of his anceſtors had donne before in their yoong yeares; notwithſtanding the opinion of manie of the better ſort of the preſbiterie, which maintеine that he cannot abſolutelie rule, or perfectlie eſtabliſh anie thing by the cuſtomes of their countrie, vntill he come to the age of fiue and twentie yeares. But we find in their owne hiſtories of Scotland, written euen by men of beſt iudgement, that Iames the ſecond of that name king of Scots, did in the fourtеenth yeare of his age, in the ſeuenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred fortie and foure, put Alexander Leuinſtone knight from his regentſhip, and toke vpon himſelfe the abſolute gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writeth Leſleus. *Gubernatoris cancellariique concilio & iuſſu factum eſt, vt omnium ordinum comitijs Striueling indies diceretur. An. Dom. 440, menſe Ianuarij, omnium aſſenſu eſt conſtitutum, vt rex ſuum regnum luſtrans, contentiones ſopiat, cauſas decidat, concrouerſias dirimat, reliquáq; reipublicæ negotia præſens procuret. Multi nobiles ſeſe comites itineris adiungunt, qui in illius ſocietatem ſe penitus immergentes, odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, perſuadent regi, vt aliorum ſeruituti ſe premi diutius non ſinat: ſed vt omni iugo excuſſo, ipſe ſibi reipublicæ gubernandæ partes aſſumat. Is iuuenili quodam regnandi ardore incenſus, illorum voces tanquam Syrenum cantum in ſuas aures effluere liberaliſſimè patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum agens, in regium ſolium præceps irruit, ac vt publicis comitijs ſolus præeſſet, omnes ordines Striueling vocat, 4 Nouembris 1444.*

The earle Morton ſurrendred his regentſhip.

The kings of Scotland take on them to rule the realme without procurators being within age.

Leſleus li. 8. pag. 295.

After

After which, about fiue yeares following, the ſame James, to ſhew his abſolute and ſufficient gouernement, did in the yeare of Chriſt 1449, in the nineteenth yeare of his age, and the twelfe yeare of his gouernement create Alexander Seton lord Gourdon earle of Huntleie, and George Leſle a baron earle of Rothſeie. James the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but ſixteene yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore & eight, adminiſtred the realme by himſelfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Leſleus. James the fift the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and eight, in the ſeuentéenth yeare of his age, & about the fiftéenth yeare of his gouernment, remoued the earle of Angus from the regentſhip, and toke vpon himſelfe the gouernment of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now liuing king of Scots, did in like ſort in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of hir age, and as much of hir gouernment of Scotland appoint procurators to gouerne the realme, whileſt ſhe remained in France with the French king hir husband. But enough of this, ſith Leſleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and alſo in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallie argued on both parts, at what yeares the kings of Scotland may aſſume to themſelues the gouernement of the kingdome, after that they haue atteined to the crowne in thoſe yeares, which are ouer tender and vnfit to diſpoſe of the ſword and ſcepter. Wherefore to paſſe ouer the ſame, I thinke it not vnmeet in this place, ſith we haue mentioned this Morton which was the laſt regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdome, to ſet downe a catalog of all ſuch regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the ſame ſort as I haue done in England at the end of the gouernement of the duke of Summerſet, who was the laſt protector of that realme: into the diſcourſe whereof I enter as followeth.

## The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minoritie or his inſufficiencie of gouernement, or during his abſence out of the realme.

Conanus. Conanus was gouernor vnder Thereus about the yeare before the birth of Chriſt, one hundred thirtie and ſeuen: for Thereus renouncing the kingdome and fleeing to Yorke, where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thereus, was regent or gouernour, of whom writeth Leſleus lib. 2. pag. 89. Conanus qui rempublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optimè adminiſtraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo viuo nullum alium regem ſubſtituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, Ioſina eius frater ſuffectus eſt.

Cadallus. Cadallus liuing about the yeare before the birth of Chriſt, ſeuentie and nine, did purſue Gillus (the baſtard of Euenus) hauing ſlaine the ſonne of Euenus, and vſurping the crowne, of whom thus writeth Leſleus lib. 6, pag. 92. Tandem auctore Cadallo viro fortiſſimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea conſtitutus eſt, quidam in illum (which was Gillus) conſpirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam aſſecuti, inita prius pugna capiunt, & ſtatim capite plectuntur.

Argadus erle of Argile. Argadus earle of Argile, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt one hundred fortie and eight, was caſt in priſon for his euill life, was by the nobilitie choſen gouernour of Scotland, after which Ethodius the next king, whome this Argadus holpe vnto the crowne made him chiefe iuſtice of Scotland to him and his heires, which function at this date the earles of Argile do inioie by inheritance.

Donald, Colollan, Mordacke and Conrade were made gouernors of the kingdome, for thus writeth Leſleus lib. 4. pag. 198. Senectutis tandem tædio illius (which was Elphine who began his reigne about the yeare of Chriſt, ſeuen hundred thirtie and three) vires ita debilitatæ ſunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo impar fuerit, quatuor ſui regni regulos (in quibus præſtans quædam ſed ficata virtutis ſpecies eluxit) delegit, quibus ſingulis ſingulas prouincias decreuit; Donaldo Argadiam; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco Gallouidiam; & Conano Morauiam. Donald, Colollan, Mordacke, & Conrade.

William Fraiſer biſhop of S. Andrews, &c: after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand two hundred foure ſcore and three, who died without iſſue, the nobilitie (becauſe it was not knowen to whome the kingdome did apperteine, ſith there were manie which claimed the ſame, as Baliol, Bruſe, Haſtings, and others) agréed amongſt themſelues, and choſe ſix regents or gouernors of the ſame, vntil a king were fullie known and eſtabliſhed: the names of which ſix were theſe, William Fraiſer biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, Duncane earle of Fife, John Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of the north parts were committed. The other three were Robert biſhop of Glaſcow, ſir John Cumine, and James high ſteward of Scotland, who had the diſpoſition of the ſouth parts. William Fraiſer.

Hugh Creſſingham an Engliſhman was made gouernor of Scotland by Edward the firſt, who going into France about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred ninetie and ſix, after that he had brought Scotland vnder his ſubiection, appointed the ſaid Hugh (whom he had before made treaſuror of Scotland) to haue the gouernment of that realme in his abſence, whileſt he was buſied in the wars of France. But not long after, this Creſſingham was ſlaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and ſuch Scots as attempted by all the force they could to ſet themſelues at libertie from the ſubiection of the Engliſh) in the ides of September, in the yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand two hundred ninetie and ſeuen, at what time alſo Andrew Murreie was ſlaine, whoſe ſonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan) adminiſter and gouerne Scotland for the king. Hugh Creſſingham. Buchan. lib. 8.

William Wallace after manie worthie exploits done in the behalfe of his countrie againſt the Engliſh, was for the Scots choſen gouernor of the realme vnder John Baliol, when the king had forſaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand two hundred ninetie and ſix, who after that (as is before touched) did ſlea Creſſingham the gouernor of Scotland vnder the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred nintie and eight renounce his office of gouernor, and was in the end for his rebellion againſt king Edward the firſt king of England, and abſolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, drawen, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and fiue. William Wallace.

John Cumine, after that William Wallace had giuen ouer his office of gouernor, was choſen to be gouernor for the Scots, in purpoſe to trie with the Engliſhmen for their liberties, which being knowen to Edward the firſt king of England, he ſent an armie into the countrie, and deſtroied it. Wherupon John Cumine admitted Simon Fraiſer fellow with him in the adminiſtration of the wars againſt the John Cumine.

the Engliſh, and diſcomfited the Engliſh in the yere of our Lord God one thouſand thrée hundred and two. After which, king Edward being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Odomare de Ualence his deputie in Scotland.

Odomare de Ualence or Aimer de Ualence.

Odomare de Ualence or Aimer de Ualence, vncle to king Edward the firſt king of England by the halfe bloud, was about the yeare of our Lord one thouſand thrée hundred and foure, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the firſt king of England, who before in the yeare one thouſand thrée hundred & two, toke William Wallace and ſent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruſe being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of June in the yéere of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred and ſix, at Peſen diſcomfited by the Engliſh armie, and put to flight by the ſaid Odomare de Ualence, who after baniſhed all thoſe which anie waie toke part with king Robert Bruſe. But in the end Robert Bruſe recouering himſelfe & more aid, draue all the Engliſhmen out of Scotland, gouerning the kingdome all his life, by himſelfe & his ſubſtitutes, as by that which followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Murreie, much about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred and ſix and twentie, being about the 21 yere of Robert Bruſe, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruſe being fallen into extreme ſickeneſſe, whereby he could not wéeld the ſcepter to gouerne as the ſtate of that countrie required, cõmitted the adminiſtration of the reime to erle Thomas Randolph, and to James Dowglaſſe knight, who ruled the ſame to their ſingular commendation, and the countries good about foure yeares, during the life of the ſaid Robert Bruſe, whoſe death happened in the yére of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Dauid his ſonne came to the crowne, being but ſeuen yeares old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the adminiſtration of the kingdome as regent of the ſame, during the kings minoritie and inſufficiencie of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betweene England and Scotland. Shortlie after which the gouernor died of poiſon at Muſcleborough, in the yere of our redemption one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and one, being about the ſecond yeare of king Dauid, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two ſons, John erle of Murreie, and Thomas, both being perſons worthie of ſuch a father.

Patrike Dunbar.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this ſort. After the death of earle Thomas Randolph, there was an aſſemblie of parlement of the three eſtates of the realme, in which in the ſaid yeare of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and one, and the ſecond yere of the reigne of king Dauid, theſe two, Patrike earle of March and Dauid (whom Leſle calleth Donald) earle of Marre were choſen gouernors of the reime by common conſent. Whereof the firſt had the charge of that part of the reime which lieth on the ſouth ſide of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and two was ſlaine ſléeping in his bed at Duplin nære to the water of Erne, by ſuch as followed and toke part with Edward Baliol atteining the crowne, and expelling Dauid from the kingdome.

Andrew Murreie.

Andrew Murreie, a man of great power, and of no leſſe poſſeſſion, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Marre, and ioined in that office with Patrike of Dunbar earle of March. Shortlie after which this Andrew was taken priſoner at Rockſborough, being yet in the end ranſomed for a great ſumme of gold. After which he died of a vehement ſickneſſe, and was buried in Roſe Markie, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Dowglaſſe.

Archibald Dowglaſſe, after the decreaſe of Andrew Murreie, was by one conſent of the nobilitie choſen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murreie, whileſt king Edward did beſiege Berwike, who raiſing a power of men entred England, and cauſed the king to remoue his ſiege of Berwike. Afterward this Dowglaſſe was ſlaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and two (as ſome haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan refer it to the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and thrée, the nineténth of Julie.

David Cumine.

David Cumine was made protector in this ſort. When that Edward the third king of England, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and ſix had entred Scotland with maine force by land and by ſea; he afterwards hauing Edward Baliol the king of Scotland in his companie with 50000 men came by land to Glaſcow: but perceiuing no reſiſtance againſt him, retired with Baliol into England, and left Dauid Cumine earle of Atholl gouernor in his rome, to win ſuch holds and ſtrengths as were yet defended againſt him. Which Dauid toke on him to be gouernor in the name of Edward Plantagenet king of England, and of Edward Baliol king of Scots, ſeizing into his hands all the lands which perteined to Robert Steward, ſo that at one time there was chopping and changing of gouernors by each part which became ſtronger.

Robert Steward.

Robert Steward regent of Scotland poſſeſſed that place, at this time alſo when Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Baliol; for this writeth Leſleus li. 7. pa. 234. Verùm ne patria gubernatoris imperio deſtituta, aduerſariorum inſidijs pateret magis, Robertus Stuartus omnem regni curam in ſe tranſtulit, quoad Dauid ex Gallia rediret, ipſe tũc regni gubernacula ſuſcepturus. By which words appeareth, that as Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Baliol gone into England, ſo this Robert Steward toke vpon him the regent ſhip for king Dauid Bruſe fled into France: the which he the rather did, becauſe he would incounter Dauid Cumine which had ſpoiled him of all his liuings and patrimonie. Which Robert being thus procurator of the kingdome, granted ſundrie priuileges to the inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongſt other things, to be frée from paieng of tribute of corne and graine. For this Steward togither with John Randolph earle of Murreie, were by a councell aſſembled at Edenborough by generall voices elected and confirmed to be gouernors of the realme, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and foure, or one thouſand thrée hundred thirtie and fiue.

John Randolph earle of Murreie protector.

Robert Steward.

Robert Steward earle of Fife, ſecond ſonne to Robert Steward the firſt king of Scotland (by the name of Steward) and the ſecond by the name of Robert, was (becauſe his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the conſent of the realme during the life of his father, about the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand thrée hundred foure ſcore and nine, being about the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Robert the ſecond: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dieng in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hun-

dred

dred & ninetie. After whoſe death, when Robert the third, being before called John, came to the kingdome, and had by a fall from his horſſe ſo bruſed himſelfe, that he was not able to follow the gouernement of the kingdome, this Robert earle of Fife his brother was made gouernor of the kingdome. After which about the yeare of our redemption one thouſand three hundred ninetie and eight, being about the ninth yeare of Robert the third king of Scotland, the king created this Robert Steward duke of Albanie, being one of the firſt dukes which were made in Scotland. Beſides which alſo, after the death of the ſame Robert the third, which fell in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, this Robert duke of Albanie was by new election, or rather confirmation eſtabliſhed in the office of gouernor (as haue ſome Scotiſh chronicles) which duke of Albanie died in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred and nineteene, the third of September, when he had béene gouernor fifteene yeares after the death of Robert the third. Wherein it ſeemeth to me for this time that there is much difference of yeares, if the Scots haue truelie ſet the ſame downe: for thoſe accounts can not ſtand together, with the death of king Robert the third, and the yeares gouernement of the duke of Albanie, after the death of the king. But I paſſe it ouer, and rather impute the fault to the offendor, in miſtaking the figure of the number of yeares, than anie want of conſideration in the writer of the hiſtorie.

Murdacke Steward.

Murdacke Steward erle of Fife & Pentith, the eldeſt ſonne of Robert duke of Albanie, was after his fathers death made gouernor of Scotland, continuing in that office by the ſpace of foure yeares, vntill about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure, in which yeare he found meanes to bring home James the right king of Scots, who had béene eightéene yeares deteined in England, and placed him in the kingdome of Scotland, by the name of James the firſt: at what time the crowne was ſet vpon the kings head with the hands of the ſaid Murdacke the gouernor, & Henrie biſhop of ſaint Andrews. This duke was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and ſix, and in the ſecond yeare of the reigne of James the firſt conuicted of high treaſon, and beheaded before the caſtell of Sterling. He had iſſue two ſons, Walter Steward, and Alexander, which were alſo beheaded at the ſame place the daie before the death of their father.

Alexander Leuingſtone.

Alexander Leuingſtone knight was made gouernor the daie after that James the ſecond was crowned, in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand foure hundred thirtie & ſix: for the king being but ſix yeares old, the nobilitie did appoint the ſaid Alexander Leuingſtone of Calender knight to be gouernor of the realme: at what time the kings perſon was committed to the education and rule of

William Creicton.

William Creicton knight lord chancellor, who was then confirmed in his office. After this in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred fortie and foure, about the eight yere of James the ſecond, they both (through diſſention which had long continued betweene them about their authorities) were put from their offices, remoued from the king all their friends, baniſhed the court, and they themſelues commanded to appéere before the king: which bicauſe they refuſed ſo to do, they were both proclamed rebels and put to the horne.

Marie.

Marie the daughter of the duke of Guelderland & widow to James the ſecond, was appointed with others to be gouernors: for after the death of James the ſecond, which fell in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred & three ſcore (when James the third hir ſonne was but ſeauen yeares old) the nobilitie aſſembled at Edenborough to prouide for the adminiſtration of the realme, becauſe the king was ſo yong. Wherevpon there were ſeuen regents appointed for the gouernement both of the kings perſon, and alſo of the kingdome, which were Marie the quéene his mother, James Kennedie biſhop of S. Andrews, being ſiſters ſonne to James the firſt, the biſhop of Glaſcow, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and Orkenie. Theſe ſo long as Kennedie liued, agréed well togither about the gouernment of the realme; but ſhortlie after his deceaſe, or rather before, they fell at square, which we will more largelie touch hereafter when we haue a little ſpoken of the death of this biſhop, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and ſix, and in the firſt yeare of the reigne of king James the third, who being buried in the college of ſaint Sauior which he founded moſt ſumptuouſlie in the towne of ſaint Andrews, did in his life time beſides his biſhoprike hold in his poſſeſſion the commandrie of the abbeie of Pettinwen, which was worth vnto him 800 crownes by yeare: the grauitie and wiſdome of which biſhop occaſioned Leſleus in his commendation to ſet downe theſe few words.

Hic (which was this biſhop of ſaint Andrews) prudentia conſilióque ita valuit, vt quicquid latebat in republica inſidiarum, apperiret, vnde meritò poteſt dici, non armis regem, ſed ingenio epiſcopum Douglaſij ſuperbiam fregiſſe, ac furorem retudiſſe. Tria confecit (quorum fabrica artificio inſigniter polita, & ſumptu magnificè inſtructa, omnibus admirationem ſui faciebant) collegium ſancti Saluatoris, in quo iuuentus ad eruditionem ac religionem informari poſſit; ſepulchrum quo mortuus tegebatur, ac nauim onerariam ingentis magnitudinis. Horum vnumquódque eiuſdem fuiſſe pretij vulgi ſermone celebratum eſt. After his death, or rather (as hath Hector Boetius) in his life, in the ſecond yeare of the reigne of king James the third, being in the yeare that the word became fleſh one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and two, there was diſcord kindled betweene quéene Marie the Dowager, and the archbiſhop Kennedie, who perceiuing that the woman did wholie ſéeke to vſurpe the gouernement vnto hir ſelfe, withſtood it in that behalfe, inſomuch that it was doubted that the matter would haue broken forth into ſome ciuill warre, if that the biſhops of Glaſcow, Dunkeld, and Aberden, with certeins abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt both the parties for attonement, who wrought ſo effectuouſlie therein, that the matter was quieted in this maner. The quéene mother was appointed to haue the charge and cuſtodie of the kings perſon, and of his brethren Alexander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Marre, and alſo of their two ſiſters. But as for the adminiſtration and gouernement of the realme of Scotland, ſhe ſhould leaue it to the péeres, wherefore by common conſent there were elected as gouernors the biſhops of Glaſcow, and Dunkeld, the earle of Orkenie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor.

Margaret.

Margaret the daughter to Henrie the ſeuenth king of England was (after the death of hir huſband James the fourth, and in the minoritie of hir ſonne James the fift, being but a yeare and ſix moneths old when he was inueſted with the kingdome) made regent of the realme, which ſhe ſhould gouerne by the counſell of James Betune archbiſhop of Glaſcow, the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and

Arrane, but shortlie after they falling out amongst themselues for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

John duke of Albanie.

John duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and gouernor of the realme, as he which next of blood to the king, and nèerest to the crowne) was by vniuersall consent at saint Johns towne admitted to those offices accordinglie, hauing the same confirmed vnto him by a parlement holden at Edenburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirtèene, and the first yeare of the yong king James the fift. Whereof intelligence being brought vnto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and fourtèene, directeth dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred and fiftèene, and in the third of James the fift, on the seuentènth of Maie, he arriued at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of gouernor, who was honorablie interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edenburgh. After which a parlement was made to be called at Edenburgh (being but the continuance of the former parlement, as my memorie serueth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed gouernor, the scepter and sword being deliuered vnto him, and an oth by him to the lords, and by the lords to him giuen, that ech of them should be faithfull to ech other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and seuentèene, as saieth Lesleus, committeth the gouernement of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrews and Glascow, and to the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane. And least ante euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edenburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Eschwine, Bothwike, and Ruthwèene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke hauing thus beene about some three yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and twentie, remaining still gouernor: but in following time, which was the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and foure, and about the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king James the fift, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the quèene.

Margaret the quèene, the mother of James the fift, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and foure, the six and twentith of Julie) find meanes that the yong king came from Sterling vnto Edenburgh: three daies after which the quèene toke the whole gouernment vpon hir, and entred into the castle of Edenburgh with the king, making the lord Mariwell prouost of Edenburgh. Then the quèene appointing a parlement to be held the Februarie following, there were in the same parlement eight lords chosen to be of the kings priuie councell, to take on them the gouernment of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrewes and Glascow, the bishops of Aberden & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane and Leneur, to whom the quèene was adioined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus in the end fullie getting the whole gouernement into his hands.

Archibald Dowglas.

Archibald Dowglas (after that the bishop of Dunbane was dead, and the quèene gone vnto Sterling, leauing the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and fiue, being about the thirtenth of James the fift) toke the whole gouernement vpon him both of the king and kingdome, setting vp, remouing, and pulling downe what officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaration of his authoritie and gouernment, made his vncle Archibald Dowglas treasuror of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas and the earle of Leneur who assisted him. After which there was a diuorce had betwèene the quèene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and eight, and the sirtènth yeare of the same James the fift, was atteinted by parlement holden at Edenburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute gouernment into his hands in the seuentènth yeare of his age, and the said sirtenth yeare of his said gouernement. Whereupon the yeare following, this Archibald came vnto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason wherof he fled into England.

James earle of Arrane.

James earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of James the fift) being but seuen daies old obteined the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclamed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that Dauid Beton, fauorer of the French causes had without all reason vsurped the gouernment, vnder the pretense of a deuised will and testament of James the fift, in which testament he was appointed gouernor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quèenes consent a gouernor to the person of the yong quèen, which was the lord Leuingstone capteine of Lithquo. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, being the second yere of quèen Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michaell. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, being about the twelfe yeare of quèene Marie, this earle was inforced to leaue his office of gouernor, and the quèene toke the same into hir hands, appointing procurators to rule the same vnder hir: whereupon the gouernor in the yeare following, being one thousand fiue hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chatelerault. The procurators which were appointed for and by quèene Marie, were (as hath Lesleus) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinall of Lorreine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus writeth the same Lesleus in these words: Hos (which was hir curators) sibi in Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the quèene of Scots) matris suasu, Henricum regem Franciæ, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisium eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem reginæ matri procurandam transtulerunt: &c. This duke had issue James Hamilton earle of Arrane after lunatike, and one Dauid Hamilton.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 517.

Marie dowager of Scotland.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as widow to James the fift, and mother to the yong quèene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfe yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quèene Marie, made regent of Scotland vnder hir daughter the same yong quèene, which office

office this regent toke vpon hir hauing the ſame confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about ſix yeares, & died in the caſtle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and three ſcore, being vpon the point of the eightéenth yeare of quéene Marie, whoſe bodie (as hath Leſleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth: Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 569. Fuit autem corpus in Galliam poſtea tranſuectum, primùm ad monaſteriũ Feckamenſe, quod in Normania eſt, deinde ad cœnobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui ſoror ipſius piè tunc præerat, delatũ, honorificè condebatur.

James Steward. James Steward baſtard ſonne to king James the fift king of Scots, and baſe brother to Marie quéene of Scots now liuing and impriſoned, being prior of ſaint Andrews and earle of Mar, was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three-ſcore and two, being about the twentith yeare of the reigne of the ſame quéene Marie, made earle of Murreie. About fiue yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conſpired againſt quéene Marie, toke hir, committed hir to priſon, depoſed hir, and vpon the ſame (on the nineténth daie of Julie in the ſhe yeare a thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore & ſeuen, being the fiue & twentith yeare of the reigne of that quéene) aduanced hir ſonne Charles James Steward (being then about a yeare old) to the kingdome, by the name of James the firſt: this James earle of Murreie, was made regent and gouernor of the yong king James the firſt, and of the kingdome: who vpon the office receiued, did by parlement abolith the popes authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent vntill his death, falling about the time of thrée yeares after. For in the time of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the firſt, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was ſhot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and ſo wounded, that he died of the hurt the nert daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Murreie, maried Agnes Keith daughter to the earle Marſhall.

Matthew earle of Leneur. Matthew earle of Leneur, being ſent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Murreie, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the firſt, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a conuention of the lords of Sterling. After which in Auguſt following, there was another conuention at Edenburgh, where by the conſent of the three eſtates of the realme, the ſaid earle was made regent of Scotland, at what time the earle of Huntleie toke vpon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie quéene of Scots remaining then vnder cuſtodie in England, which Huntleie in hir name ſummoned a parlement at Lithquo the 21 daie of September, wherevnto the earle of Leneur was ſummoned: to incounter which, the earle of Leneur cauſed a parlement likewiſe to be ſummoned in the kings name at the ſame place, wherevnto the earle of Huntleie was warned at the ſame daie. But the earle of Huntleie comming no néerer at that time than Brechin, it was ordered by the regent Leneur and the nobilitie, to purſue him: whereupon inſued great warres betweene the nobilitie of Scotland diuided into factions, ſome taking part with the depoſed quéene Marie, and other with the yong king in poſſeſſion. During which turmoiles & warres, this earle of Leneur hauing bin regent about a yeare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a piſtoll by capteine Cawder, whereof he ſhortlie after died, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and eleuen, being about the fourth yeare of James the firſt.

John Areſkin earle of Mar. John Areſkin earle of Mar was made regent after the death of the earle Leneur, as maie apeare by that which I haue before ſet downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whome ſucceeded the earle Morton, of whome I haue a little before ſpoken, and of whome we will more intreat hereafter, when we come to ſpeake of his beheading, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred foureſcore and one, falling about the fourtéenth yeare of Lewes the firſt, after that the ſaid earle had continued that office about fiue yeares. For being aduanced to that place, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred threéſcore and twelue, he continued in the ſame, vntill he ſurrendered it, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and ſeuentéene, as is before touched. Thus ſetting end to the diſcourſe of the protectors of Scotland, let vs deſcend to other matters which haue ſucceeded.

Earle Morton regent of Scotland.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and ſeuentéene, we ſaie that much about the time in the which the earle Morton gaue ouer his regentſhip, that the lord Glames, who was then in office of the chancellorſhip, was trecherouſlie ſlaine by his enimies at Sterling, with a ſhot of purpoſe diſcharged againſt him, as he was comming out of Sterling caſtell, & going to his owne lodging from the councell or parlement. Whereby it ſeemeth that this murthering by ſudden ſhot began now to be a common thing: for there were three great perſons in ſhort time diſpatched after that ſort, which were the earles of Murreie and Leneur regents, & this lord Glames chancellor. After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was aduanced to that place, and inueſted with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing ſo good occaſion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancellor to treate of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor diſagréable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, ſomewhat by wate of digreſſion, to diſcourſe of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of the name, and other circumſtances belonging thereto.

The lord Glames chancellor ſlaine.

The earle of Atholl made chancellor.

The originall of the office of the chancellor. This officer the chancellor had his firſt originall in Scotland by Malcolme the ſecond of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie neceſſarie lawes for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did alſo firſt ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancellor, conſtable, marſhall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Leſleus in his hiſtorie of Scotland in theſe words: Fœliciter rempublicam haud paucos annos adminiſtrauit (king Malcolme) multis & egregijs operibus illuſtris: intérque cætera municipialium legum volumen condidit, quas noſtrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis ſeruarunt, nihil pene immutatas, regiorum magiſtratuum iudicúmque, quos licet mundiùs, magiſque Latinè vocare poſſunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, conſtabilem, mariſcallum, camerarium, inſticiariúmque vocitant, & qui a ſecretis, a theſauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo eſſent: cunctorúmque miniſtrorum aulæ annua ſalaria, vt noſtris diebus penduntur, quantúmque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac cæteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribúſque ſoluendum foret, inſtituit. Leſleus lib. 5. pag. 204. This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the Confeſſor, ſéemeth alſo to me co-

nerlie to proue, that the ſame officer was in England before the time of the ſame king, ſith it appeareth, that the Scots for the moſt part haue alwaies taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and cuſtomes from vs, as will be I doubt not ſufficientlie proued, although it maie be that ſome will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen and Romans as other nations had: which as I do not ſuppoſe, becauſe the Romans had but little dooings amongeſt them, for as they neuer vſed anie ſuch officer in this land whileſt they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) ſo it may be, (becauſe they will not ſéeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will ſuppoſe that they had the firſt ground of this officer from the French, with whome they haue alwaies béene in league euer ſince the time of their king Achaius the firſt, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt ſeuen hundred fourеſcore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing that to be as it will (ſith it is no diſhonor for one nation to deriue their good lawes, beneficiall cuſtomes, or needfull officers from another, no more than it was for the Romans to fetch their lawes of the twelue tables from the Grecians) true it is, that this officer ſo ordeined by Malcolme amongſt the Scots, was ſuch an officer as was vſed amongſt the Romans, touching the cauſe of whoſe name, the ciuilians affirme that he was called Cancellarius à cancellando, cuius officium eſt reſcripta, vel reſponſa imperatoris, & mandata inſpicere, mala ſcripta cãcellare, & bene ſcripta cũ ſignaculo ſuo ſignare, & ſigillũ eis imprimere. Of which word chancellor is riſen this name, Archicãcellarius quaſi princeps cancellariæ, as is noted by Azo in ſumma.

This officer taking his name of Cancellando, (that is) of defacing, blotting, or putting out of writings, did vſe to annull all writings, as we at this daie do obſerue in our chancerie, by drawing certeine ſtrokes or lines made croſſe one vpon an other ouer the writing, in forme of wodden latices, in Latine termed Cancelli, which are either ſuch latices as we at this daie, and of antiquitie vſed in windowes, or ſuch as were made to compaſſe about the iudgement ſeats. For thus ſaid the ciuilians touching that; Cancelli ſunt ligna inter ſe modicis interuallis in traſuerſum connexa, quibus tribunalia, ſcænæ & feneſtræ muniri conſueuerunt. And Cicero ſaith in his firſt booke *De Oratore*; Forenſibus cancellis circumſcriptam ſententiam, &c. From which word Cancelli, is deduced this word Cancellare. For thus do ſome write thereof: Cancello verbum videtur eſſe deductum à Cancellis, in quibus vt tranſuerſaria nectuntur ligna, ita cum ſcripta expungenda ſunt, tranſuerſo calamo lineæ inducuntur, quod propriè illinere, ſeu allinere eſt, vel litura: whervpon thus writeth Q. F. Horace the liricall poet in his tract called the art of poetrie:

——incomptis allinet atrum
Tranſuerſo calamo ſignum, &c:

as who ſhould ſaie, He doth cancell and blot out the writing with lines drawne one ouer an other like latices, the ciuilians fullie agréeing to the ſame and ſaieng, that Cancellare eſt ſcripta tranſductis lineis inſtar cancellorum delere. Beſide which this word Cancellarius is alſo by ſome (whoſe curious ears and pens count the words of former ages to be barbarous) taken ſcarſelie for good Latine, and therefore ſaie that this officer more purelie ought to be called Scribarum præfectus, of which number Polydor Virgil is one, who in his admonition to the reader, at the end of his hiſtorie of England, ſetteth downe theſe words: Monitum te optime lector volo, per multa verba minùs Latina longo vſu non item ratione iam primùm in conſuetudinẽ quotidiani ſermonis veniſſe, ſic vt velimus nolimus ea interdum vſurpare cogamur, cuiuſmodi ſunt dux & comes, olim officij tantùm at ſummæ nuc dignitatis vocabula. Item comitatus pro regione, cancellarius pro ſcribarum, abbas prior pro monachorum præfecto: and Leland calleth the chancellor Archigrammateus. Beſides which there be ſome in our age, who ſearching after the originall & etymologies of names, affirme this word chancellor to be deriued from the Saxon tong, as it were a cleare or ſhining perſon or one excelling other men: compounding that word of theſe two parts, chance and clere, in which word this part clere doth after the Saxon ſignifie in Latine Præeminens, or clarus, and that part chance muſt note to vs a man. But how aptlie and trulie the ſame may ſtand to make the etymon of chancellor, I leaue to others to conſider. This thus ſaid for the originall and name of the officer called the chancellor, of whoſe ſucceſſion we will talke hereafter, and will now returne to the matters of Scotland in this ſort.

In the moneth of Julie there was a parlement of the nobilitie aſſembled, where Robert Steward great vncle to the king was created erle of Leneur, being girded with the ſword of that earledome, after the death of Charles Steward, ſonne of Matthew Steward erle of Leneur, wherof we haue before intreated. But ouerpaſſing this Robert, being honoured with a new title, not due to him by inheritance, for anie thing which I can yet perceiue, we will for a while take our leaue of the Scotiſh ſoile, though not of the Scotiſh perſons, and remember to ſpeake ſomewhat of the doings of Steward, coronell of the Scots, which ſerued in the wars of the low countries: where he behaued himſelfe right valiantlie to his owne and his countries commendation. For when the warres were at the hotteſt in thoſe low countries betweene the ſtates and king Philip (at what time the archduke Matthias was generall for the noblemen or ſtates, and John duke of Auſtria, the baſe ſonne of Charles the fift, and like brother to king Philip, was gouernour of thoſe parts for the ſame king Philip) the ſtates gathered a puiſſant armie of all ſuch nations as were there in ſeruice with them (as Engliſh, Scots, Germans, and their owne countriemen) vnder the conduct of the countie Boſſue, with whome duke John of Auſtria determining to encounter, hoping by that one conflict to ſet end to all the warres, and to make a full pacification of the countrie: it happened that on the firſt of Auguſt, in this yeare that the armie of the duke of Auſtria comming to viſit the armie of the ſtates (which late then incamped in the field called Remnant) that in the armie (as I ſaid before compoſed of diuerſe nations both footmen and horſſemen) there was amongſt others one companie of Scots vnder the leading of Steward their capteine and countriman, who being with his companie called forth into the battell, was appointed to keepe the ſtreict on the left ſide, when the Engliſh ſhould keepe the like ſtreict on the right hand. After which the enimie making towards the armie of the ſtates, they were intercepted by the Engliſh, who interteined them with ſuch ſufficient ſkirmiſh, as that they forced Don Johns men to giue ground and retire towards the ſtrength of the Scots (which the ſame Steward had in charge) and that ſo farre, that in the ſame action the Engliſh brought themſelues betwixt the enimie and the Scots, who miſtaking the companie, and ſuppoſing them to be their enimies, gaue them from the hedge, where they laie ſuch a volée of ſhot, that it made them to loſe more ground than euer the enimie could haue done.

The enimie in the meane time perceiuing that, and

1578 Robert Steward created earle of Leneur.

The tragicall hiſtorie of the ciuill warres of the low countries, *li* 4. *fo.* 31. Churchyards choice.

*Gl. in l. ſi quis, libertatem, de pet. hæred.*

and being now fighting vpon the retreit came forward with great force and furie, hauing a new supplie of numbers of freſh ſouldiors to ſuccour them. All which notwithſtanding they could not for all that they might do, force them to abandon the ſtreit which they had in charge, vntill ſuch time as certeine Engliſhmen (that were left within the cloſes to diſcouer the enimie) brought word that the enimie had entred the ſtreit vpon the Scots. Which thing was in déd verie true, for euen at that inſtant the fire was ſéene to ariſe in the village, and the whole forces which were to enter betwéene the water and the Engliſh companies, retired themſelues to the heath againe. The Scots then valiantlie making good their fight vpon the retreit, the lieutenant of the Engliſh was likewiſe driuen to the ſame: which if he had not done, the enimie had cut betwixt him, his companie and the trenches. This being well perceiued by capteine Liggins, he preſentlie aduanced himſelfe, and was now come halfe the waie to the ſuccour of the lieutenant, to preuent the enimie and to ioine with the forces of the ſame lieutenant, all who being gotten togither doo retire to the church, and perceiuing that the enimie came on appaſe, the lieutenant of the Engliſh leaueth capteine Liggins to a reaſonable ground of ſtrength to interteine them, when he himſelfe rideth backe to fetch releefe for capteine Liggins his retreit.

The enimie ſéeing the ſtreit of the waie, and that their other forces preuailed more on the other ſtreit, forſooke anie longer to attempt the ſame againſt the Engliſh, and retired themſelues all they might on the ſide ouer the cloſes, to ioine them with their other forces, which had euen now paſſed the ſtreit which the Scots had in gard, who all togither made haſt vp to the hill, and ſo to the burnt houſe, then fired by the Scots, at that inſtant forſaking the field, and retiring them to the campe, after that they had obteined victorie againſt the Spaniards, by valiant reſiſting & purſuing the force of the enimie. At what time alſo maiſter Norris coronell of the Engliſh, and the forenamed maiſter Steward coronell of the Scots, carried awaie the whole commendation of this victorie obteined by the men of theſe two nations of England and Scotland. But leauing the Scots reioiſing of this good ſucceſſe in thoſe low countries, we will call backe our pen and reſalute the countrie of Scotland, at this time in ſome ciuill diſſentions amongſt themſelues, whereof theſe manie yeares, ſince the gouernment of this yong king, it ſéemeth to me that it hath not long béene free.

In the forenamed moneth of Auguſt, there grew ſecret diſſention amongſt the nobilitie at home, which ſtill continued & fed the former vnkindlie fire of contention betweene the two factions of the yong king, and the impriſoned queene: by occaſion whereof the realme was diuided into three parts, ſome following the king, ſome ſtanding one the queenes ſide, & ſome aſſiſting neither of both, all which by ſome were termed by three ſeuerall names; as the kings faction, the part of the male-contents, and the neutrals, conſiſting of ſuch as remained indifferent on both ſides, neither ſeeking to vphold the one or to ſuppreſſe the other. Amongſt which on the kings part were manie earls, lords and biſhops, as Dowglaſſe erle Morton admerall of Scotland, Dowglaſſe erle of Angus, Dowglaſſe earle of Buquhane, Areſkin earle of Marre, Steward earle Bothwell, Cuningham earle of Glenkarne, Leſleh earle of Wrothouſe, Montgomerie earle of Eglington, Steward earle of Dikeneie, and Steward earle of Lenoux, all which were in houſe with the king, and attendant vpon his perſon, with whome were confederat the lords Bold, Ochiltree, Ruthwen treaſuror of Scotland, Harris, Marwell, Lindſeie, Semple, and others.

Beſides theſe, biſhops and abbats, that is to ſaie, Patrike Adamſon archbiſhop of S. Andrews, Cuningham (kinſman to the erle of Glencarne) biſhop of Aberden, Bold (of blood and kindered with the lord Bold) archbiſhop of Glaſcow, Dolwglaſſe biſhop of Mannaw, Herburne biſhop of Roſſe, Robert Petcarne abbat of Dunfermeling, cheefe ſecretarie of Scotland, Colvington abbat of Cowlros, Richard Bedwell abbat of Holierood houſe, one of the councell, the abbats of Cambuſkinnell and of Dribourgh, with James Maghill maiſter of the rolles, or clearke of the regiſter, and one of the councell. Theſe noble perſons thus aiding the king, the partie of the male-contents was ſupported by manie other perſons of the nobilitie: as Camberle erle of Argile, Steward earle of Atholl, Sincleare earle of Cathneſſe, Gordon earle of Southerland, Gordon earle Huntleie (who was verie yong, of ſix yeares of age, and had his power with theſe earles) the earles of Mentros and Menteth (being both ſurnamed Grahams) and Kenedie earle of Caſſelles a child of three yeares old, whoſe ſtrength was alſo ioined to theſe male-contents. Beſides which earles there was to aſſiſt thoſe male-contents Crawford ſhiriffe of Aire, Kenedie lord of Kargenie, Kenedie lord of Blacheſkichen, the lords of Marewell, Lochenar, Hume (being but ſix yeares old) which Hume lord of Colden Knolles (warden of the middle marches of Scotland) Alexander Hume of Maundſtone, Care (lord Sefford, and the lord Lindſeie, with the Hebburns, which wholie depended vpon the lord Lindſeie; vnto whom in like ſort, as partaking of the ſame malecontentment, were added Alexander Areſkine, of Mar, vncle to the earle of Mar, & capteine of the caſtell of Edenburgh, and Cunningham the laird of Drumwaſſell, capteine of Dunbritaine, with manie other perſons of honour and ſtrength.

The heads of theſe two factions thus ſet downe, it reſteth now to declare who were the neutrals, who being but few, and as I can yet learne onelie three in number, ſo they were of no great power; aſwell for that the one of them being Keth the earle Marſhall, was a tickelie man; as for that the Hamiltons were not beloued of the king, nor greatlie eſteemed of the other factions: and the third, the Leuingſtons familie, wanting their head the lord of that houſe, being then in France, whereby they could not be of great power, which part ſoeuer they ſhould ſupport. The order of which diuiſion and proceeding in Scotland, comming afterward to the knowledge of the queene of England, who had ſent Robert Bowes a man of good ſeruice hir ambaſſador into Scotland, ſhe did alſo (tendering the yong king of Scots, and as a carefull neighbour and louing godmother, fearing leaſt that he might receiue iniurie, by the aſſemblie of theſe malecontents, whoſe power grew to be ſomewhat ſtrong) direct hir commiſſion to the earle of Huntington, preſident of the north in England, and to the lord Hunſdon capteine of Berwike, they both being of blood and alliance vnto hir maieſtie. In which commiſſion, ſhe willed them to leuie an armie of footemen and horſſemen to be imploied in thoſe warres. All which theſe Engliſh lords ſhould haue in a redineſſe, againſt ſuch time as the ſaid maiſter Bowes (who, as ye haue heard before, had béene ſent into Scotland to pacifie theſe troubles, and to eſtabliſh a quiet peace and loue amongſt them) ſhould giue knowledge for their entrance into the Scotiſh dominions (vnder the conduct of the ſame lord of Hunſdon) againſt the power of thoſe male-contents. Whereupon the

lord

lord Hunſdon (hauing a time appointed him accordinglie, and being in order ſet, well furniſhed with men and munition) ſetting forward to execute the force of his commiſſion, threatned ſpoile to manie places of Scotland belonging to the borderers, and burnt the houſes of the lords there inhabiting: if they ioined themſelues with the male-contents, as they had fullie deliberated for to do. By reaſon whereof, they leauing their former determination, and for that preſent refuſing to ioine againſt the king: theſe male-contents (doubting the ſequell of their attempt, and how they might performe that which they had taken in hand, being now in the field and in armes (againſt the other faction) began to hearken vnto a pacification, and were after reconciled to the king and the other lords, about the two and twentith of the ſame moneth of Auguſt, as I haue béene informed. Which matter being more largelie to be diſcuſſed, becauſe it is knowne by the name of the battell of Fankirke, I muſt for this time paſſe ouer, determining hereafter more liberallie to intreat thereof. Wherefore, falling into other matter, we ſaie, that much about this time, Iohn Leſle biſhop of Roſſe (who had ſome yeares before béene ſome certeine time impriſoned in the Tower of London in England, and had trauelled to Rome about the affaires of the impriſoned queene of Scotland, where he labored to procure ſuch aid for hir, as the princes which fauored hir faction would yeld) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Randulph, as the ſecond of that name now emperor. Which Leſle, taking his iournie out of Italie, paſſed through the frontier townes of Germanie, and was ſtaied at Phaltzburgh, otherwiſe called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bauier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Weldtzens; in which citie, his cofers and other thinges were rifled and ſearched: at what time there were manie writings found, and amongſt others certeine papers, in which did appeare what friends the queene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enimies, and what neutrals: with letters and other inſtructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithſtanding (though they gaue the ſaid George occaſion to miſtruſt Leſle, as an enimie to his religion) this biſhop of Roſſe was afterward diſmiſſed, becauſe he was furniſhed with the emperors paſport, or ſafeconduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Bauier for his better diſcharge, and to manifeſt to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the preſent eſtate of theſe troubleſome times, and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorablie diſmiſſe the ſaid Leſle, bearing all his charges, reſtoring all his goods, and conueieng him out of his dominions with a goodlie compante of horſſemen, after that he had cauſed the ſaid biſhop of Roſſe to leaue a teſtimoniall writing in the Latine tong vnder his owne hand, to ſhew that no iniurie was done to the ſaid biſhop, in that his deteining and ſearch for thoſe cauſes; & that the biſhop ſhould not anie wate ſéeke anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the ſame) I haue faithfullie and *verbatim* ſet downe in this ſort.

## The teſtimoniall left by the biſhop of *Roſſe with the duke of* Bauier.

NOs Iohannes Leſleus, Dei gratia, epiſcopus Roſſenſis, & adminiſtrator Moraiæ, &c: teſtamur hoc ſcripto palàm & apud omnes hoc inſpecturos, aut lecturos. Cùm in hiſce periculoſis & motuum pleniſſimis temporibus omnibus ſacri imperij principibus & magiſtratibus proſpectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes ex externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbandam pacem publicam, aut noxias diſſentiones ſub quouis prætextu tractari, ſtrui aut ſeminari inter ordines & membra imperij ſinant aut patiantur; præcipuè cùm nunc exempla in vicinis locis extãt, quàm facilè aliquid ſtrui & ſeminari poſſit. Ita factum eſt, vt illuſtriſſimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauariæ, coméſque Veldentziæ, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in abſentia, per ſuos capitaneos & miniſtros, in ſuo territorio Lutzelſteinenſi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum noſtris retineri mandauerit. Quam cauſam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exequeretur, ſignificauit. Poſt factam retentionem, celſitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, proteſtatione ibi aliqua habita, feſtinanter huc appulit: præſertim etiam ſimul cum literis imperatoris, aliquæ copiæ inſtructionis & memoralium eius celſitudini miſſæ fuerãt, vnde aucta ſuſpicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cùm mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis hiſce verbis facta fuerit, nimirùm, vt extirpata hæreſi, religio reuiuiſcat, & ſimul cum procuratione Scoticorum monaſteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot poſſident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præſertim cùm plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & epiſcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus à papa ſalutauerimus, & inuiſerimus. Ad quam ſuſpicionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celſitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati ſumus celſitudini eius ſatisfacere. Etſi tamen aliquid ſcrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ vrgerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tàm in religione, quàm politicis perturbare, & ſuſpicionem principibus Auguſtanæ confeſſionis mouere, non minùs quàm ipſius celſitudini poſſent. Nihilominùs celſitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quàm præcedentibus ſuſpicionibus imminentium periculorum non diutiùs nos detenturos concluſit. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriã in cauſa religionis per viam armorũ, aut ſtructione diſſentionum, aliquid nunquam tentaturos, ſicut & alibi, ſed quod exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere poſſimus, liberam relinquere conſcientiam. Secundò, quòd polliceamur more ſolito, pro noſtro, noſtrarúmque familiarum nomine, neq; per nos neque per alios, vlla via & ratione quæ nominari poſſit, illam detentionem vindicatam fore. Quare conſideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quæ paſſim (potiſſimùm verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, ſacro imperio, optima ratione metuendum & vigilandum, maximè verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Ideò ab illuſtriſſima eius celſitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arctiſſimæ inter ordines cõiunctionis, hanc circũſpectionem & detentionem noſtram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuria accepimus: cùm præſertim eius celſitudo, non modò liberaliter nos habuerit, ſed abſque omni rerum noſtrarum iactura, aliiſque diſpendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratioſè ſplendido equitum comitatu in maiorem ſecuritatem deduci iuſſerit. Idcircò ſanctè pollicemur, (decreto Conſtantienſis concilij, quo diuerſis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam ſeruandam haud eſſe, ſancitum fuiſſe dicitur, hoc ipſo ſcripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos noſtro, noſtrarúmque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios, vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, qua eius celſitudinem, aut eius famulos aut ſubditos

&

& ditiones hanc retentionem perſequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius ſcripti & promiſſi corroborationem propria manu ſignauimus, & ſigillo noſtro appreſſo confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzelſteni 28 Decembris: anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Leſleus epiſcopus Roſſenſis & adminiſtrator eccleſiæ Morauenſis.

This Leſle being yet liuing, and (as I vnderſtand) in great credit in France, poſſeſſing the place of the chancellor of Lions, is deſcended of an ancient familie, as one whoſe anceſtors and name hath both inioied honorable titles in deſcent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the ſonne of Edward the outlaw and kinſman to Edward the Confeſſor king of England was vexed with vniuſt war, firſt by Harold king of England the ſon of Godwine, & then by the Norman baſtard ſurnamed the Conqueror, which ſlue Harold and obteined the crowne of England; Edgar did priuilie take shipping with his mother Agatha, and his two ſiſters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obteine the kingdom of England, they might direct their courſe and ſaile againe into Hungarie, from whenſe they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the ſea, they were grieuouſlie moleſted with vehement winds, which forciblie made them forſake their appointed courſe, and draue them into the mouth of the riuer of Forth or Frith, whoſe landing place is yet to be ſeene, & at this daie called S. Margarets hauen (after the name of hir which was ſiſter to this Edgar & called Margaret) whome Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherwith ſhe was wonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & ſolemnlie crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdome. Vpon which deed William the Conqueror, being more greeuouſlie moued than he was before, baniſhed all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occaſion whereof, Lindſeie, Vaus, Ramſeie, Louell, and diuerſe other men of great nobilitie came then firſt into Scotland to craue aid of king Malcolme; which perſons being liberallie indued with rich poſſeſſions by the ſame Malcolme; their poſteritie do at this daie in our age flouriſh with great honor. Beſides which alſo, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerſe other perſons of account, as Crichton, Fodringham, Giffert, Manlis, Brothike, and others; amongſt whome Bartholomew Leſle deſcended of noble parentage, and of great valor of mind, did with the reſt appeare verie famous, whoſe ſharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (ioined with a ſound and ſtrong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vſed his helpe in the defenſe of the caſtell of Edenburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Leſles haue ſprong and flouriſhed manie worthie perſons, valiantlie reſiſting and ſubduing their enimies. And amongſt thoſe, one Walter Leſle earle of Roſſe, who afterward purchaſed ſuch ſingular commendation for valor and wiſedome ſhewed in manie battels of the emperor Lewes the ſecond, & Charles the fourth, againſt the Saracens, Vt (one of their owne name now a biſhop of Roſſe in his hiſtorie of Scotland ſateth) à quodam animi generoſo impetu, quo hoſtes frãgere, & ſub iugũ fortiter mittere ſolebat, generoſi equitis cognomentum ſit conſecutus: eiuſdem ſtirpis comes Rotheſius, multíque alij barones & equites Leſlei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primùm, ac alij deinde reges multis amplíſque agris, in Fifa, Auguſia, Gourea, & Gareocha, alijſque prouincijs munificè cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutíſque commendatione in Scotia vigent. Of whoſe line and name at this date (as is before ſaid) continuing in great honor, the earle of Rothos now liuing called Leſle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Gowrie or Gowrike, the ſame earle of Rothos being a perſon no leſſe wiſe and honorable, than deſcended of ancient and honorable anceſtors. But leauing that familie, let vs returne from whenſe we haue digreſſed.

The biſhop of Roſſe being departed from the duke of Vanter (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand flue hundred three ſcore and ninetæne, Amies Steward the lord of Obignie in France, being of the houſe of the Stewards, and ſonne to John the eldeſt brother of Matthew Leneur, ſometime regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king moſt honorablie receiued, and aduanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Steward (whom the laſt yeare he had created earle of Leneur) the title of that earledome of Leneur, he now inueſted this lord of Obignie with the ſame, and created him earle of Leneur, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And leaſt he ſhould ſeeme by taking the earledome from Robert Steward to haue wronged him, the king for recompenſe thereof, beſtoweth vpon the ſaid Robert Steward as honorable a title and earldome as the ſame was, for he inueſted the ſame Robert with the earledome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the ſame earledome of Leneur vnto a dukedome, he did beſtow that honor of duke vpon the ſaid lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneur, which title at this date, his ſonne being a towardlie yong gentleman doth moſt honorablie poſſeſſe, he being the onlie perſon in that countrie which doth in this our age inioie that title of duke, being ſuch an honor as was but latelie begun amongſt them, and neuer verie plentifull in that region: for the ſame hath not yet as I for this preſent ſuppoſe noriſhed at anie one time (when that title was riſeſt amongſt them) three perſons adorned with that ſtile. Now touching the matter of their firſt creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnfit to ſaie ſomwhat in this place.

The lord of Obignie made earle of Leneur.

Robert Steward made erle of March.

The firſt creation of dukes in that countrie was vſed by Robert the third of that name, whoſe right name being John, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill ſucceſſe to grow to the kingdome by a gouernor ſo called. For thus write the Scots as Leſleus hath deliuered with theſe ſpeeches: Verùm quum ipſi nobiles arbitrarẽtur nomini ineſſe neſcio quid ominis infauſti, quòd reges Franciæ & Angliæ, hoc nomine conſignati, bello prehenderẽtur, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerũt. Quæ illorum ſiue in nominis obſeruatione ſuperſtitio, ſiue in regis conſeruatione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium quoddam mihi videtur. Nam non multò poſt ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita contuſa fuerunt, vt (quòd regnandi moleſtias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fifenſi fratri ſuo regni gubernationẽ dedere cogeretur. Which John as before is ſaid, hauing now obteined a new name, was the firſt which brought a new title of honor into his kingdome: for he created Dauid his eldeſt ſonne duke of Rothſeie, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdome) duke of Albanis, as is ſet downe by the ſame Leſleus in theſe words;

The firſt creation of dukes in Scotland.

Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 264.

To which king John of England and France, he might alſo haue added one of his own countrie of Scotland John Baliol the king, who was as infortunate in his gouernment as anie of the other.

Leſleus lib. 6. pag. 211.

Leſleus lib.7. pag.263.

words: Tertio plus minus anno (which was about the yeare of our redemption one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and thirteene) concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perthi habito, poſt alias res pro regni cómodo ſapienter actas, rex Dauidem filium ſuum titulo ducis Rothſaiæ,& Robertum fratrem ſuum quem regno adminiſtrando præfecerat, ducis Albanij honore ornabat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illuſtrati. Thus much he, proouing that it is not aboue one hundred foure ſcore and thirteene yeares ſince that title came firſt into Scotland. Wherby it appereth that England ſince the conqueſt hauing dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred thirtie & ſeuen, made his eldeſt ſonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred fortie & nine yeres paſt, being fiftie and ſix yere before they had anie in Scotland. And as thoſe two before named were the firſt which were inueſted with the honor of duke in Scotland, ſo after the death of the ſame king which fell in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, in the Interregnum or vacancie of the kingdome (which continued eightéene yeares from the ſaid yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, vntill the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure) in which James the firſt hauing béene trained vp in England obteined the crowne, and vnder the protectorſhip of Murdacke (the ſonne of the foreſaid Robert the firſt duke of Albanie) to whom the gouernment of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the ſaid Robert the third.

Leſleus lib.7. pag.268.

Archibald Dowglaſſe was the firſt Scot which paſſing the ſeas, & ſeruing a ſtrange prince, intoted anie ſuch title of duke in anie forrein nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French againſt the Engliſh, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be more faithfull vnto him, created John Steward earle of Buquaine conſtable of France, & aduanced the ſaid Archibald Dowglaſſe to the honor of the dukedome of Turone: but he did not long inioie that great title, being ſhortlie after ſlaine at the battell of Vernoile, in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure. In treting of which battell Bucchanan, whoſe name may rightlie be deduced from Bucca vana, beyond all modeſtie and courſe of reaſon forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath ſpued out all his malice againſt the Engliſh nation, whereof I haue treated in my former additions to the hiſtorie of Scotland. Thus hauing somewhat digreſſed from the matter of later yeares, wherewith I ought to haue furniſhed my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will returne to the lord of Obegnie, who was at this time created duke of Leneur, and who occaſioned me to make this diſcourſe. Wherefore I will here ſet downe what Leſleus hath written of the firſt originall of that houſe in France, and of this duke of Leneur thus by the king newlie as before ſaid created, the words of which Leſleus biſhop of Roſſe be theſe: Nouam quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6 (king of France, which had the warres againſt the king of England, when the Scots were thus aduanced in the dominions of France, being meane betweene the ſaid yeares of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, and one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure) paulo ante conſcripſit, quæ vulgò Scotorum armatorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lenoxij comitis familia ortus, domino de Aubigne multíſque alijs terris, muneribus, honoribus,& baleagijs cómuni populi ſermone dictis, a rege inſignitus eſt. Quæ omnia a Scotis eiuſdem cognominis & proſapiæ continuata, ſucceſſionis ſerie per Barnardum nimirum celebrem militiæ ducem, deinde per Robertum, denique Iohannem Stuartum comitis Lenoxij fratrem iam diu poſſeſſa, præclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohānis filius non paruam ſuorum virtutis ſpem de ſe excitans, etiam nunc hodie obtinet. Thus much Leſle. Beſide which that Leſleus hath ſet downe of the firſt lord of Obegnie in France, Paulus Iouius in his booke of Empreſſe written in Italian, hath not forgotten to ſpeake ſomewhat of him, where he ſetteth downe the deuiſe of his enſignes or armes in this ſort tranſlated by me into Engliſh.

There was (ſaith Iouius) amongſt the Frenchmen a man of knowne vertue or proweſſe, & moſt famous capteine called *Heberard Steward) borne of the bloud rotall of Scotland) being honored with the title of monſieur de Obegnie, who being of kinred to James the fourth of that name, did beare for his deuiſe or enſigne, a field ſiluer, a ramping lion gewles, with a number of buckles thereabout; the which cote armour he did weare vpon his vpper garment, and likewiſe beare in his ſtandard, with this poſie, Diſtantia iungit: ſignifieng thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit togither the king of Scots and the French king, with a iuſt counterpeiſe againſt the force of the king of England, naturall enimie to Scotland and France. Thus much Iouius, & thus much I of the duke of Leneur lord of Obegnie in France. After which, ſith I am now in diſcourſing of dukes of that countrie, and haue ſhewed when the firſt duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not vnfit for this place, to ſet downe a catalog of all ſuch dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowlege by ſearch of hiſtories, ſince the creation of the ſame firſt dukes, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and eightéene; which I will not refuſe to do in this place, following the ſame courſe which I haue obſerued before in the hiſtorie of England, where I haue ſet downe all the dukes, ſince the firſt creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

* Barnard.

## A catalog of all the dukes of *Scotland by creation or* deſcent.

Dauid Steward duke of Rothſeie.

DAuid Steward (eldeſt ſon of John Steward earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leauing the name of John when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and eightéene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothſeie, when he was about eightéene yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it muſt be, if that be true that he was borne the two and twentith daie of October one thouſand three hundred three ſcore and eightéene, made duke in the yeare one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore & eightéene, as ſome haue. But Leſleus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumſtances do gather, to the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore & thirteene. He maried Margerie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the ſecond.

Robert Steward duke of Albanie.

Robert Steward ſecond ſon to Robert the ſecond king of Scots, by Eliſabeth Mure or More his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Menteth, was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and eightéene, and the eight yeare of the gouernement of Robert the ſecond, aduanced

nanced to the title and honor of the dukedome of Albanie: this Robert and the other Dauid as I haue before noted, being the first dukes that euer were in Scotland. This man being gouernor of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend Dauid the duke of Rothseie, and committed him to streict prisonment in Faukeland, where in the end he died by extreame famine, whose want of food was such, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers: of this Robert is more spoken in my protectors of Scotland.

Murdacke duke of Albanie.

Murdacke called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert duke of Albanie, was as is most likelie duke of Albanie after his father, who being gouernor of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat more of him in that place.

Alexander duke of Albanie.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of James the second, was by his father aduanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie yong at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & threescore, was with his brother John earle of Mar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and three, being the third yeare of James the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland, but was after restored home by the meanes of James Kennedie bishop of saint Andrews. About sirteene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and nineteene, falling in the sirteenth yeare of James the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edenburgh, out of which he brake and escaped to Dunbar, from whense being well furnished, he sailed into France where he was honorablie receiued, and there maried the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortlie after dieng, and the duke perceiuing himself not to be so well vsed as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth louinglie accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Whereupon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrie, comming (without ante resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, being the two and twentith yeare of James the third) as far as Radstrag, or Rastalrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Mar, and proclamed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he gouerned the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke setteth the king at libertie through the persuasions of the queene, without knowlege thereof giuen to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new turmoiles did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, and the three and twentith yeare of James the third; this duke hauing intelligence that there was poison prepared to be giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at what time also the king for his owne safetie, got him vnto the castell of Edenburgh: whereupon the earle of Angus and Buccleuch forsaking the king, tooke part with the duke.

Lesle. lib. 8. pag. 319.

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lesleus saith that he tooke a little bote and so escaped into France, where he was honorablie interteined by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chiualrie; thus writeth Lesleus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did inuade the kingdome, & was put to flight: whereupon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lesleus saith: Parisijs dum singulare certamen Aurelianensis dux cum aliquo equite iniuit astans, particula cuiusdam hastæ traijcitur, breuique post moritur, about the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie three. He left two sonnes behind him, John duke of Albanie gouernor of Scotland during the minoritie of James the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orchadie, which Alexander was after bishop of Murreie, and abbat of Scone.

John duke of Albanie.

John Steward duke of Albanie, sonne to the foresaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obteine that dukedome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie three: of this man I haue made a more large discourse in the gouernors of Scotland, whereunto I refer thee; and therefore omit to talke anie further of him in this place.

James Steward duke of Rothesele.

James Steward (eldest sonne to James the third) being duke of Rothesele, is by some termed prince of Rothesele, was borne in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie and two on the tenth date of March, being about the twelfe yeare of the reigne of his father James the third. This duke in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentith yeare of his father, and the sirteenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling against his father made capteine or leader of those rebels, who at that time at Banocksburne two miles from Sterling, incountring with the king his father, did there slea him; whereupon this James duke of Rothesele was presentlie made king by the name of James the fourth.

Alexander duke of Rothesele.

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to James the third, king of Scotland, and brother to James the fourth, was duke of Rothesele: for thus writeth Lesleus li. 8. pag. 331. In studium incubuit rex (which was James the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and nine) sedulò, vt Alexander dux Rothesiæ & Iohannes comes Marriæ sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissimè imbuerentur, tantóque sumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliquerat satis amplum, magnificè alerentur. He died the fifteenth kalends of Januarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and fiftéene at Sterling.

Henrie duke of Albanie.

Henrie Steward lord Dernelele the eldest sonne to Matthew Steward erle of Leneux, was brought vp in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be married to Marie the queene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Rosse, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and fiue by the same queene, about the three and twentith yeare of hir reigne: shortlie after which he was in the Julie following created duke of Albanie; and on saturdaie the eight and twentith day of the same moneth before the marriage, proclamed king by the queenes commandement, at the market crosse of Edenborough, being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentith date of the same moneth, in the chapell at Holie rood house, at fiue of the cloeke in the morning: which honor he did not long inioie,

inioie. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and ſix (what by the malice of ſome of the nobilitie, and falſe perſuaſion of others, he was led to enter into thoſe actions, which in the end were his owne ouerthrow, and that by ſuch as moued him thereunto) he was miſerablie ſlaine in a houſe within the towne, néere to Kirke a field.

Amies Steward duke of Leneux.

Amies Steward lord of Obigneie in France, ſonne to John Steward brother to Matthew Steward earle of Leneux, being firſt by James the firſt of that name made earle of Leneux, was after by the ſame king made duke of Leneux; who being dead, hath left a yong ſonne behind him, a gentleman of great hope, at this daie liuing, inioieng the title of his father, and called duke of Leneux. Thus hauing ſet downe all the dukes which haue béene in Scotland, we will deſcend to ſuch Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

Lodowike Steward duke of Leneux.

## That diuers of the Scots haue obteined *the title and honor of dukes in* forren countries.

AS it is honorable to anie man to be aduanced vnto anie title of honour in his owne countrie, either for deſert or fauor; whereof yet parcialitie maie moſt commonlie be the furtherer: ſo is it far more honorable and remoued from all ſuſpicion of vndeſerued fauor, to be inueſted with anie title of dignitie for anie cauſe in a forren countrie; becauſe princes (whoſe hands are moſtlie opened to inrich their ſubiects, in whoſe faithfull hearts their ſafetie is principallie incloſed) do not commonlie without ſingular deſert aduance ſtrangers to them by birth in an other nation, & not their native ſubiects, for that they are people, to whom without an eſpeciall triall anie prince is not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and much leſſe anie part of his perſon. Therefore the ſame being an argument of worthie deſert, either for aſſured fidelitie to the perſon of ſuch prince, or for the valour of ſeruice of the aduanced, when anie one is adorned with anie ſuch title of honor, I thinke it not vnfit in this place to obſcure the glorie of the Scots (who might impute the ſame to be maliciouſlie done by me) and to omit ſuch of their nation as haue inioied the title of dukes in a forren countrie, eſpeciallie being now in hand with all the dukes of Scotland.

And although the number of ſuch dukes be ſmall, as not exceeding the figure of foure, and therefore in ſome mens minds might well enough be paſſed ouer in ſilence: yet carrieng a contrarie mind, in that I would not anie waie pretermit what they iuſtlie deſerue, I will faithfullie ſet downe what I find recorded touching the ſame after this maner.

Archibald Dowglaſſe duke of Touraine,

Archibald Dowglaſſe was created duke of Touraine in France in this ſort. In the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and three as ſome ſaie, or one thouſand foure hundred and ſix as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie thing by reaſon I cannot reconcile theſe defaults of numbers which haue happened through the contrarietie of bookes) Charles the ſeuenth of that name king of France, ſending ambaſſadors into Scotland, to renew the old league betweene the two nations of France and Scotland, and to craue aid againſt the Engliſh, there were ambaſſadors and other noble men ſent likewiſe into France out of Scotland; with whoſe comming the French king being greatlie comforted, and hoping of good ſucceſſe againſt the Engliſh by reaſon of the Scottiſh aid, he did vpon the comming of the Scots to the court creat this Archibald Dowglaſſe (then erle of Wigh-ton) duke of Touraine. But that honor continued not long with him, for in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure, at the battell of Vernoile in Perth the Engliſh obteined the victorie, and this new duke with his ſonne and heire James Dowglaſſe earle of Wighton was amongſt others moſt vnfortunatlie ſlaine.

Archibald Dowglaſſe duke of Touraine,

Archibald earle Dowglaſſe was duke of Touraine, as I gather by the words of Leſleus touching this Archibalds ſonne, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter, and then ſet downe the ſame words of Leſleus to proue Archibald duke of Touraine, who married the earle of Crawfords daughter, by whom he had iſſue William earle Dowglaſſe, a child of foureteene yeares old which ſucceeded him, & one Dauid Dowglaſſe. After which this Archibald died at Leſſelrig in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of king James the firſt.

William earle Dowglaſſe a child of foureteene yeares of age ſucceeded his father in his inheritances, and was after made duke of Touraine or Tourone, who being now earle Dowglaſſe, deliuered forth ſuch buds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all men of his worthineſſe and good ſucceſſe, to his further honor and his countries benefit. But in the end their expectations were deceiued after that he was made duke of Touraine: for being puft vp in pride with thoſe great honors, he forgot himſelfe, and wrought his owne and his countries harme, whereof we will not now ſpeake; but onelie ſet downe Leſleus words touching his admittance to the dukedome of Touraine. Gulielmus (which was this earle Dowglaſſe) Malcolmum Flemingum dominum Cummirnald & Alanū Lowder ad Carolum ſeptimū Francorum regem miſit, oratū, vt ducatu Toronenſi eius patrimonia & dignitates amplificarentur: æquum enim eſſe contendit, vt quo ducatu Archibaldus Dowglaſsius (qui pro libertate Franciæ bello Vernolenſi mortem oppetiuit) frueb.ur * & pater illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, idem ad ſe quoque perueniret. Carolus non inuitus conceſſit, quo dono quantum illi ad honorem dignitatémque cumuli, tantum profectò ad ſuperbiam, inſolentiámque materiæ acceſſit. Thus much Leſle, placing the ſame to be done as other authors alſo do, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of the reigne of James the firſt of that name king of Scotland. Which honor he did not long inioie, for in the yeare following being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the ſame king James; he was, for that he would neither obete the gouernment of the gouernor or chancellor, bidden to a banket at Edenburgh caſtle, whereas when he and his brother Dauid were ſet at dinner, the meat was ſuddenlie remoued, and a buls head preſented to the erle of Dowglaſſe, being in thoſe daies a token that he ſhould ſhortlie be executed. Immediatlie whereupon, the ſaid earle with his brother Dauid, & Malcolme Fleming lord of Cummirnald were beheaded before the caſtle gate: ſo that this great honor ſéemed to thoſe Scots which poſſeſſed the ſame, not much vnlike to the Sejane horſe, or to the honor of the dukedome of Gloceſter.

*Leſleus. lib. 8. pag. 292.*

This prooueth Archibald Dowglaſſe father to this William to be duke of Touraine.

James earle of Arrane being made gouernor to Marie quéene of Scots, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fortie and two (in which being about ſeuen daies old, ſhe began the firſt yeare of hir vnfortunate gouernement, which I maie ſo rightlie terme, becauſe ſhe was after depoſed in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and ſeuen, in the fiue and twentith yeare of hir reigne) was

made

made duke of Chatelerault by the French king in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfe yeare of the reigne of the ſame quéene Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my diſcourſe of the protectors of of Scotland, and therefore meane not to ſpeake anie thing of that here: wherfore leauing theſe dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters done in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practiſe by forren perſons of great ſtate in Europe, to make ſome inuaſion, or at the leaſt ſome diſturbance vpon or amongſt ſuch realmes as profeſſed the goſpell, and were enimies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was ſuppoſed, manie princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embracing his doctrine and reſting at his diſpoſition, expected the performance of ſome actions then to be done by them in the territories of the aduerſe part, and in the realmes of ſuch princes, as not onelie oppoſed themſelues againſt the popes doctrine, but had alſo drawne their necks from the yoke of his ſubiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongſt which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guiſe a perſon of great account in France, tied néerelie in bloud to the impriſoned quéene, and to the yoong king of Scots, and ſupported with other princes purſſes, purpoſed to haue ſet full foot in Scotland, and to haue obteined the whole diſpoſition and rule of that king and kingdome. But God, in whoſe hands reſteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting ſuch determinations to ſort to the purpoſed effect, did for that time fruſtrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guiſe ſhould with martiall power haue inuaded, entered and poſſeſſed Scotland, there aroſe troubles and turmoiles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Dalphinée, which called him from the diſpatch of that his former deuiſe, for the ſtaieng to appeaſe the ſame new inſurrection, employeng all his gathered forces thereunto, and encountring with thoſe perſons: the rigor of the ſame warres ſo weakened his ſtrength, that he was not able (without ſome new ſupplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the ſudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, leaſt that the ſame intention might not ſeeme altogither to haue quailed, or that he ſhould be noted to haue made ſhew to enterprize a thing which he neither could nor would proſecute to the vttermoſt; there was ſomewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell not forth in all reſpects to anſwer the expected hope of good ſucceſſe therin. For partlie by the policie of the Scots, and partlie by the ſupport of the alies and friends to the king, but altogither by the vnited ſtrength of both ſorts, the Scots rid themſelues of the ſame deuiſe, and ſince remained ſafe from the danger of the Guiſe and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, ſometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and readie to ſuffer that execution which was appointed vn him, ſome perſons had conference with him abo matters of great importance, on the ſame da wherein he was to ſuffer, which perſons ſo conferring with him, were Iohn Durie, and maſter Walter Bancanquell. In which diſcourſe betweéne the earle and them theſe matters in ſubſtance amongſt manie others fell forth, in queſtions propounded by them, and in anſwers made by him in this ſort almoſt word for word, drawne into ſome ſeuerall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me,

## The examinations and anſwers of the *earle of Morton before his death, but* after his condemnation.

First he was exhorted by them that he ſhould not be diſcouraged by his ouerthrow, in conſidering the eſtate whervnto he had beene once called in this world, but rather remembring the glorie to come, he ſhould reioiſe and be of good comfort. Whereunto he anſwered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he reſpected it not, bicauſe he was perſuaded that all worldlie honor is but vanitie, and the broken réed of Egypt. And as concerning the eſtate whereunto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, bicauſe he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, ſo had he alſo appointed the manner thereof, ſéeing that now was the time, and this was the manner which beſt pleaſed his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in reſpect of that immortalitie, & the euerlaſting ioy which he looked for, and whereof he was aſſured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part or knowledge in the kings * death or murther: he anſwered with this atteſtation, that as he ſhould anſwer to his Lord God, ſo he would declare all his knowledge therein: the ſum whereof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was baniſhed for * Dauids ſlaughter, he came out of Whetherbone to Whethingham, where the erle Bothwell was at the ſame time, with whome there was communication about the kings murther, but he would not conſent therto. After which, opening a large diſcourſe thereof, laieng the cauſe, the contriuing, and the execution of the ſame in great perſons now liuing, and confeſſing that they vnderſtood thereof, and durſt not for manie cauſes reueale the ſame, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Lenox; he added, how that in the end he was by the law now of late conuicted of knowledge and concealing the kings murther, when as he ſhould anſwer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Furthermore, ſhewing that after the earle of Bothwell was cléered of that murther by aſſiſe, that he and ſundrie of the nobilitie ſubſcribed a bond with the earle of Bothwell, that if anie ſhould laie the kings murther to his charge, he would aſſiſt him to the contrarie, and that therefore he ſubſcribed to the quéenes mariage with the earle Bothwell as ſundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged thereunto by the quéenes owne writing and commandement.

* which was Henrie king of Scots, ſlaine in the yeare of Chriſt 1566, beginning the yeare at the annuntiation of the virgin.

* Dauid Richi the Italian, ſecretarie to the quéene, ſlaine in the yeare 1566.

Then being required in the name of the liuing God, that ſéeing this murther of the king was one of the moſt filthieſt acts that euer was done in Scotland, and that the ſecrets thereof hath not hitherto béene opened, neither who was the chéefe doer therein, or whether the king was then ſtrangled or blowne vp into the aire; that he ſhould declare if he knew anie further ſecret therein: he anſwered, that as he ſhould make anſwer to God, he knew no more ſecrets in that matter than he had alreadie declared and heard, by the depoſitions of ſuch as had alreadie ſuffered for it, which depoſitions are yet extant. Againe, being demanded if he knew anie preſentlie about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whoſe companie the king and commonwealth might be hurt: he anſwered that he knew none, neither would he accuſe anie, &c.

Thirdlie, being examined of the poiſoning of the earle of Athiolts, if he had anie act or part therein:

he answered with good attestation, saieng; Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knew anie thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common brute of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knew that maister Iohn Prouandt brought him anie poison; he replied that he knew no such thing, and that he knew nothing by maister Prouandt but honestie, to which he more added these speeches; Fie, fie, there is ouermuch filthinesse in Scotland alreadie, God forbid that vile practising of poisoning should enter among vs: I would not for all the earledome of Athole, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue béene ministred, yea if there had béen one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heare of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made anie conspiracie against the earle of Leneux: he answered with like attestation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purposed anie conspiracie against the earle of Leneux, neither minded to him anie hurt in bodie or otherwise. But it grœued him that the earle of Leneux knew not the estate of their countrie, nor yet perceiued the danger of the kings person. For being thereunto requested by others, sundrie were brought home who were the kings enimies, ouerthrowers of the kingdome, and enimies to religion; whereby there was apparant danger to his person and the relme: all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Leneux familiaritie and his should haue béene greater.

Fiftlie, being demanded whether he had anie league or dealing with England for the conueieng of the king or otherwise, or if he had anie pension of the quéene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God vnder paine of condemnation or saluation, I neuer had anie dealings with England that waie: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the quéene nor anie in hir name, that euer moued anie such thing to me, so indirectlie as to conueie the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had béene for his profit and honor, &c. And for the more cléere purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if euer I meant but directlie his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I shall neuer aske God mercie for anie thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he should be brought vp in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie more. If I had bœne as carefull to serue God & walke in his feare, as I was to séeke the kings wealth, I had not béene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the quéene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had neuer pension of the quéene of England in all my life. And although they caused the brute to go, that I should haue furnished the quéene of Englands souldiors now last vpon the borders, I neuer knew of it. And last of all, where they allege that I should haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and subiects, &c.

Sixtlie, being demanded what was his part of the enterprise of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knew nothing of it till it was done; but being in Lochleuen, he receiued aduertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he should come thither. And whereas they said, that he minded to kéepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to kœpe him in captiuitie there or in anie other place. But he vnderstood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as frée at that time as euer he was before, or desired to be, for the present. And if he had knowen that his grace would haue gone to anie other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladlie haue gone with him.

Seuenthlie, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue done much good for the furtherance of Gods glorie & aduancement of his gospell, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; insomuch that rather than anie hurt should haue come vnto the religion, he would haue spent his life and goods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indéed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwéene him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and follow the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this protestation, that as he should answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were anie things done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had knowen better, he would haue done otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eightlie, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confesse his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue done in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthie of this and more: whereunto he yéelded this speech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue done, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indéed, that God hath alwaies done iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confesse my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my bodie in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe ouermuch to the world, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie laie it to my charge, in that I expressed not the fruits of my profession in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue done, for which I beséech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indéed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chiefest is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which trouble also I haue found farre greater comfort than euer I could find before, because I haue thereby concluded thus with my selfe, that if God should haue spared my life, and deliuered me out of this trouble, I should then haue cast awaie all the cares of the world, the pleasures of the flesh, the delights of earthlie things, and declared my selfe to serue my God in all kind of quietnesse and simplicitie. And if it shall please God to take me in this trouble, I am concluded also to be content therewith, being alwaies assured of the mercies of God. And for that cause I do now thanke God that I find my selfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to liue, and that I shall not sée the miseries to come: for I will assure

you

you that I think this to be the most acceptable time that euer God could haue taken me in, because I perceiue and sée such miseries and confusions to insue, that I thanke God that I shall not sée them. And you who dw feare God, and liue after me, when you shall sée these things, you will wish to be where I shall be, that is, with him.

Ninethlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of iudgement vsed against him, what his opinion therof was, whether he thought anie wrong done vnto him or no, &c: he answered, I would be verie loth to find fault or blame the noble men which haue taken themselues vpon their consciences to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne consciences; yet I am moued to speake somewhat frélie in this matter which is this. I saw such partiall dealing against me, that it hath béene all one to me, if I had bæne as innocent as saint Stephan, or that I had béene as giltie as Judas was: for I perceiued there was nothing sought but my life, howsoeuer things had béene, which appeareth in this, that no exception of anie person which was to passe vpon my assise could be admitted: for I required the earle of Argile to purge himselfe of partiall counsell giuen to the pursuer my accuser; he purged himselfe indeed, but I knew the contrarie, that he gaue partiall counsell to him. Likewise the lord of Wanthon, the lord of Seiton, and such others, who were knowen to be my enimies, (notwithstanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my quest. In consideration wherof I can not but be persuaded of one thing, which it behoueth me to communicat vnto you, and it is thus. I perceiue it is not my life that they séeke onelie, but they who are authors of my death haue some other purpose in hand, which they perceiue will not be done, except I and such other which dw fauor the good cause, were taken out of the waie. Wherefore I can not but suspect that I haue béene so handled, and that such as héereafter shall be put thereunto, may haue a more plaine waie to dw their turne or intent: and I praie God that they which are to liue behind me sée not the practise thereof, but I feare it sore. And therefore in respect of this apparant danger of the common cause, I will giue my counsell to the king my maister, and wish you in the name of God to beare it to him, the summe whereof is this. I perceiue that they which haue bæne the kings foes and enimies, are brought into credit & court, and they who haue béene the mainteiners of his crowne & good friends, are discredited and misliked of. And likewise such as are knowen to be papists, and suspected to be enimies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maiestie, which surelie can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his estat. For which cause I admonish him in the name of God to beware of them, and to seeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought vp in the feare of God, and companie of good men, so to continue therein, and not to go backe, or else he hath done with it for euer. For I tell you what moueth me to speake thus, which is, that the state of religion in this countrie appeared neuer to be in such danger, and that for this cause. I here saie there is a dealing put in practise betwéene France and England, and Monsieurs marriage with the quéene is like to be feared; if France and England bind togither, and that marriage go forward, you may easilie vnderstand, that the one of them will persuade the other to their religion, &c.

Tenthlie, being required to giue his counsell to the earle of Angus, and to shew him what was meetest to be done, seeing presentlie he was in great trouble, he answered: I dare giue him no counsell, and I will tell you whie; to bid him come in, partlie I dare not, all men may sée in what danger he is although he now come in: and to counsell him to abide forth I dare not, for then he shall lose the kings fauour for euer, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes possible to purchase the kings fauor againe, and to sée if he may haue anie assurance of his life, and that he may serue his God and his king trulie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his maiesties good will: he hath done nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that which is best.

Eleuenthlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, which John Knokes gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a little before his departure, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remember. First, he asked of me if I knew anie thing of the kings murder, I answered in deed I knew nothing of it. Then he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefits which he hath not giuen to euerie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wisedome and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme: and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vse these benefits aright, and better in time to come than you haue done in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the gospell, to the mainteinance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subiects: which if you shall not dw, God shall spoile you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. Then being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

Twelfelie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edenburgh in ward, he answered: Surelie I meant no euill to those men, but it was done in this respect: we had the matter of Bulzoine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for which cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had béene done. And if I did them anie wrong, I craue forgiuenesse of them as I forgiue all men.

Thirtænthlie, being required to declare if hée knew before hand that he should be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was aduertised in déed, and might haue escaped, but I would not, trusting alwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore supposed that they would not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the foresaid John Durie and Walter Balcanquall did together call to God by earnest praier, which being ended the earle said vnto vs (meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thanke you hartilie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in déed is greatest need of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praie you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne sinnes, there resteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, whereby I maie be comforted against naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we trauelled to satisfie by long conference, which is too long to rehearse in euerie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was said vnto him that there were thrée things chéefelie which might make him assured of the mercie of God in Christ: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God conteined in his word, wherevnto

it behoued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne seruants, albeit they haue bene great sinners; as appeared in Dauid, Magdalen, Peter, and the theefe, &c. Thirdlie the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, saieng: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I haue read the fiue bookes of Moses, Iosue, the Iudges, and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I haue found there. I see that the mercie of God is wonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so oft as they sinned, yet as soone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I haue offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in case Sathan should trauell to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of good courage, and that in respect of the verie selfe same iustice of God, which will not suffer him twise to take paiment for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a iust man will not twise demand paiment of that whereof he was alredie paid, for sith Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the vttermost farthing that God could craue, he cannot laie our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twise to take paiment for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Truelie it is verie good.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glorie, ioie, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onlie waie to swallow vp the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praise God I do so. This being thus done, and he hauing in his hand a prettie treatise of the meditation of death, written by Bradford (which he said that he had gotten from the ladie Drmeston before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came forth of prison againe gaue it to maister Lawson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladie againe) he willed maister Walter to read him a peece thereof, which he did, in which reading (hauing sundrie conferences vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said; I protest now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherewith being called to breakefast, he earnestlie desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cheerefulnesse, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betweene a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is free from them, the which I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things find anie rest by reason of cares which I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that should be laid vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a point with my selfe, and had nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I neuer slept better in my life than I did this night. Then he said vnto the steward, William you can beare me record of this; who answered, It is true my lord. Then maister Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall neuer suffer vs to thirst againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Truelie I will pledge you maister Walter on the same condition. After which he said, John Durie, now John I will drinke to you vpon the same condition. This thus ended for that time, and thanks being giuen to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time maister James Lawson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternoone we came to him againe, with sundrie of the brethren of the ministerie, as maister Iames Lawson, maister Robert Pont, Dauid Fargasone, maister Dauid Hensa, John Brand, maister James Carmichell, and maister John Dauison, whom the earle receiued verie louinglie in his arms, and said to him; Maister John you wrote a little booke indeed, but truelie I meant neuer euill towards you in my mind, forgiue me, and I forgiue you: vpon which words maister John was moued with teares. Then all the brethren being present, the earle reported againe the cheefe substance of all the things whereof before he spake, being demanded thereof point by point, as their testification of this matter subscribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the after none, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the ministerie were informed that there was iniust report made of his profession to the king, & that he should haue confessed much otherwise than he did, whereby the king might haue a worse opinion of him. Wherefore they thought good to send down some before his suffering to informe his maiestie of the truth of his confession: which persons so sent were Dauid Fargasone, John Durie, and John Brand, who before his death did largelie tell the simple truth of his confession (as it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their returning the earls keeper required him that he would come forth to the scaffold, wherevnto the earle answered; Sith they haue thus troubled me ouermuch this daie with worldlie things, I supposed that they should haue giuen me one nights leisure to haue aduised my selfe with my God. Then the keeper said, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not staie. The earle replied, I am redie also I praise God: and so comfortable prater being made, the earle passed downe to the gate, minding to go directlie to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and willed him to staie vntill his confession should be put in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ministers which were present answered, and the earle also answered: Naie my lord, I praie you trouble me no more with these things, for now I haue another thing to muse vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I now am; and all these honest men can testifie what I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue done nothing vpon anie particular quarell against you. The earle of Morton replied, It is no time now to remember quarels, I haue no quarell to you nor to anie other, I forgiue you and all others as I would you forgaue me. And so after with a good courage he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the things before confessed, &c: adding some exhortation to the people which he spake not before, in this sort.

Surs

Sure I am the king ſhall loſe a good ſeruant this daie, and ſo he exhorted the people, ſaieng: I teſtifie before God, that as I profeſſe the goſpell which this daie is taught & profeſſed in Scotland: ſo alſo now I willinglie laie downe my life in the perſecution thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according thereunto as I ought, yet I am aſſured that God will be merciſull vnto me; and I charge you all in God which are profeſſors of the goſpell, that you continue the true profeſſing and maintaining thereof to your power, as I would haue done God willing with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had liued: which if you do, I aſſure you God ſhall be merciſull vnto you; but if you do it not, be ſure the vengeance of God ſhall fall vpon you, both in bodie and ſoule. As concerning all the reſt of the words which he had vpon the ſcaffold, he ſpake them in effect and more amplie before. When all theſe ſpeaches were ended vpon the ſcaffold, a comfortable praier was made by maiſter Iohn Lawſon, during the time of which praier, the erle Morton laie grouelling vpon his face before the place of execution, his bodie making great reboundings with ſighes and ſobs, being euident ſignes of the inward and mightie working of the ſpirit of God, as all they which were preſent, and knew what it was to be earneſtlie moued in praier, might eaſilie perceiue.

The praier being ended, and ſundrie comming to him before his death, he did moſt louinglie receiue them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord, he paſſed both conſtantlie, patientlie, and humblie (without feare of death) to the place of execution, and laid his necke vnder the axe being vnbound. And there maiſter Walter putting him alwaies in mind to call vpon God; the earle continuallie cried vntill his head was ſtriken off, Lord Ieſus receiue my ſpirit, Lord Ieſus receiue my ſpirit: which words he ſpake euen while the axe fell on his necke. Now what ſoeuer he had béene before, he conſtantlie died the ſeruant of God. And howſoeuer it be that his foes alleged, that as he liued proudlie, ſo he died proudlie; the charitable ſeruants of God could perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death: inſomuch that we are aſſured, that his ſoule is receiued into the ioies and glories of the heauens; and we praie God, that they which are behind, may learne by his example to die in the true feare of God our Lord. ¶ Thus far the confeſſion & death of the earle Morton, penned by ſuch of the preſbyterie as were preſent thereat, and fauored him in all reſpects, ſeeking to cléere him of ante euill impoſed againſt him. In ſetting downe whereof, I haue not varied from the verie words of my copie in manner of penning it; but onelie in ſome few places of ſome part of the matter, the which I haue purpoſelie omitted, becauſe it conteined the affaires of ſtate, and the accuſation of diuerſe perſons now liuing; both which are neither néedfull to be knowne to the common people, nor méete to be opened to others, thereby to bring thoſe in queſtion vpon a report, whereof there is no further hold to be had, than there was hate or loue betweéne the accuſer & the accuſed. Wherefore leauing the ſame diſcourſe of the death of the earle (which fell vpon the ſecond daie of June in the towne of Edenburgh) in that ſort, penned by thoſe of the preſbyterie, to ſtand vpon the ſupport of it ſelfe, I will deſcend to other matters.

The time when earle Morton was beheadded.

This earle Morton maried the old earle of Mortons youngeſt daughter, who being halfe an idiot brought forth no iſſue to this earle: but he notwithſtanding, leaſt he ſhould die iſſuleſſe, left behind him two ſonnes, vnlawfullie begotten. Shortlie after the death of which erle, Thomas Randolph eſquier being ſent ambaſſador from the quéene of England, entered into Scotland, whom (being honorablie interteined) I will leaue there to diſpatch the effect of his commiſſion, and fall to that which happened. After the death of this earle Morton, in the winter following there was a parlement called, at what time manie noble men were created, as Ruthwen was made earle of Gowrie, Robert Steward baſe brother to Marie the impriſoned quæne of Scots was aduanced to the honor and title of the earldome of Orkeneie, the lord Marwell was made erle Morton, and Iames Steward was created earle of Arrane, the manner of obteining which earldome of Arrane by the ſaid Steward being extraordinarilie procured, ſeemeth to me not to be forgotten: and therefore I will ſet it downe as I haue had intelligence thereof, in this ſort following. The old earle of Arrane (the duke of Chateleraults eldeſt ſonne and brother to Iohn Hamilton the lord of Arbroth) being lunatike, and firſt committed to the cuſtodie of his ſaid brother the lord of Arbroth, was after taken from that his tutor, and ſet ouer to Iames Steward to haue the ouerſight of his perſon, and the ordering of his liuing. Which Iames Steward being by nature and experience ſubtill witted, and by authoritie and the kings fauor in great credit; found meanes partlie by policie, partlie by perſuaſion, and partlie by flatterie, to wring from the lunatike earle of Arrane, a grant and departure of all his right, title, and honor, to the lands and earledome of Arrane. Which when he had obteined of the ſaid lunatike earle (who knew not what he did) he forthwith came to the ſaid parlement or councell houſe, or place of the aſſemblie of the nobilitie, bringing with him the grant of the earle of Arrane: whereby he had infeffed this Steward with the lands and countrie of Arrane. Which matter being fullie vnderſtood there by the nobilitie, ſuppoſing vpright dealing to haue furthered the purchaſe of this earldome by Steward, did then by the decree and the kings conſent, eſtabliſh, and alſo inueſt him in the lands, and with the title of the earledome of Arrane; which he obteined by ſuch meanes as are before touched. Not vnlike vnto the courſe which Mordacke (made gouernor of Scotland, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix) ſometime vſed for the obteining of the earldome of Roſſe, from the daughter and heire of Alexander Leſle, intituled to the ſame earldome: the maner whereof I will here ſet downe *Verbatim*, taken out of Leſleus hiſtorie of Scotland, which deliuered the ſame in theſe words.

Thomas Randulph ſent ambaſſador into Scotland.

James Steward created earle of Arrane.

Breui poſt tempore Donaldus inſularis Roſſiæ comitatum vendicans, Hebridianos ad ſuas partes allicit: quo autem iure id fecerit hinc facilimè liquebit. Walterus Leſleus vir nobiliſſimus, poſt inſignem operam Romanis imperatoribus in extremo bello nauatam, in Scotiam rediens, filiam Gulielmi comitis Roſſenſis (in prælia apud Holidonum occubuit) vna cum comitatu, dotis loco in coniugem accepit: ex qua vnum filium ſuſtulit, Alexandrum inde comitem Roſſenſem, filiámque, quæ poſtea Donaldo Hebridiano nuptui data eſt. Alexander hic, filia Roberti gubernatoris in vxorem accepta, Euphemiam ſolam ſuſcepit. Quæ adhuc virgo & rerum imperita, gubernatoris partim blanditijs, partim minis inducta, tranſlato in ipſum comitatu Roſſenſi, ſubitò non ſine gubernatoris opera (vt ferebatur) moritur: ac Donaldus qui amitam Euphemiæ Alexandri Leſlei ſororem vxorē habebat, hæreditario iure Roſſiæ comitatum petens, collecta ex Hebridibus ingenti manu in Roſſiam venit: quam paruo negotio in ditionem ſuam redegit, Roſſianis verum recipere hæredē non recuſantibus. Thus much Leſle. Moreouer at

the same parlement wherein this James Steward was aduanced to the earledome of Arrane, the king gaue vnto the duke of Leneur the lands that were belonging to the foresaid beheaded erle of Morton, which lands this duke not long reteining, made ouer his part to the earle of Angus, in recompense whereof, the duke obteined of the king the lordship of Methuen, which came to the kings possession by the death of Henrie Steward lord of Methuen, touching whom Buchanan composed these verses following, calling him Regulum Methueniæ, in this sort:

The duke of Leneux obteineth the earle Mortons lands.

*Hîc Henrice iaces primæuo in flore, dederunt*
*Indole cui nullum sæcula nostra parem.*
*Nemo fuit spes iudicijs cui credula certis,*
*Sponderet tantum Marte togáque decus.*
*Nunc pro spe, votis, expectatisque triumphis,*
*Cura, dolor, lachrymæ, mestitiésque subit:*
*At tu, mors annis quantum detraxit acerba,*
*Adijce de gazis posthuma fama tuis.*

During these creations of the nobilitie, in a parlement holden in Edenburgh the eight and twentith of Januarie, in this yere one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and one, being the foureténth of the kings reigne, were matters established, touching the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I meane not fullie to set downe the same, sith my pen and purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spirituall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but slenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stampe of Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in this yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, we saie that the same booke, published by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of the true christian faith and religion, according to Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by the kings maiestie and his household, with diuers others, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Jesus & his holie gospell, to their naturall countriemen and to all other realms and nations, professing the same Jesus Christ with them, wish grace, mercie, and peace from God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of saluation.

A declaration of the Scotish faith, published and confirmed by the king.

After which title and salutation, the substance of the same booke, being declared in the forhead of the chapters following, conteineth these heads: First of God, then of the creation of man, next of originall sinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of the promise of the continuance, increase, and preseruation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ Jesus, why it becommeth the mediator to be verie God and man, of election, of Christes death, passion, and burtall, of his resurrection, of his ascension, of faith in the Holie-ghost, of the cause of good workes, what workes are reputed good before God, of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man, of the church, of the immortalitie of soules, of the notes by which the true church is discerned from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doctrine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of generall councels, of their power, authoritie and cause of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right administration of the sacraments, to whom sacraments apperteine, and of the ciuill magistrat, of the gifts freelie giuen to the church.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the declaration of the faith of those people, and for the further instruction of others, were shortlie after the agreement thereunto in that parlement confirmed by the king, and commanded to be published and vsed through his realme, as appeareth by this his following precept, concerning the same.

## The kings maiesties charge to all *commissioners and ministers*, within his realme.

SEeing that we and our household haue subscribed & giuen this publike confession of our faith, to the good example of our subiects, we command and charge all commissioners and ministers to craue the same confession of their parishioners, and to proceed against the refusers according to our lawes, and order of the church: deliuering their names and lawfull processe to the ministers of our house, with all hast and diligence, vnder the paine of fortie pounds to be taken from their stipend: that we with the aduise of our councell, maie take order with such proud contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed with our hand at Holierod house one thousand fiue hundred foure score and one, the second daie of March, the fourtéenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus setled in Scotland, it fell herupon, 1582
that Amies duke of Leneux, to which honor he was not long before aduanced, as is alreadie set downe in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and ninetéene, was now in this yeare vpon displeasure, conceiued against him by others of the nobilitie, banished Scotland, & inforced to returne into France, there to passe the rest of his life as he had done before. In whose exile was performed an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag of fiue shillings should beare all the dukes of England and Scotland. For when this duke was out of the Scotish kingdome, there was neither duke in that countrie, or England. But as I greatlie fauor not these things, so yet finding manie of them to sort to vnhappie successe; I cannot altogither condemne them, especiallie, sith I find two other which concerning the last duke of England, being the duke of Summerset, did prognosticat both the aduancement of religion by him, and that he should not long kéepe his head vpon his shoulders, after that he began to make his statelie buildings. Of which prophetical verses, declaring the same, the first verse expressing his name, was as followeth:

The duke of Leneux banished.

A digression touching the duke of Summerset.

[a] Cessabit missa cùm regnat equa marina.

[a] The mare of the sea, which backeward is seamare.

The other prophesie mentioning his name of honor was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:

[b] Ætatis sedes cùm scandis ad alta per ædes,
Pro certo credes quòd caput perdere debes.

[b] Summers seat, or Summerset.

And to proue that Summerset was manie yeares past called in Latine Aestatis sedes, I find this matter in Roger Wall sometime an herald liuing in the time of Henrie the fift, who named him accordinglie, when the said author excusing himselfe of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to D. John Summerset to correct; which doctor being the kings schoolemaister and physician, a great learned man well séene in the mathematikes, one that had written much therein, and verie eloquent also, was as this Roger Wall thought, most méete to haue the ouersight of his workes: which matter, as it is set downe in the latter end of the same worke of the acts of Henrie the fift, written by this Roger Wall, I shall not gréeue (although they belong not, and be vtterlie impertinent to the matters of Scotland) to set downe, both because I would not maime the author in telling his owne tale, and would a little recreat the reader by the obscuritie of the stile of Roger Wall, with some varie-

Roger Wall submitteth his worke to the censure of doctor John Summerset,

tie

tie of other than Scotiſh matter: for Nihil tam dulce, quod varietas non reficit. These therefore be the words of that writer.

Vecors, inculta, pauper & pannoſa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expaueſcens patefeci: ad hoc immenſæ verecundiæ terrore ducta in luſtralibus latebris, & abditis deſertis, & inuijs latitare decreuiſti, fortaſſis tamen, ſi quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, indutura fores animoſitatis ſpiritum proceſſura in lucem. Eia igitur conſilijs meis adquieſcere non deſeras: & meis monitis edocta, doctorē glorioſum inuenies, qui *Aeſtatis ſedes glorioſum cognomen ſortitus eſt. Hic Tulliani teſtamenti executor, purpura abiſſo quibus te veſtiat, bonorum Oratij miniſtrator, theſauris innumeris qui te ditet ac ipſius opulentiſſimæ imperatricis Rhetoricæ cuſtos, gazarum, & ærarij gemmis pretioſis, quibus ruditatis tuæ tenebras excutiens, ipſum ſyderea politura perornare poterit, præ cæteris copia pleniori floret & abundat, hic eſt qui cœli empeirei ſitū & mobilitatem, ac vacui, ſi quid extra ipſum reperiri poſſit: Chaos & confuſionem primi mobilis, motus ac ornamenta ſyderea, & actam per ipſum inferiorum rapinam planetarum, curſus erraticos in ſuis epicyclis & retrogradationibus intellectui multùm difficiles, elementorum miranda coniugia, qualitates & actiuitates mutuas, omnium impreſſionum cauſas & effectus, & quicquid Ariſtotelicæ demonſtrationes ſeu Hippocratici aphoriſmi ſuadere ſufficiunt, nouit, rimatur & intelligit. Hic eſt quod plurimùm ponderandum exiſtimo, qui regalis pectoris ſacrarium tantarum virtutum, tantæque literaturæ imbalſamauit aromatibus, & corpus regium ab ægritudinum incommodis ſeruauit incolume, qui ſemper reipublicæ promotor & pauperum procurator extitit. En pagina vecors & miſera tibi iutumæ conſolationis miniſtraui materiam. Eſto igitur fortis animi, & vt virum tantum attingas, quem me docente reperies ad iter accingere. Verum quia dum regis aſſiſtit lateri, aut pauperum procurando negotia, aut reipublicæ bonum promouendo, vel regiam celſitudinem ſalutaribus exhortando artis ſalutigeræ conſilijs ſic ſolicitus redditur, vt vix ei quietis indulgeatur horula infra domum regiam, reuerentiam ſuam ſolicitare nolito præſumere, ſed vſque ad manſionem ſuam propriam, quam per ſigna quæ tibi monſtrabo inuenies omni expeditione ne pigriteris currere. Quum igitur iter tuum arripueris ſtrata regia, qua per aliquot miliaria gradieris ad quandam ſemitam verſus dextram, protenſam non procul à quadam capella pulcherrima fundationis regiæ in honorem ſanctorum archangelorū Raphaelis, Gabraelis, & Michaelis, atque omnium angelorum ſanctorum Dei, quam nuper procuratio ſua conſtruxerat, tritura multiplici ſe ipſum manifeſtantem ducet. In qua cùm pauperū nudipedum ad ſuam domum confluentium impreſſa veſtigia perceperis: & eorundem redeuntium pedum calciatorū quos eleemoſyna ſua iam pecuali pelle veſtijt inueneris: & cùm per eandem ſemitam nudos, eſurientes & triſtes ad habitaculum ſuum concurrentes proſpexeris, & eoſdem per ſuæ charitatis liberalitatem veſtitos, ſaturatos, & gaudentes obuios habueris, ſcito quoniam hæc eſt via in tabernaculum ipſius, quem quæris ductrix infallibilis & directiſſima. Supplica igitur pauperrima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Æſtatis ſedē velint oſtendere, &c. After which this Wall ſetteth downe the ſupplication, which his booke ſhould dedicate to this doctor (when he hath found him) in theſe verſes, beginning alſo with the ſame name of Æſtatis ſedes, in Engliſh Summerſet:

*Fertilis Aeſtatis florida ſedes,*
*Morum multiplici luce refulgens,*
*Gloris doctorum gemma ſcientum,*
*Eloquij pelagus, lux medicinæ,*
*Pectore cœleſti cœlica condens,*
*Præradians alijs lumine mentis,*
*Cui patet aſtrorum candida turba,*
*Et motus primi mobilis orbis,*
*Nec latet eiuſdem mira rapina,*
*Quid flammiuomus ignis in orbe*
*Aereique ſinus abdyta noſti?*
*Quæ fluit & refluit (piſcis opimum)*
*Oceanum pelagus, quæ pia terram*
*Numina proficiunt proleferacem*
*Naturæ probitas, norma, poteſtas,*
*Conſilium, virtus, quicquid agatur,*
*Clara luce tua mente coruſcant.*
*Hæc cumulata tua lucida virtus,*
*Muſarum ſedem pectore regis,*
*Et morum ſolium fauſta parauit,*
*Nec minus à regis corpore morbos,*
*Funebreáſque minas cauta fugauit,*
*Seruans illæſa gaudia regni,*
*Et fotrix inopum dextera larga,*
*Corporibus nudis frigore pellit,*
*Eſuriem furias & famis iram,*
*Cogit in exilium prodiga menſa.*
*Doctor qui tanta dote refulges,*
*Me miſeram miſerans intuearis*
*Turpem complectere reſpice nudam,*
*Incultam polias, reijce mendas,*
*Veſtes dilaceras conſue clemens,*
*Sint medicina ſitis pocula Cirre,*
*Quæ tibi plus reliquis copia præſtat,*
*Et tua ſi pietas ſordida purgans,*
*Si tergat maculas horrida limans,*
*Vt me fortuna fata fœcundans,*
*Inter plebeos forte remotos,*
*Angelicum regis cernere vultum,*
*Præſtet me fauſta ſorte beatam,*
*Et bene fatatam læta putarem,*
*Nobilis hæc doctor ſuſcipe vota,*
*Cuius virtutes, inclyta geſta,*
*Aeternis titulis fama perennet.*

Thus hauing expreſſed the words and verſes of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed ſome hundred yeares paſſed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerſet by the words of Aeſtatis ſedes, I haue truſte béene the willinger to ſet downe the ſame by waie of digreſſion (beſides the former declared cauſes which moued me thereto) for that I would not ſuffer ſo worthie a man as that John Summerſet was to be buried in oblition. And for that I would in ſome part (as ante occaſion may ſerue therefore) make this worke of Roger Wall more common to the world, being onelie now in the hands of one painefull antiquarie. Wherefore in that ſort, leauing our Engliſhmen, let vs returne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating firſt of ſome thing done by them in the low countries, where one Steward a Scot, hauing had charge of men in ſome part of the low countries of Flanders, Zeland, and Holland, vnder William of Naſſaw, earle of Aurange, did now fall from the ſtates of that countrie, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines ſide, and went to aſſiſt the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in thoſe parts) becauſe the ſtates did not paie to him and his ſoldiors their due ſtipend and wages for the wars. At what time alſo the garriſon of Burels were for the like cauſe in an vprore. But ſome portion of monie being offered vntō them, they were for that time ſomewhat pacified. All which notwithſtanding, one certeine Scot, called Lichfield, ſurnamed Semple, being capteine of the garriſon of Lire, and long vnpaid

*Surius in comen. de reb. in orbe hiſtor. pa. 1062.*

*Summerſet.

The commendation of doctor John Summerſet.

The Spaniards obteine Lire by a stratagem deuised by the Scots.

vnpaied his sallarie, for those warres did in vaine manie times demand that monie due vnto him. Wherevpon, imagining with himselfe how he might deceiue Hietfield the gouernour of the citie, as they had beguiled him in deteining of his due, he deuised with a new stratagem to bring this towne into the subiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore, feining himselfe that he would in the middest of the night with his people go forth to bring home some great bootie for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, & late in the night gathered togither a great preie of catell, horsses, oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Lire, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their bootie might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to set the gates full abroad, onelie opened a little wicket or doore, thereby to receiue Semple into the towne. Which thing Semple then perceiuing (& not finding all things to answer his expectation) feined that the enimies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and recouer their bootie, vnlesse he did spedilie open the great gate, through the same to receiue them into the towne all at once. Then the porter beléeuing all this to be true, forthwith set open the great gates of the citie; which done, the Scot entereth therat, slue those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same receiued the kings souldiors, which were not farre behind, but secretlie laie in wait expecting the successe of this deuise. By which meanes the Spaniards and their followers first woone the market place, and the nert daie after the calends of August reduced the whole towne of Lire vnder their owne subiection: the same Lire being a place well fensed, and set in such a conuenient soile, that it would prohibit all passage and carriage to come to Antwerpe, Mecheline and Brusels.

Ambassador frõ the French into Scotlãd.

After this, much about the beginning of September, monsieur de la Mot was sent from Henrie the third the French king ambassador into Scotland, the outward effect of whose commission was to renew and conclude the old league of amitie betwixt those two nations, as it had béene long continued betwéene them in times past, which done, he returned, well accepted by his French master. After which in like sort the king of Scots sent the lord Seton ambassador into France to the same king Henrie, which lord came to Paris in the beginning of March, and there remained about six wéekes or more before he could find conuenient passage for him to returne into his countrie, because there was wait laid (as was supposed) to the end that he might haue béene intercepted by some of his enimies, before he should haue atteined the presence of the king his maister.

1582

Ambassador from the Scot to the French.

But now as a litle before I haue set downe the exploits done by the Scots in the low countries out of their owne nation, so I thinke it not amisse to adde to the same somewhat done by a Scot heere in England, the summe whereof is after this manner. One William Creicton a Scot by birth, and a Iesuit by profession, which name of Creicton first came into Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three score and six out of Hungarie amongst others with Agatha, the mother of Maud the wife to Malcolme king of Scots, hauing trauelled the most part of Europe, had conference with one William Parrie an Englishman, by waie of discourse and argument touching such matter of treason as concerned the death of the quéene of England. After which (Parrie being returned into England in Januarie following) this Creicton also, not tarrieng long behind him, did come from the parts of beyond the seas to take his iornie towards Scotland, who determining to passe through England, arriued here, was apprehended, & committed prisoner to the Tower of London, in such sort as before yon haue heard that John Lesle bishop of Rosse was staied by the duke of Bauier vpon suspicion, that the same bishop had dealt with the enimies of that prince against the state of his countrie. The cause wherefore the said Creicton was so committed, was for that he had about him diuerse plots for inuasions of this our realme of England. When he was thus prisoner in the Tower, William Parrie was after for the same treason apprehended, examined, committed also to the Tower, and finallie executed on the second daie of March in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure. In the Februarie before which execution, sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir maiestie of England, came to the Tower, examined the said Creicton and dealt with him, to vnderstand if the said Parrie had euer had conference with him in the parts beyond the seas touching that question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maiestie of England or not, the which at that time the said Creicton called not to his remembrance; yet afterwards vpon better consideration thereof it fell into his mind, where, when, & on what occasion such spéech had passed betwéene the said Parrie and him. Wherevpon the twentith daie of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, during the time that Parrie also was a prisoner in the Tower, this Creicton wrote to maister secretarie Walsingham a voluntarie letter penned all with his owne hand, which being alreadie set downe in the historie of England is needlesse here to be repeated. Wherefore hauing thus said somewhat of this prisoner, we will leaue him still remaining in the same state, expecting some folowing successe of libertie to come to him, and returne our pen to the countrie of Scotland, thereof to set downe such occurrents as happened from this time.

Creicton a Scot committed to prison in England.

A contention betwéene the earle Morton and the lard Johnstane.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betwéene the lord Marwell earle Morton warden of the west marches of Scotland, and the lard of Johnstane; the occasion of which new dissention proceeded of an old enimitie begun in the time of Dowglasse earle Morton beheaded, as before in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In which hurlie burlie the lard of Johnstane behaued himselfe verie rigorouslie against the lord Marwell, in blowing vp with gunpouder the lockes of the castell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secretlie after the death of Dowglasse earle Morton, continuing betwéene the lord Marwell and Johnstane, with further increase of malice, they in this yeare sought a fresh reuenge thereof, sith the lord Johnstane had not (before this) either power or meanes to incounter with the lord Marwell. But now the ladie Johnstane (being verie familiar and fauored with and of James Steward earle of Arrane) obteined of the king some succors of men of warre against the lord Marwell earle Morton, hir husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwise to make his part good against the same earle. Wherevpon capteine Lamie and capteine Granestane were sent with two companies of hackbuts vnto the relefe of the lard of Johnstane. Who being thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie thereabouts to assist him with their power: which being had, he meant and therefore went to haue ioined with the said two capteins Lamie and Granestane. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth

Ladie Johnstane hath aid of the king.

quite

* Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 210.

quite contrarie to our determination. So the lard Johnſtane was diſappointed of that meeting; for the earle Morton (whoſe heedfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuiſes of his enimies, a needfull policie for all ſuch as intend to bring great actions to effect) hauing intelligence by ſome of his friends tendering his ſafetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Johnſtane, and wiſelie (as behoued him) ſeeing what danger might riſe vnto him, if their two forces met, which would riſe to a greater number than he were able to incounter, and iudging it beſt in the beginning to prouide for miſchiefe, and to ſtop their paſſage, did prepare to preuent all their deuiſes, and for that cauſe ſent his baſe brother Robert Marwell capteine of Langholme with ſome horſemen and footmen vnder the conduct of James Fraiſer brother to the lord of Fulloth, which Robert meeting on Craiford mere with the foreſaid capteins Lamie and Craneſtane, before that they had ioined with the lard Johnſtane gaue the charge vpon them, and that ſo fiercelie as they ouerthrew the whole ſtrength of his enimies, ſlue Lamie, tooke Craneſtane priſoner, and ſo handled the matter that all the reſt were taken or ſlaine except ſome few, who ſought their liues by the benefit of flieng. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Johnſtane, who deſirous to be reuenged thereof, vſed the helpe of other meanes when he perceiued that force would not preuaile. And for that cauſe aſſembling ſuch power as he had, he vſed the ſtrength of one element againſt an other, of the higheſt againſt the loweſt, of the heauen againſt the earth, of the fire againſt mettall, and of burning againſt fighting. For with all ſpeed he haſtened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruellie ſpoiled, and in the ſame did burne certeine houſes and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers trees, Duncoll, Cowhill, and ſuch like. Wherevpon the earle Morton, who in like ſort did not neglect his owne cauſe, but as opportunitie ſerued, ſought the requitall thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Johnſtane, vtterlie ſpoiled them, and yet not ſo ſatisfied, committed to the fire both the caſtels of Louchhouſe and Louchwood belonging to Johnſtane, and ſlue ſundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Johnſtane, being perſons of good ſort, as the two brothers of Lokierbie, a brother of the lord Wlaneſtrate, ſome of the ſons of John of Johnſtane of Holgill, with others. Which done, the earle Morton procéeded vnto further purſute, and determining fullie to reuenge himſelfe vpon Johnſtane, and his followers, forced the lard Johnſtane himſelfe to flie his furie. Wherefore he fled to a ſtrong houſe called the Bonſhaw caſtell belonging to Edward Irwine of the Bonſhaw, whome the earle purſued, and beſieged in the ſame place, at what time he ſo battered the caſtell with artillerie, that the houſe was almoſt gotten. Which being perceiued of thoſe within, not able to make further reſiſtance, they fell to parlée, and ſo to compoſition; whereby in the end the matter was wholie compounded and ended betweéne them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lord Scrope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Johnſtane. But the coles of inward griefe being couered with cold aſhes of outward reconciliation, did not long lie couered, but in the end began afreſh to ſhew their fire. For the lard Johnſtane falling from the ſaid accord, vpon what occaſion I know not, either for cauſe giuen by the earle Morton, or for an euill diſpoſition in himſelfe, or for both, they burſt forth againe into the like conflicts & part taking, which in the end falling to the worſt,

Robert Marwell baſe brother to earle Morton ſent againſt capteine Lamie.

Capteine Lamie & Craneſtane ouerthrowen.

The caſtels Louchhouſe and Louchwood burnt.

The lard Johnſtane forced to flie.

The lord Scrope compounded the contention betweéne earle Morton and the lard Johnſtane.

for the lard Johnſtane, he was taken betweén Cinwall and the Warden ditches (where he was laid in ambuſh to haue performed ſome action againſt the ſaid Robert Marwell comming from the towne of Domfreies to Laugham from the earle Morton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings caſtell named Traife) being by the earle Morton appointed to incounter with the ſaid lard Johnſtane: which this baron was the more willing to dw, becauſe he intirelie loued the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

The lard Johnſtane taken.

These things thus performed and the ſucceſſe thereof comming to the kings knowledge, he grew ſo beaulie diſpleaſed with the earle Morton, that he was ſcarſe able to ſuſteine the kings diſpleaſure, by reaſon that the earle attempted theſe things againſt the kings mind, when the king had ſupported the lard Johnſtane with men and weapons. But the kings diſpleaſure onlie growing againſt the earle, was partlie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exaſperat the cauſe againſt him, and partlie by the perſuaſion & lamentation of the ladie of Johnſtane, whereof the laſt was enimie to the earle, as of dutie ſhe ought in reſpect of hir huſband, and the firſt (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enimie beſides all reaſon againſt earle Morton, becauſe that Morton refuſed to exchange the baronies of Poke and Marwell Hewch with Arrane, which moſt inſtantlie required the ſame, in reſpect they adioined nere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himſelfe. For although that Arrane would in place of thoſe required lands haue deliuered others of no leſſe value and honor (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Kinneile for the ſame) yet Morton had good cauſe and no leſſe reaſon not to yeld therevnto: as well for that Marwell Hewch was his ancient inheritance, and the firſt land which his anceſtors had, and whereof they tooke the name of lord Marwell; as for that, that there were manie of the ſurname of the Marwels, who dwelling vpon theſe lands, would not become ſubiect to the earle of Arrane, as they muſt haue beene if he had departed with thoſe lands; amongſt which Marwels ſo refuſing to become tenants to Arrane, were John Marwell lard of Newarke, and William Marwell lard of Poke.

The king diſpleaſed with earle Morton for the cauſe of the lard Johnſtane.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Morton.

The Marwels would not be ſubiect to the earle of Arrane.

This thus handled, the king aſſembled a parlement in Paie, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occaſion to ſome of the nobilitie and clergie to miſconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after miniſter cauſe to the king (for the more diſcharge of his honour, the better explaining of the ſaid lawes, and the manifeſting of ſecret practiſes againſt him) to ſet downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherin he ſhewed himſelfe of a rare and good diſpoſition, in that he would humble himſelfe beneath the maieſtie of his crowne, publikelie to render a reaſon to his neighbours and to his ſubiects of his dealings, towards ſuch as were vnder his gouernment, ſith he was not bound therevnto, being to diſpoſe of thoſe his ſubiects according to the lawes of his realme and the cuſtomes of thoſe countries. But before I ſet downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to ſaie ſomewhat of ſuch things as went before, and were the cauſe of ſetting forth of the ſame declaration. There were ſome lawes in the ſame parlement enacted for the reformation of religion, which to the king ſeemed to be growne ouer dangerous, in ſéeking a certeine equalitie of gouernment in the eccleſiaſticall hierarchie. Vpon which law eſtabliſhed, the earles of Angus and Mar, with diuers others of the temporaltie and the ſpiritualtie,

as Andrew Melvine, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were inforced for the vse of their conscience and for other causes, to banish themselues from their countrie, and to flie into England there to vse the libertie of their religion, and to prouide for the safetie of their persons, who comming into this realme, made their abode and sojourned at Norwich. About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discouered by Robert Hamilton vnto the king, intended to be practised against his maiestie, whereupon some were summoned vpon suspicion, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the lord Blakater and George Dowglasse were summoned to the court vpon suspicion that they were consenting and conceling to and of the same treasons. For the second part touching the same, the lord of Donwhasell, the lord of Dunkreth, the lord of Waithkit, Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: besides which John Hoppingell of the Mores was taken at his owne house by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Keier with the lord Mains and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and lastlie the lord Donwhasell and the lord Mains were executed, with the lord Ruthwine earle of Gowrike, treasuror of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus done, the king as is before said made this following declaration vpon the said acts of parlement, in which he sheweth reason and cause why he ought and might both make and execute those laws, with a further explanation also of the same lawes deliuered in that declaration with these words.

## The kings maiesties declaration of his *acts confirmed in parlement.*

FOr as much as there is some euill affected men that goeth about so farre as in them lieth, to inuent lies and tales to slander and impaire the kings maiesties fame and honor, & to raise reports as if his maiestie had declined to papistrie, & that he had made manie acts to abolish the free passage of the gospell, good order and discipline in the church: which brutes are mainteined by rebellious subiects, who would gladlie couer their seditious enterprises vnder pretense of religion (albeit there can be no good religion in such as raise rebellion to disquiet the state of their natiue souereigne, and periuredlie doth stand against the oth, band, & obligation of their faith, whereunto they haue subscribed) therfore that his maiesties faithfull subiects be not abused with such slanderous reports, and his highnesse good affectionat friends in other countries mate vnderstand the verities of his vpright intention, his highnesse hath commanded this breefe declaration of certeine of his maiesties acts of parlement holden in Maie one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, to be published and imprinted, to the effect that the indirect practises of such as slander his maiestie and his lawes maie be detected and discouered.

In the first act his maiestie ratifieth and approueth the true profession of the gospell, sincere preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, presentlie by the goodnesse of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of the faith set downe by act of parlement the first yere of his maiesties reigne. Likewise his highnesse not onlie professeth the same in all sinceritie, but (praised be God) is come to that ripenesse of iudgement by reading and hearing the word of God, that his highnesse is able to conuince and ouerthrow by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles the most learned of the contrarie sect. So that (as Plato affirmeth that common wealth to be counted happie wherein a philosopher reigneth, or he that reigneth is a philosopher) we maie much more esteeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a diuine, and whose hart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenlie philosophie: for the comfort not onlie of his good subiects and friends in other countries but of them that professeth the gospell euerie where, he being a king of great wisedome, and by his birth right borne to great possession; but much more his highnesse, vertue, godlinesse and learning, and dailie increase of all heauenlie sciences, doth promise and assure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the second act his maiesties roiall authoritie ouer all estates both spirituall and temporall is confirmed: which act some of malice, and some of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the sonne of God the sauiour of the world, who is the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the members of his mysticall bodie, and he hauing receiued the holie spirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member baptised in his name, partaker of the misterie of the crosse and holie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord and the finall resurrection of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his maiestie surelie vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chiefe and principall member appointed by the law of God, to see God glorified, vice punished and vertue mainteined within his realme: and the souereigne iudgment of a godlie quietnesse & order in the common wealth, to apperteine to his highnesse care and solicitude. Which power and authoritie of his highnesse, certeine ministers being called before his maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring vp the people to rebellion against their natiue king (by the instigation of sundrie vnquiet spirits) would in no wise acknowledge but disclaime his maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and especiallie one called master Andrew Melvin of a salt and fierie humor, vsurping the pulpit of Saundois, without anie lawfull calling, and priuie at that time to certeine conspiracies attempted against his maiestie and crowne, went about in a sermon vpon a sundaie, to inflame the harts of the people by odious comparisons of his maiesties progenitors and councell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their natiue king, and not by popular sermons (which hath beene the euersion and decaie of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times past bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturbe the countrie. The said master Andrew being called before his highnesse, presumptuouslie answered that he would not be iudged by the king and councell, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be anie colour to anie sedition in word or deed against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe a most gratious prince) was not willing to haue vsed

ſed anie rigor againſt the ſaid maiſter Andrew, if he had humblie ſubmitted himſelfe, acknowledged his offenſe, and craued pardon: who notwithſtanding afraid of his owne giltineſſe, being priuie to diuers conſpirators before, fled out of the realme, whoſe naughtie & preſumptuous refuſing of his highneſſe iudgement, was the occaſion of the making of this ſecond act: that is, that none ſhould decline from his highneſſe authoritie, in reſpect that the common prouerbe beareth *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ ſunt*, which is, that Of euill maners good lawes proceed. And in verie deed it wanteth not anie right intollerable arrogancie in anie ſubiect called before his prince, profeſſing and authoriſing the ſame truth, to diſclaime his authoritie, neither do the prophets, apoſtles, or others (conducted by the ſpirit of God) miniſter the like example: for it is a great error to affirme (as manie do) that princes and magiſtrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that eccleſiaſticall matters do onelie belong to the miniſterie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himſelfe and his cleargie from all iudgment of princes, and he made himſelfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onelie by the example of the godlie gouernors, iudges, and kings of the old teſtament; but alſo by the new teſtament, and the whole hiſtorie of the primitiue church, in which the emperors being iudges ouer the biſhops of Rome, depoſed them from their ſeats, appointed iudges to decide and determine cauſes eccleſiaſticall, and challenge innocent men, as Athanaſius from the determination of the councell holden at Tirus, and by infinit good reaſons which ſhall be ſet downe by the grace of God in an other ſeuerall worke, and ſhall be ſufficientlie proued and verified. But this appéereth at this preſent to be an vntimelie and vnprofitable queſtion, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the prepoſterous imitation of the pretended iuriſdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie queſtion of this land of hereſie, whereby the profound myſteries of the ſcriptures behoued to be ſearched forth, his maieſtie would vſe the ſame remedie (as moſt expedient) which the moſt godlie emperors haue vſed: and his maieſtie following their example would allow the councell of learned paſtors, that by conference of ſcriptures the veritie might be opened, and hereſie repreſſed.

But God be thanked, we haue no ſuch controuerſies in this land, neither hath anie hereſie taken anie déepe rot in the countrie; but that certeine of the miniſterie, ioining themſelues to rebels haue trauelled to diſquiet the ſtate with ſuch queſtions, that the people might imbrace anie ſiniſter opinion of his maieſties vpright proceédings, and factions might be nouriſhed and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maieſties meaning nor intention in anie ſort, to take awaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby diſcipline and good order might decaie; but rather to preſerue, increaſe, and mainteine the ſame. And as there is in this realme, iuſtices, conſtables, ſhiriffes, prouoſts, bailiffes, and other iudges in temporall matters: ſo his maieſtie alloweth that all things might be done in order, and a godlie quietnes may be preſerued in the whole eſtate; the ſynodall aſſemblies by the biſhops, or commiſſioners, where the place was vſed to be conuenient, twiſe in the yeare, to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the miniſterie and their eſtate: alwaies reſeruing to his highneſſe, that if they, or anie of them do amiſſe, neglect their dutie, diſquiet the eſtate, or offend in anie ſuch maner and ſort, that they in no waies pretend anie immunitie, priuilege, and exemption, which onelie was inuented by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder foot the ſcepter of princes, and to eſtabliſh an eccleſiaſticall tyrannie within this countrie, vnder pretenſe of new inuented preſbyters, which neither ſhould anſwer to the king nor biſhop vnder his maieſtie: but ſhould haue ſuch infinit iuriſdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onelie his maieſties intention to repreſſe, and not to take awaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

The third act of his maieſties foreſaid parlement diſchargeth all iudgements eccleſiaſticall, and all aſſemblies which are not allowed by his maieſties parlement. Which act ſpeciallie concerneth the remouing and diſcharging of that forme, inuented in this land, called the preſbyterie: wherein a number of miniſters of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themſelues to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maieſties ſubiects, vſurpe the whole eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, & altereth the laws at their owne pleaſure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the eſtate: a forme of doing without example of anie nation, ſubiect to a chriſtian prince. The perill whereof did ſo increaſe, that in caſe it had not bœne repreſſed in due ſeaſon, & forbidden by his maieſties laws, the ſame had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highneſſe to be the ouerthrow of his maieſties eſtate, the decaie of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptiſtrie, and popular confuſion in all eſtates; his maieſtie hath giuen commandement againſt the ſame. And that the reader may know the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby inſueth in this land, I will onelie ſet downe one, whereby they may vnderſtand what perill was in the reſt.

The ambaſſador of France, returning home into his countrie, commanded the prouoſts, bailiffes, and conſtable of Edenburgh to make him a banket, that he might be receiued honorablie according to the amitie of ancient times betwéene the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the ſaturdaie by his highneſſe, and the banket appointed to be on the mondaie. A number of the foreſaid pretended preſbyterie vnderſtanding thereof, aſſembled themſelues on the ſundaie in the morning, and preſumptouſlie determined & agréed, that the miniſters of Edenburgh ſhould proclame a faſting vpon the ſame mondaie; where their ſeuerall miniſters one after another made thrée ſeuerall ſermons, and inuectiues againſt the prouoſts, bailiffes, and councell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie; who repared to the banket at his maieſties command. The foreſaid preſbyterie called and perſuaded them, and ſcarſelie by his maieſties authoritie could be withholden from excommunicating the magiſtrats and noble men, for obeieng onelie his highneſſe lawfull command; which the law of all countries called *Ius gentium*, requires towards ambaſſadors of forren countries. And not onelie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclamed directlie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maieſtie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceéding ingendered nothing but diſquietneſſe, ſedition, and trouble: as may manifeſtlie appeare, in that the eſpeciall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and aſſiſting of the foreſaid pretended preſbyterie, hath ioined themſelues with his maieſties rebels; and flieng forth of the realme, in reſpect of their guiltineſſe, hath diſcouered what malicious practiſes was deuiſed amongſt them, if God had not in time prouided remedie.

The

The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemblie of the whole cleargie in the realme: vnder pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as fauorers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised manie enterprises in the realme: where there was no certeine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall conuention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succeded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude.

This generall assemblie amongst other things, did appoint and agrée with his maiesties regents in his minoritie, that the *estate of bishops should be maintened and authorised, as is registred in the bookes of councell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their consents appointed to their dioceese, vntill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundée, and Glascow, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, toke vpon them contrarie to their owne handwriting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdictions, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings councell or parlement, without commission obteined from their assemblie: that they should confirme nothing in parlement and councell, but according to their acts and iniunctions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the councell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue detected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselues, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parlement and councell, might be authorised in place of the estate: wherby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most godlie, learned, wise, and experimented of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue beene by that meanes compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

* which is one of the estates of parlement.

After they had discharged bishops, they agréed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other apparance that they should haue stated from such dailie alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continuallie be disquieted, where the law of conscience, which they mainteined by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemblie was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certeine times appoint generall fastings through out the realme; especiallie, when some factioner in the countrie was to moue anie great enterprise. For at the fast, all the ministers were commanded by the assemblie to sing one song, and to crie out vpon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time: whereby is most certeine great alterations to haue insued in this land; while at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretense of the last fast was discouered, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath béene iustlie moued to discharge such conuentions, which might import so preiudiciallie to his estate.

But especiallie his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemblie being met at Edenburgh, did authorise and auow the fact perpetrate at Ruthwen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The which déed notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parlement accounted to be treason, the said assemblie estéeming their iudgement to be the souereigne iudgement of the realme, hath not onlie approued the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemblie, and the lawes of the estate directed, weied in ciuill matter, with the which the assemblie should not haue medled, it behoued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemblie, which in déed of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence & approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall councels at no time could assemble, without the commandement of the emperor for the time. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in the empire. Yea the bishop of S. Andrewes had not in time of poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne dioceese, without licence giuen before by his highnes most noble progenitors of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning maie fullie be vnderstood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of anie dioceese or prouince, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euerie parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discréet men, to aid and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauior of the people of that parish. And if there be anie notable offense, worthie of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice and executions to follow therevpon: that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the church, maie find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their deseruings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall forth, by diuers maners of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble supplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and godlie of their dioceese, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as apperteine to the vniformitie of doctrine and conuersation of a godlie order in the church, maie be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable councell, who shall assist for the time: where if necessitie so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme maie be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclamed, to auoid the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretense thereof to couer such enterprises, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentith act ratifieth and approueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the ouersight and iurisdiction, euerie one in their owne dioceese: which forme of gouernement,

and

and rule in eccleſiaſticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apoſtles, by continuall ſucceſſion of time, and manie martyrs in that calling ſhed their bloud for the truth: but alſo ſith this realme imbraced and receiued the chriſtian religion, the ſame eſtate hath béene maintéined, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without anie interruption, vntill within theſe few yeares, ſome curious and buſie men haue practiſed to induce into the miniſterie an equalitie in all things, aſwell concerning the preaching of the word, adminiſtration of the ſacraments, as likewiſe in diſcipline, order, and policie. The which confuſion his maieſtie finding by moſt dangerous experience, to haue béene the mother and nurſe of great factions, ſeditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduiſe of his highnes eſtates, aduiſedlie concluded, the ſaid pretended partie in diſcipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the ſolicitude & care of all churches in one dioceſſe to apperteine to the biſhop and commiſſioners therof, who ſhall be anſwerable to God, and his maieſtie, and eſtates, for the right adminiſtration and diſcharge of the office of particular miniſters, within the bounds of his iuriſdiction. For as it becommeth his maieſtie, as Euſebius writeth of Conſtantinus the great, to be a biſhop of biſhops, and vniuerſall biſhop within his realme, in ſo far as his maieſtie ſhould appoint euerie one to diſcharge his duetie: which his highneſſe cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euerie miniſter that ſhall offend and tranſgreſſe againſt duties, or quarell with the whole number of the miniſterie: but it behoueth his maieſtie to haue biſhops & ouerſéers vnder him which maie be anſwerable for ſuch bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed to euerie one of them. And that they hauing acceſſe to his maieſties parlement and councell, maie intercede for the reſt of the brethren of the miniſterie, propone their gréefe vnto his highneſſe and eſtates, and receiue his maieſties fauorable anſwere therein. The which forme doth preſerue a godlie quietneſſe, vnitie, concord and peace in the eſtate, and one vniforme order in the church. As contrariwiſe, the pretended equalitie diuideth the ſame, and vnder the pretenſe of equalitie maketh the ſame of the moſt craftie and ſubtile dealers to be aduanced and inriched: and in pretending of partie, to ſéeke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboue the reſt of the ſimple ſort.

And notwithſtanding that his maieſtie hath reeſtabliſhed the ſaid eſtate, it is not his highneſſe will and intent, that the foreſaid biſhop ſhall haue ſuch full power as to do within his dioceſſe what he pleaſeth. For his maieſtie cannot allow of anis popular confuſion, wherein (as the prouerbe ſaith) Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda eſt tyrannidi multitudinis, that is: No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandement and power in his hands: ſo on the other part his maieſties will is, that the biſhops authoritie in anie graue matter, be limited to the councell of thirtéene of the moſt ancient, wiſe, and godlie perſons of his dioceſſe, ſelected out of the whole ſynodall aſſemblie of the prouince: by whoſe aduiſe, or at the leaſt the moſt part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church maie be gouerned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highneſſe will and commandement, that their biſhops and commiſſioners twiſe in the yeare, to wit, ten daies after Eaſter, and the firſt of September, hold their ſynodall aſſemblies in euerie dioceſſe, for the kéeping of good orders therein: and if anie be ſtubborne, or contemne within their bounds the good order of the church, that it maie be declared vnto his maieſtie, and puniſhed to the example of others, according to their deſeruings. Neither is it his maieſties meaning or intent, that ſuch biſhops or commiſſioners as ſhall be appointed, ſhall receiue their onelie and full commiſſion of his maieſtie without admiſſion ordinarie, by ſuch as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highneſſe nomination, preſentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patrone, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are ſuch as they are able to diſcharge their cure and office. And if it ſhall happen anie of the ſaid biſhops or commiſſioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be ſlanderous or offenſiue in their behauior, life, and maners, in time to come, it is not his highneſſe will, that they ſhall be exempted from correction, notwithſtanding anie priuilege of his highnes eſtate, councell or parlement: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall aſſemblie, not conſiſting of a confuſed multitude, as it was before; but of ſuch worſhipfull perſons as is heretofore preſcribed in his highneſſe preſence, or his deputies to that effect.

Laſtlie his maieſtie giueth commiſſion to the ſaid biſhops or commiſſioners at their viſitations, to conſider in what part of the countrie, the enterpriſe, or interpretation of the ſcripture, by conference of a certeine number of the miniſterie within thoſe bounds, maie be moſt commodiouſlie once in euerie fiftéene daies. For as his maieſtie inhibits all vnlawfull métings, that maie ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: ſo his maieſtie is well affected to ſée the miniſterie increaſe in knowledge and vnderſtanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the ſame. Wherein his highneſſe commandement is, that a graue, wiſe, and ſage man ſhall be appointed preſident, who maie haue the ouerſight of theſe bounds, and be anſwerable therefore to the biſhop, his councell and ſynod; and he to be reſpected reaſonablie for his paines, at the modification of ſtipends: that all things maie be orderlie done in the church, peace & quietneſſe mainteined in the realme, and we deliuered from apparant plagues, and the bleſſings of God continued to the comfort of our poſteritie. And in the meane time his highneſſe inhibits & erpreſſie forbids vnder the paines conteined in his maieſties acts of parlement, & all other pains arbitrable at his maieſties ſight & councell, that no miniſter take in hand to aſſemble themſelues for the foreſaid cauſe, without the appointment and order taken by the ſaid biſhops or commiſſioners, whereby his highneſſe maie be certeinlie informed, that the foreſaid miniſters aſſemble not, to meddle with anie ciuill matters, or affaires of eſtate, as was accuſtomed before; but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the adminiſtration of their ſpirituall office: which his highneſſe wiſheth them faithfullie to diſcharge, and then to call to God, that his maieſtie maie in a proſperous reigne enioie good and long life, and continue and increaſe in the feare of the almightie.

Beſides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into ſundrie heads as here followeth.

## The kings intention drawne into *certeine articles, and publiſhed* in print.

His maieſties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and ſincere profeſſion of the goſpell, and preaching thereof within his realme.

2 His maieſties intention is, to correct and puniſh ſuch as ſeditiouſlie abuſe the truth, and factiouſlie aplie or rather bewraie the text of the ſcripture to the diſquieting of the ſtate and diſturbing of the commonwealth, or imparing of his highneſſe and councels honour.

3 His maieſties intention is, if anie queſtion of faith and doctrine ariſe, to conuocate the moſt learned, godlie, wiſe, and experimented paſtors, that by conference of ſcriptures the veritie may be tried, and all hereſie and ſchiſme by that means erpreſſed.

4 His maieſties intention is, that for the keeping of good order in euerie paroch, certeine ouerſeers to the good behauiour of the reſt, be apointed at the viſitation of the biſhop or viſitour, who ſhall haue his maieſties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the puniſhment of vice.

5 His maieſties intention is, to mainteine the exerciſe of propheſie for the increaſe and continuing of knowledge amongſt the miniſterie: in which a wiſe and a graue man ſelected by the biſhop or commiſſioner at the ſynodall aſſemblie, ſhall render accompt of the adminiſtration of thoſe bounds, where the exerciſe is holden, for which cauſe ſome reſpect of liuing ſhall be had vnto him, who ſuſteins that burthen.

6 His maieſties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie biſhops, their councels and ſynods: but if anie of them do amiſſe, and abuſe their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and puniſhing thereof.

7 His maieſties intention is, not to hinder or ſtaie anie godlie or ſolid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitiue church, but that the miniſters of the word meddle themſelues onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not feareſullie of the eſtate.

8 It is his maieſties intention, that the preſbyteries conſiſting of manie miniſters and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwaies, be not further tollerat in his realme: but the exerciſe of iuriſdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the biſhop or commiſſioner, and their councels and ſynods.

9 It is his maieſties intention, that the biſhops or commiſſioners aſſemble not anie generall aſſemblie out of the whole realme, without his maieſties knowledge and licence obteined thereunto: which vpon ſupplication his highneſſe will not denie, that an vniforme order may be obſerued in the whole realme, and the biſhops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and diſcuſſed.

10 It is his maieſties intention to aſſiſt this aſſemblie himſelfe, or by a noble man of his councell, his highneſſe deputie.

11 It is his maieſties intention, that when anie paroch findeth neceſſitie of anie faſt, they informe the occaſion to the biſhop or commiſſioner and their councell, that they may vnderſtand the cauſe to be lawfull; as likewiſe the biſhop of the dioceſſe finding lawfull occaſion, may within the ſame, with his councell preſcribe anie publike humiliation.

12 It his maieſties intention, that a generall faſt throughout the whole realme, ſhall not be proclamed but by his maieſties commandement, or by a generall councell, wherin his maieſtie or his highneſſe deputie is preſent.

13 It is his highneſſe intention, that the biſhops in the realme in euerie dioceſſe with their councell proceed into the eccleſiaſticall gouernement, but as is ſaid with a councell, that both tyrannie and confuſion may be auoided in the church.

14 It is his maieſties intention, that commiſſioners be directed vniuerſallie throughout the whole realme, to eſtabliſh a godlie order, and that his maieſties commiſſioners take order preſentlie for the tranſlation of ſuch miniſters, whoſe trauels they eſteeme may more conuenientlie and profitablie ſerue in an other place.

These things was the king faine to publiſh, to ſtaie the euill report of ſuch as went about to touch him for the breach of the chriſtian order in religion, which being nothing but that which ſeemeth anſwerable to naturall ſenſe & princelie maieſtie, ſhould neither by malice haue moued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the duetie of naturall allegiance to reſiſt the kinglie ordinance, or to lift vp their ſword or word againſt him, who being a god in earth, preſenteth the maieſtie of the God of heauen. But leauing the diſcourſe of theſe things to preachers, to whome it belongeth to inſtruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrents of Scotland. And yet before we ſpeake anie thing of thoſe matters, ſith I haue in this place as well as in manie other ſpoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amiſſe to ſet downe ſomewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather becauſe the ſame conſiſteth of three eſtates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement doth, from whome it ſeemeth to me that they haue fet their light. Touching which, Leſleus in his Scotiſh hiſtorie lib. 1. pag. 75, vnder the title of Leges Scotorum, writeth in this ſort. Qui verò ſeculi negotijs ſeſe implicantes in eccleſiaſticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges deſcripſerunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines ſanxerũt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico ſermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latinè ſcriptas continet, titulus (regiam maieſtatem) præfigitur, quòd ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitiorũ (quæ populari ſermone parliamenta dicimus) acta inſcribuntur. Quanquam hic aduertendum, nos ita lege municipali teneri, vt ſi cauſa multis controuerſijs implicata (quod ſæpe fit) incidat quæ legibus noſtratibus non poſſit dirimi, ſtatim quicquid ad hanc controuerſiam decidendam neceſſarium cenſetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed ſi quis legum noſtrarum originem velit conquiſitè inueſtigare, intelligat poteſtatem has ferendi antiquandíque trium ordinum ſuffragijs liberè in publico latis regis aſſenſu confirmatis eſſe poſitam. On which parlements ſo aſſembled, conſiſting of the three eſtates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that aſſemblie is made, to keepe ſuch parlement attired in his regall garments, with the ſword and other ornaments, the enſignes of his kingdome and kinglie authoritie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie and cleargie) thoſe common people will manie times giue ſuch bis names as ſeemeth beſt liking to themſelues, and is moſt anſwerable to the nature & order of that parlement, as we alſo do heere in England, whereof I could produce manie examples of both nations, which at this time I will forbeare, and onelie ſet downe one proofe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the ſame, leaſt in paſſing it ouer without ſome example thereof, I might make a vaine ſhew of knowledge conſiſting in naked words, without anie ſound matter. Wherefore I ſaie, that as in England in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, the parle-

10 20 30 40 50 60

The parlement of Scotland conſiſteth of three eſtats.

Parlements nicknamed.

The mad parlement.

ment

ment held at Orkord by the lords againſt the king, was called Parliamentum inſanum, bicauſe manie things were there intreted which turned to the death of diuerſe noble men. So the Scots in like maner bynamed a parlement, in the yeare of Chriſt 1556, (being the fourteenth yeare of Marie the now impriſoned quéene of Scotland) and called the ſame a running parlement, bicauſe there were manie intermiſſions and remouings during the continuance thereof, as appeareth by Leſleus in theſe words. Aeſtate ſequenti habita ſunt Edinburgi trium ordinum comitia, in quibus domini Brunſtonius, Grangius, Balnauius, & alij nonnulli, quorum bona à gubernatore publicata fuerunt, ſingulari regis Franciæ commendatione dignati, famæ atque bonis reſtituti ſunt. Hæc verò comitia quòd intermiſſa, potiùs quàm omiſſa, quaſi continuarentur, nomen à vulgo acceperunt, vt currentia dicerentur. Thus much being ſaid about their parlements, let vs againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland, which followed the former parlement aſſembled in Maie, and moued the king to make that declaration thereof which I haue before ſet downe.

The running parlement.

Leſleus.

About the time that the earle Gowrike or Gowrie was as before is remembred beheaded, the king did roiallie ſet forward his iourneie, and poſſeſſed the towne of Sterling, in which the ſaid earle was erecuted, hauing a ſiſter maried to Leſle earle of Rothos, and a daughter married to Steward earle of Atholl. After the death of the ſaid earle Gowricke lord treaſurer of Scotland, the king beſtowed that office vpon Grahame earle of Montroſſe, who had married the lord Dromonds ſiſter, which name of Grame is ſuppoſed to be deduced from Grahame, who in the yeare of Chriſt foure hundred twentie and two, reſiſted the Romans, inuading the Picts and Scots, for when Victorinus the Romane legat, had againe commanded a trench or fenſe to be made from the caſtell of Abincorne to Cluide, the ſame was vtterlie ouerthrowne and caſt abroad by the noble capteine Grame, of whome as is ſuppoſed the familie of the Grames liuing at this daie had their originall, the ſame place to this daie being called the trench of Grame or Grames trench.

Leſleus li. 4. pag. 133.

The tenth of September (after that he was ſent for by the quéene of England vpon certeine articles laid againſt him) did George Talbot erle of Shrewſburie (a graue and honourable perſon, who had Marie the impriſoned queene of Scots in his cuſtodie at Sheffeld caſtell) repaire to London according to his dutie, to anſwer thoſe things which ſhould be obiected againſt him, who comming to London verie honorablie attended on with his owne retinue, amounting to the number of two hundred horſſe, and with ſome few others of the quéenes men, which were ſent to bring him vp, repaired to his houſe at Coleherbert in London, from whenſe in Nouember going to the court to anſwer the things to be obiected vnto him, about the cuſtodie and vſage of the ſame queene of Scots, which had manie yéars beene vnder his charge, he anſwered the matter verie honourablie, and to his good diſcharge, being then diſmiſſed of the kéeping of the ſame quéene of Scots. During whoſe being here at London, the quéene of Scots was appointed to the charge of ſir Rafe Sadler knight banneret, a graue and old councellor to the ſtate of England, and chancellor of the dutchie of Lancaſter; with whome was alſo ioined in the ſame commiſſion John Summers eſquier, clearke of the ſignet, a wiſe and modeſt gentleman, well ſéene in the languages, excellent at diſciphering, and brought vp vnder that worthie and rare witted gentleman, doctor Nicholas Wotton, of whome I haue ſpoken more in the hiſtorie of England. Theſe hauing this quéene thus committed vnto them, did (as perſons carefull of ſo weightie a charge) remoue hir to a place of good ſtrength, and conuied hir to be kept in the caſtell of Tutberrie, where ſhe (not remaining long in their cuſtodie) bicauſe they were remoued and others put in place, was afterward about Maie following, as anon ſhall appeare, committed to the charge of ſir Aimes Paulet one alſo of the priuie councell of England, hauing before béene ambaſſador legier in France, a perſon deſcended of an ancient and honourable familie, with whome and vnder whoſe charge ſhe ſtill remaineth at this preſent in the ſaid caſtle of Tutburie.

But to leaue that matter, we ſaie that about the tenth daie of Januarie following this diſcharge of the earle of Shrewesburie, ſir Lewis Valentine knight, iuſtice, clerke, and maiſter of the ceremonies of the kings houſe, which office as I haue béene crediblie informed by a Scot (but how truelie I leaue to others) his father, his grandfather, and great grandfather before him, did inioie, and to whome moſt of the nobilitie of Scotland, either by affinitie, conſanguinitie, or alliance, were linked in blood, a goodlie yong gentleman about the age of thirtie yeares, was ſent ambaſſador into England for the redeliuerie and accuſation of the erle of Angus and Marre, and the other nobles which were fled out of Scotland into England for a ſuppoſed treaſon wrought by them againſt their king, whoſe redeliuerie was required of the quéene of England, to the end the king might execute the law vpon them. In which his ambaſſage he behaued himſelfe before the councell of England ſo grauelie and learnedlie, that the ſaid earles were ſent for from Norwich (where they ſoiorned before his comming) to Weſtminſter, there to anſwere to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to their charge by the ſaid ſir Lewis Valentine. Whereupon after that the ſaid ambaſſador had remained in England at London (honorablie interteined and feaſted of the nobilitie and others) by the ſpace of ſeuentéene wéeks, he was diſpatched into his countrie with anſwer, that hir maieſtie would ſhortlie ſend an ambaſſador into Scotland which ſhould fullie ſatiſfie the king. Whereupon the ſaid ſir Lewis Valentine departed from London on the tenth daie of Maie following, in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and fiue, and ſo returned into Scotland; much about which time, as is before a little touched, was Marie quéene of Scots, remaining in the cuſtodie of ſir Ralfe Sadler in the caſtell of Tutburie, committed to the kéeping of ſir Aimes Paulet. 1585

After this the quéene of England the nineténth daie of the ſaid moneth of Maie diſpatched in ambaſſage into Scotland, Edward Wotton eſquier, a gentleman of good deſcent, and one whoſe anceſtors had honorablie & faithfullie ſerued manie princes of England, as well in the place of priuie councellors, as alſo in manie ambaſſages into forren nations: which ambaſſador being of yeares not much more than the ſaid ſir Lewis Valentine, had trauelled the moſt part of Europe, and had before time béene ambaſſador for the quéene of England into Portingall. This gentleman ſo ſent from the quéene of England to the king of Scots, attended on by other Engliſh gentlemen, departed as is before ſaid from London towards Scotland the nineténth of Maie, who remaining at Berwike about three dais, did there receiue his conduct from the king of Scots to paſſe into his kingdome; which once obteined, he preſentlie entred that land on Whitſun éue, being the nine and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth of Maie, and ſo came that daie to Edenburgh, being firſt at his entrance into the Scotiſh borders receiued

ued by the lord Hume and his retinue, who conueied them to Seton houſe, where they were interteined by the lord Seton: after which when the ambaſſador was departed about halfe a mile from the ſaid lord Setons houſe, he was met with ſir Robert Meluin knight, maiſter William Keth one of the kings chamber, and others, which conueied him that night to Edenburgh. The nert morrow (after that the Engliſh ambaſſador was come to the citie of Edenburgh) being Whitſundaie, the ambaſſador was after dinner brought to the kings preſence, where he had full audience for the deliuerie of his ambaſſage, conſiſting vpon the confirming of the old and concluding of a new league of amitie betweene the two nations of England and Scotland; which the king accepting in honorable part, did for that time diſmiſſe the ambaſſador, vntill the minds & conſents of the nobilitie might be vnderſtood and had. With which anſwer the ambaſſador then ſatisfied, toke leaue of the king for that preſent, and remained ſtill at Edenburgh ſome fortnight, interteined with ſports of delights anſwerable to the courſe of the yeere, and the dutie of an ambaſſage. From whenſe the ambaſſador attending on the king was conueied to Dumfermling, where the king remained ſome time to repoſe himſelfe, progreſſing from thenſe to Falkland, and ſo to ſaint Andrews, hauing the ambaſſador alwaies with him. When the king was come to ſaint Andrews, the noblemen and ſtates of the realme repaired thither to hold a parlement, according to the former appointment.

But whileſt theſe things did thus paſſe at ſaint Andrews, the time drew on, when the borderers of both the nations of England and Scotland ſhould aſſemble according to the cuſtome of the true daies, there to determine for recompenſe of all ſuch iniuries as each people had offered to other, in conueieng of cattell or other booties from their borders; for which cauſe there did about the ſixteenth daie of Julie aſſemble the people of both the borders, and the wardens of the ſame; at what time the lord of Fernhurſt warden of the Scotiſh borders, and ſir Francis Ruſſell knight lord Ruſſell, and ſir John Foſter knight warden of the middle marches came with their companie to the borders of Scotland, not far from Berwike, and ſo entred into ſpéech with the Scots of ſuch cauſes for which they repaired thither. After when the wardens were ſet vpon the bench to heare and determine the ſame, there did ſuddenlie ariſe among the people a contention, whereby followed at the firſt ſome ſmall frate, which being perceiued by ſir Francis Ruſſell, he aroſe from the bench and called for his horſſe, who meaning to appeaſe the matter, went amongſt the preaſe. At what time a certeine number of ſhot comming on him, he was ſuddenlie, but moſt vnluckilie, ſlaine with a péece amongſt the reſt diſcharged againſt him by a Scot borne about that place (ſuſpected by the moſt to be the brother of the lord of Fernhurſt) contrarie to the nature of ſuch aſſemblies, where each part ſhuld labor for quiet, ſith publike faith at ſuch times are giuen, that euerie one ſhall returne home without anie damage or iniurie offered by anie ſide. The loſſe of which ſir Francis Ruſſell, being a gentleman of great hope, was much lamented of the Engliſh, and that eſpeciallie ſith his vntimelie death ſo iniurioullie (by the erle of Arrane, as the common fame went) procured and ſo ſuddenlie performed, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of his age, did bereaue the realme of England of a godlie yong perſon, well ſtaied in gouernement, bountifull, wiſe, and vertuous, whoſe death happening the daie before that his honorable father the earle of Bedford (being of the ſame chriſtian and ſurname) departed the world, occaſioned T. G. firſt in Latine, and then in Engliſh, to ſet downe certeine funerall and mourning verſes touching both the father and the ſon in theſe words:

*En duo Franciſci ſubitò occubuere, ſimúlque*
*Et pater & natus, Ruſſella ſplendida ſtirpis*
*Lumina, quos binos mors abſtulit atra diebus:*
*Londini, comitem prouecta ætate parentem,*
*Finibus ac Scotiæ natum florentibus annis,*
*Ille perit morbo, inſidijs cadit alter iniquis:*
*Dum miſer occulta traiecit viſcera glande*
*Incautè Scotus, heu ficta ſub nomine pacis.*
*Occidit ante patrem, non multis filius horis.*
*Anglia magna tibi eſt rapti iactura parentis,*
*Nec leuis eſt nati, de quo ſpes optima fuiſſet.*
*Quis ſcit an irati foret hæc vindicta Iehouæ,*
*De vitijs pœnas dum noſtris ſumit acerbas?*

The Engliſh whereof is in this ſorme drawne into verſe by the firſt author of them T. G. in this ſort:

Lo Francies twaine at once
both ſuddenlie are gone:
Two ſhining ſtars of Ruſſels race,
the father and the ſonne.
Whom in two daies vntimelie death
hath from vs caught awaie:
The earle in London natures debt,
the father old did paie.
The ſonne his heire, lord Ruſſell hight,
of courage freſh and yeares:
On Scotiſh borders loſt his life,
whoſe want now well appeares.
The father did by ſickneſſe die,
the ſonne through fraud vniuſt:
By Scotiſh hand with gun was ſlaine,
whilſt nothing he miſtruſt.
The ſonne before the fathers death
not manie houres was ſlaine:
Great is thy loſſe, ô England, of
theſe peereleſſe nobles twaine.
Thy fathers worthie vertues late
knowne well (and long) to all:
From fathers ſteps the ſonne great hope
gaue that he would not fall.
Who knowes if God the Lord of hoſts,
this puniſhment doth ſend:
Our ſinnes ſo great thereby to ſcourge,
and wicked liues amend?

Of which erle of Bedford (hauing occaſion to mention him in this place by the death of his ſonne) I ſuppoſe not amiſſe to ſate ſomewhat more, eſpecialie concerning ſuch matters whereof he was a dealer with the impriſoned quéene of Scots, when ſhe was at libertie and in hir beſt eſtate.

In the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and three ſcore, Francis the French king died at Orleans in the kalends of December. After which, in the yere following, Marie the quéene of Scots, Dowager of France and widow to the ſaid Francis, ſoiourned a certeine time in France about Jamille and Lorreine, where the chéefe part of hir friends & kindred (being of the houſe of Guiſe) did remaine, during whoſe abode in France, and before ſhe went into Scotland: this earle of Bedford and ſir Nicholas Throgmorton (ligier ambaſſador in France for the quéene of England) were ſent vnto the quéene of Scots to conclude with hir, that the agréements and conditions of peace, which were eſtabliſhed a little before at Leith ſhould be eſtabliſhed by hir conſent. Whervnto for anſwere ſhe affirmed, that ſhe could not determine anie thing therein, vnleſſe that ſhe were preſent with the nobilitie of hir kingdome, to whom the adminiſtration of the realme of Scotland was committed at the intreatie of the Engliſh. And that when ſhe was in Scotland, where by Gods good furtherance ſhe hoped ſhortlie for to be

be, ſhe would earneſtlie trauell all ſhe might for the eſtabliſhing of all good conditions of peace. Againe when the king of Scots now liuing was by his godfathers to be taken from the font and to be regenerate in Chriſt, in the yere of our ſaluation one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and ſix, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of the ſame Marie quéene of Scots, this earle of Bedford as ambaſſador from the quéene of England, was ſent to the quéene of Scots by waie of deputiſhip to preſent the perſon of his miſtreſſe requeſted to chriſten the yong prince of Scotland. At what time this earle of Bedford preſented, in the behalfe of the quéene of England, one font of gold curiouſlie wrought, weighing thrée hundred thirtie and thrée ounces, and amounting in value to the ſumme of one thouſand fortie thrée pounds ſ ninetéene ſhillings. Thus this much ſpoken by the way of the earle of Bedford.

The report of the death of ſir Francis Ruſſell before mentioned, came to the knowledge of the ſaid Edward Wotton, as yet remaining ambaſſador in Scotland, and then lieng at S. Andrews: whereupon the ambaſſador went to the king, and opening vnto him the iniurie done to the Engliſh by the procurement, as was thought, of James Steward erle of Arrane then chancellor: he obteined that the king (finding the matter to ſound both to reaſon and iuſtice) did command the ſaid earle to priſon, where he remained ſome time, and was after at the ſute of William Steward brother of the earle, vpon the kings remouing from ſaint Andrewes, releaſed from the priſon, and committed to reſtreint in his owne houſe, vntill ſuch time as he had cléered himſelfe of the ſame impoſed crime, and cauſe of breach of amitie betwéene the two nations of England and Scotland. During which impriſonment of the earle of Arrane, the former appointed parlement or aſſemblie at ſaint Andrewes was holden by the king & the nobilitie there gathered togither, which were Graham earle of Montroſſe treaſuror of Scotland, Robert Steward erle of March ſometime biſhop of Cathenelle, and now prior of S. Andrewes, great vncle to the king and to the yong duke of Leneux, Keith erle marſhall, Leſle erle of Rothos, Steward earle of Atholl, & Patrike Conſtance archbiſhop of S. Andrews, with diuers others. Amongſt whom the king opening the contents of the ambaſſage ſent out of England for the concluding of the league betwéene the two nations, vſed vnto them this following ſpeech, wherein declaring the opinion he conceiued of the religion, the neceſſitie of the ioining with England, the ſworne league of other nations againſt the profeſſors of the goſpell, and the reaſons which induced him to moue this matter vnto his people, all which he vttered in this ſort.

## The kings ſpeech to the eſtates, concerning a league in religion with England.

TWo cauſes my lordis and ze all of the eſtatis haue moued me to ſend for zow at this time to craue zour aduiſes towardis them, quharof ſith the one is generall & the vther particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greateſt weight. Amongſt all the benefeits that God doth beſtow vpoun his elect and church, the triall and ſifting of the gud choſin from the bad hipocreitis, is ane of the maſt ſpeciall, quhich he hath vſed in all ages for the ſeparatioun of chame, alſwell for that to lang companie of the vicked doth corrupt the godlie, as alſo that their ſeparatioun is ſa taken in this earth, of Godis luue towardis them, quhich triall he doth now chéeflie vſe, for that the number of the vicked doth abound in theſe letter dacis, quherin God doth permit the deuill moſt to rage. For quhat greater triall of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the baſtard chriſtians, I meane the papiſtis, in a league quhich they terme holie, albeit moſt vnholie in varie truth, for the ſubuerſioun of the trew religioun in all realmes throuch out the quhole world. This is a matter ſo manifeſt and notorious to zou all, ſuen by the report of the ſmalleſt merchantis that trauill, as it doth dilat the ſelfe, thought I were ſilent.

This leagues whome of I ſpeake, are compoſed of Frenchmen, and Hiſpaingnols, aſſiſted with the king of Spaines and the papes monie, ſolemlie ſworne to performe the forſaid enterpriſe before they leaue armes: the performance quhereof we aught to reſiſt for thrée cauſes (to wit) for conſcience, honor, and loue of ſelfis. For gif they may atteine to their purpoſe (as God forbid) either will they deſtroie or rot out vs, our vifis, and childrein, & quhatſoeuer we poſſeſſe, gif we remaine conſtant; either elſe muſt we render Chriſt Jeſus, and ſuffer our ſaulis which is the maſt nableſt part of man to be bund with the bundis of idolatrie, and our bodies to be vſed at their inordinat pleſuris. But ſith the loue of our ſelfis and our honour cannot permit the ane, and that our conſciencis and the reuerence we ow to God, cannot ſuffer the vther: I craue my lordis zour beſt and ſoundeſt opinionis and aduiſis quhat ze thinke meeteſt to be vſed for the remedie hereof. But gif ze deſire to haue firſt my opinioun, it is this in few woardis; that as ſondrie chriſtian princis haue alreadie counſelled me, our contraleague ſalbe maid, not anelie in termes, but in effect holie, for the ioining togidder all true chriſtian princis to defend themſelfis, in caſe of vtheris inuaſioun. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for ſelfis, acceptable to God, and vſe in the ſight of the warld. By this meanes ſall our conſciencis, honors, and liſis be preſeruid, and God and his religioun glorified and aduancid.

And ſith the quéene of England is not anlie a true chriſtian, but alſo neareſt ioinit to vs in nighbourhed, conſanguinitie and gudwill, I thinke it meeteſt in mine opinioun, that it be our league firſt & maiſt adſtrictlie maid with hir; for quhich cauſe I haue maid & ſet downe a forme of act to be ſubſcribit by zou all, quherein ze promes to ratifie and approue in parliament, quhatſoeuer articles I, or anie in my name ſall conclude with the quéene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and the effectualing of the foreſaid league. But for that the act it ſelfe will mare ample informe zou, it ſalbe preſentlie read in all zour audiencis.

Upon this ſpeech, the lords being of diuerſe opinions, ſome willing to imbrace the league with England, and ſome deſirous to leaue it, and to ioine in amitie with France according to the moſt ancienteſt leagues, which haue béene eſtabliſhed betwéene them and the Scots (by moſt of their former kings, whereof the firſt was Achaius, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation thereof, which was the floure delices added to the armes of Scotland) there was nothing done in that conuention. After which, the baniſhed lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: the manner and time of the entrance of which nobilitie was in this ſort.

Towards the latter end of September, the earls of Angus and Mar, with ſuch others of their faction as were in England, did (after that they had long before this, ſent thither the maiſter of Glames out of England to prepare their waie, which he did verie effectuallie) returne into Scotland; at whoſe com-

ming into that their native countrie, there met with them about the borders, manie others of the nobilitie to ioine in one action, for the redreſſe of ſuch gouernment as was vſed by perſons about the king, ſuſpected to nuzzell him in the Romane religion. After this their firſt meeting, they did by appointment diſperſe themſelues, euerie one to the place of his moſt ſtrength, and where he could make moſt friends and followers, appointing a daie to méete againe at Fawkirke, a méete place fenſed by nature for the aſſemblie of an armie. Whereupon, ſome departed to Lowthian, ſome to Domefreis, and others to other places. But in ſhort time following, they reaſſembled in October at Fawkirke with ſuch power as they could make, which amounted to the number of ten or eleuen thouſand perſons. The report wherof was brought vnto the king, then remaining at a noble mans houſe (not far from Sterling) whereas a contract of mariage was ſolemnized. Upon which, the king ſuppoſing it to ſtand moſt for his ſuretie (iudging theſe noblemen ſo aſſembled to be his enimies) conueied himſelfe, and ſuch nobilitie as were with him to Sterling, raiſing power (ſuch as the preſent ſtate of the time would permit) intending with them to haue ſubdued the earle of Angus and his companie: for which cauſe alſo, the earle of Arrane came from his houſe to Sterling, and the maiſter of Greie with commiſſion rode to ſaint Johns towne to aſſemble the kings ſubiects.

After that the earle of Arrane was come to Sterling to the king, the earles of Angus, Mar, Bothwell, Atholl, Marſhall, the lords Hamilton, Yume, Heres, Cambuſkeneth, Dzibourgh, Paſſlate, & Coldingham; the lairds of Seſford, Drumlarige, Codentnewes, Wedderburne, with other earles, barons, gentlemen & commons, with their friends & complices, marching all night from Fawkirke, did in the nert morning come to ſaint Ninians chappell within a mile of Sterling, and preſented themſelues before the towne of Sterling, before anie ſuſpicion was had of their approch ſo néere. At what time, being the firſt of November, they pitched their tents, placed there as it had béene a new towne, to the great terror of their enimies within Sterling: deliuering for the cauſe of their comming this proclamation following.

## The proclamation publiſhed by the *nobilitie of Scotland, conteining the cauſes* of their repairing towards the towne of *Sterling to the kings maieſtie, the ſe-* cond day of Nouember.

WHeras the kings maieſtie our ſouereignes good, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainelie vnderſtood to haue béene abuſed, and his rotall qualities giuen to him by the almightie God (which cauſed his fame far aboue the capacitie of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praiſed, to the great comfort of all his ſubiects) hath béene theſe yeares paſt obſcured by the craft & ſubtiltie of ſome lewd and wicked perſons of no deſert or worthineſſe, and for the moſt part of baſe linage, not borne to one foot breadth of land, yet of maruelous aſpiring wrongs and cruell inclination; who vnder colour of friendſhip and bloud creeping in about his maieſtie, and ſéeking onelie their owne particuliar profit and promotion: ſhaking off (as it were) not onelie all chriſtian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humanitie vſed amongſt moſt barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as ſubtill foxes and bloudie woolues, by wreſting of lawes and other deceitfull practiſes, hath ſo walked, torne in peeces, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iuſtice and policie receiued of our anceſtors, remaineth nothing, neither in ſpirituall or temporall eſtate; but the naked ſhadow & counterfeited maſke thereof to our ſouereignes high diſhonor, our oprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie griefe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne what iuſtice and quietneſſe was in the realme, what heartie loue betwixt his maieſtie and his ſubiects, what beautifull countenance the church of God had, what dailie hope of increaſe, what expectation was of his highneſſe in forren nations, before the arriuall of Obigneie, afterwards called the duke of Lenoux, and the entring in credit of James Steward, and coronell Steward with their vnhappie companies. But what hath ſucceeded ſince no true Scotiſh heart can remember without extreame dolor: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all repleniſhed with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without puniſhment.

It is alſo well knowne, that whereas the wiſeſt of his maieſties moſt noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to poſſeſſe the hearts of their ſubiects, & to kéepe the ſtrengths of their reims in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preſerue themſelues againſt ſuch inconueniences, as manie princes of that land miſgouerned, and lead by peruerſe counſell haue béene ſubiect vnto) that the foreſaid abuſors had depriued his maieſtie both of the one and the other ſo far as in them laie. For the chéefe ſtrength of the realme are in Arrans his hands, who bragging of his pedegrée by deſcent from duke Murdacke (one that was beheaded for his treaſon againſt his ſouereigne) was not aſhamed to ſaie (meaning of himſelfe) Here ſtands the perſon of king James the ſeuenth. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highneſſe, and ſo (as appeareth) his maieſtie made vnable to puniſh them, if at anie time hereafter he ſhould perceiue their falſe and treaſonable dooings, what can be added more than theſe ſaid ſeditious hath alreadie done in that behalfe, ſéeing vnder his maieſties name and authoritie, ſuch parcialitie is vſed in all matters, ſuch extortion with crueltie, and incredible diſſimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good ſubiects (vpon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before theſe lewd men about him) clérelie vnderſtood that the cauſes of all theſe miſorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himſelfe, they had long agone by vniuerſall male-contentment of the people (procéeding from the cauſes aforeſaid) procured a great diſtraction of the kings léeges hearts, and had caſt his maieſties honor, crowne, and eſtate in marueilous danger, whereas now (bleſſed be God) all his true ſubiects are certeinelie perſuaded, that if the ſaid lewd perſons could be ſeparated from his maieſtie, he would returne againe to exerciſe his former clemencie and towardneſſe in euerie reſpect, which hath béene theſe yeares paſt maruellouſlie eclipſed by the craft of thoſe treaſonable perſons aforeſaid, who not onelie haue ſought & ſéeke for their particular commoditie, the deſtruction of certeine ſeuerall perſons, but euen (as it appeareth) haue conſpired againſt the whole bodie of the realme, in ſo much as there is no eſtate of the land frée from their perſecutions.

The worthieſt and moſt ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie ſuch as haue giuen beſt proofe of their forwardneſſe in true religion, and fidelitie to their ſouereigne) are by parcialitie, and wreſting of lawes, without mercie either executed, coſoned, impriſoned,

priſoned, baniſhed, or at the leaſt debarred his maieſties preſence, againſt the miniſterie, ſcholes, and clergie, acts and proclamations publiſhed, inhibiting their preſbyteries, aſſemblies, and other exerciſes, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parlements, procædings, or at the leaſt by laudable cuſtome permitted euer ſince the firſt reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the eccleſiaſticall diſcipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie and examine the liues, maners, and knowledge of euerie perſon, and to reforme the ſame if næd require. With this the moſt learned, and of moſt vnſpotted liues of that number, are either compelled for ſafetie of their liues and conſciences to abandon their countrie, or elſe inhibited to preach, or depriued of their ſtipends, Jeſuits, ſeminarie prieſts, and ſuch as be knowne practiſers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie councell of Trent are interteined, and in great eſtimation; yea ſome indurated papiſts in ſeſſion, to occupie the places from the which the moſt godlie and faithfull ſenators haue bæne by them detected. An euident preſage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the eſtate of burowes, by intruſion of ſuch magiſtrates to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgeſſes, nor apt to diſcharge themſelues of ſuch offices, but men elected to applauſe and to conſent to the appetite of the ſeditious aforeſaid, their priuileges and ancient liberties are ſo preiudiced, that without timelie remedie, that eſtate (ſometime a great ornament of the land) muſt næds ſuddenlie decaie. So as theſe thrée pillers (whereby the king and commonwealth ſhould be preſerued) and vpholden) being waſted and vndermined in maner aboue written, what can be erpected but vniuerſall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the eſtate; except God of his mercie preuent the ſame? Beſides all theſe, the foreſaid abuſors not reſting content with the enormities aboue erpreſſed, haue practiſed, and dailie do practiſe to turne the happie amitie and loue, which now a good ſpace hath ſtood betwéene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hoſtilitie and hatred, without reſpect of neighborhood or kindred, ſtanding betwæne the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that hir maieſtie of England hath beſtowed vpon the king our ſouereigne, and his whole countrie, firſt by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preſeruing his maieſtie, when as in his minoritie he could not take in hand or enterprize for himſelfe.

To this effect they openlie delt with ſuch perſons, as by all meanes ſought hir maieſties deſtruction, as by the confeſſion of ſundrie hir maieſties rebels latelie executed in England is made manifeſt. But how ſone they perceiued open danger to ariſe, by open dealing with hir enimies, then fraudfullie to illude hir maieſtie, they haue pretended theſe months paſt, in great frendſhip and kindneſſe, promiſing largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulate a band offenſiue and defenſiue to ſtand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithſtanding all theſe liberall promiſes, the effects by erperience declare nothing to haue bæne in their minds but falſhood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Ruſſell is manifeſt to the whole world, who being a yong noble man, for his birth and qualities verie honorable and vertuous, and of great erpectation, & for his earneſt zeale to religion, and good affection to the king our ſouereigne, and to all Scotiſh men in generall, one that merited great praiſe, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in moſt odious and treaſonable maner, euen when as greateſt kindneſſe and frendſhip was pretended; which cannot but produce mar-

uellous ſuſpicion and ſlander, aſwell againſt the king our ſouereigne, as againſt the whole countrie, to his maieſties great diſhonor, and diſcredit of his innocent ſubiects, if condigne iuſtice be not miniſtred vpon the authors and the executors of the horrible crime aforeſaid.

Laſt, which is moſt of all, and neceſſarilie craueth preſent reformation, the foreſaid abuſors couer all theſe enormities with his maieſties name and authoritie, thereby thinking to excuſe themſelues, and to laie the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie ſlanderous and dangerous to his maieſtie, if ſuch licentious perſons (who hath alreadie made ſhipwracks of all honeſtie) be ſuffered to remaine in his companie, ſo is it ſhamefull to be reported in other nations, that ſuch a few number of beggerlie fellowes repleniſhed with all vice, ſhould extinguiſh the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, & kæpe his maieſtie thrall to authoriſe by his roiall power their abhominable and erecrable facts. For the cauſes aforeſaid and manie others that might be iuſtlie alleged, we of his maieſties nobilitie here preſent, in the feare of God and our ſouereignes obedience, being through Gods frée mercie called to be profeſſors of the bleſſed euangell, and borne councellors to his highneſſe our ſouereigne, bound in duetie not onelie to hazzard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if næd be) for the ſame euangell and true religion, but alſo in conſcience charged to be carefull of his maieſties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietneſſe to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maieſties moſt noble progenitors of worthie memorie.

In conſideration of which great enormities and tyrannies, hauing conuened our ſelues togither for redreſſe and reformation of the ſame, ſeeing the ſuffering thereof hath alreadie wounded the eſtate of true religion, diſhonored his maieſtie, diſturbed the whole realme, and had almoſt diſioined aſwell the hearts of the princes as of the ſubiects of the two nations, we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in duttie and conſcience (all doubt and perill ſet apart) to procure the ſeparation and thruſting awaie of the ſaid deſperate and enorme perſons from about his maieſtie, that his highneſſe being reſtored to his former libertie, maie freelie, peaceablie, and wiſelie gouerne his ſubiects and realme, by aduiſe of graue, modeſt, and indifferent councellors; onelie reſpecting his maieſties ſuertie and preſeruation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in prediudice of the ſame, maie be ſolemnelie cancelled, and for euer adnulled, his maieſtie reſtored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by puniſhing of vice cheeflie vpon the authors of theſe late miſorders, and maintenance of vertue) maie be once diſburdened of the heauie oppreſſions and iniuries that they haue with no ſmall greefe ſo long ſuſteined, and the happie amitie with England reeſtabliſhed and conſerued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our ſouereigne, and vniuerſall contentment of all good men euerie where. In proſecution whereof, we proteſt before God and his holie angels, we ſhall neither ſpare our liues, lands, nor goods, but frankelie hazzard and expend the ſame as næd craueth, vntill the ſaid abuſors be either apprehended or preſented to iuſtice, to ſuffer for their demerits, or elſe (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maieſties companie, and expelled the realme.

Wherefore we command and charge (in our ſouereigne lords name) all and ſundrie his ſubiects, as

well

swell to burrow as to land, to fortifie and assist this godlie enterprise, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will giue testimonie of their affection to the aduancement of true religion, his maiesties suertie and welfare, and the publike quietnesse of the whole realme, certifieng all and sundrie that doth attempt anie thing to the contrarie, or will not take one fold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, assisters of the treasonable conspirators aforesaid, and enimies of true religion, to his maiestie and his authoritie, and to the publike quietnesse betwixt the two realmes, and will vse them in bodies and goods accordinglie. And that all iustices as well lords of sessions as shiriffes, commissioners, and other inferiour iudges sit and administer iustice to the furtherance thereof, according to the lawes of the realme, as they will answer vpon their allegiance and vttermost perill, with certification of the disobeior as is aforesaid.

This assemblie of the nobilitie, and the proclamation thus knowne, the earle of Arrane and others which were in Sterling with the king, placed foure hundred men vpon the wals of the towne to defend the assault. But the earle of Arrane chancellor, knowing that he was the principall person, against whome they directed their force, did secretlie without anie other companie flie from thense to Dunbritaine, escaping the hands of the lords of the religion, whereupon small resistance being made by such as were within Sterling against the assailants, vsing their force by the space of two houres, the earle of Angus and the rest did quietlie enter Sterling and all parts; which being perceiued by such of the nobilitie as were within the towne, they (as the earle of Montrosse, Trawford, Rothosse, Glencarne, Arroll and the Colonell) fled to the castell whither the other faction did chase them. Now when the lords of the religion (for so they of the presbyterie terme them) had fullie gotten possession of the towne of Sterling, they placed their ensignes before the foreblockhouse of the castell, and so ordered the matter, that there was no waie for anie in the castell to escape their hands, for they had by strength inuironed the same, and by siege brought it as some said to that extremitie, that they within were in great default of vittels. Whereupon the king (after agréement made, that persons on each part might passe betwéene to compound the matter) sent forth of the castell vnto the lords of the religion, the maister of Greie his secretarie and sir Lewes Ballentine, iustice Clarke (deputie to the earle of Argile chéefe iustice of Scotland by inheritance) and colonell Steward, desiring three petitions of his nobilitie; the first whereof was, that his life honor and estate might be preserued; that the liues of Crawford, Montrosse and the Colonell, might be preserued; thirdlie, that all things might be transacted peaceablie: on which conditions he would hereafter be ruled by their aduise and counsell. Whereunto the noble men answered, first that the lord knew that they neuer had anie other intention but to preserue his noble person, his honor and estate, and to deliuer his maiestie out of their hands, who vnder his name had so grieuouslie oppressed the church and commonwealth, and therein hazarded as well his life and crowne, as the danger of other of the nobilitie. Wherefore they were onelie there assembled in the feare of God, and loue to his person and their countrie, wholie to endeuour themselues to shew the performance of their obedience and dutie vnto him, and so to shew themselues faithfull and good subiects.

The earle of Arrane flieth.

The earle of Angus entreth Sterling.

The castell of Sterling besieged.

The king sendeth to the lords of the religion.

The answer of the lords of the religion to the kings demands.

To the second point they answered, that where the liues of such were desired to be preserued, which had disturbed the whole kingdome, and beene instruments of the great confusion in the church & commonwealth, they could do no lesse in respect of the loue and dutie which they bare to the king and their countrie, but vse all meanes possible to bring them to the triall of iustice, thereby to receiue the reward of their demerits. And for the third they would most humblie craue of his maiestie, that these things might be done in most peacefull maner in due time required therefore, wherby all his good subiects might be satisfied, towards the execution whereof they offered their assistance, with the vttermost of their endeuour, because they were assembled and come thither for the doing thereof.

Besides which at the returne of these commissioners, the nobilitie exhibited other three petitions vnto the king, whereof the first was, that the kings maiestie would allow of their intention, subscribe their proclamation (conteining the declaration of their cause) vntill further order were established by the estates, and so agree vnto the reformation of the premisses, & that all the common holds & strengths might be rendred into their hands to be kept as the councell of the ancient nobilitie should appoint, who were there in good number assembled. Secondlie, that the said disquieters of the common-wealth might be deliuered into their custodie, vntill they had receiued their due triall by the law. Thirdlie, that the old gard might be remoued and an other placed of modest, wise, and godlie men. Which petitions being so to the king exhibited, the first was vpon diuers considerations granted, and the castels Dunbarton & Bineile were assigned to the custodie of Iohn lord Hamilton; the castell of Edenburgh was committed to sir James Hume of Codenknolles; the castell of Sterling was restored to the earle of Marre, to whome the custodie thereof did belong by descent of inheritance; the castell of Blackneste to the lard of Dalketh; Tantallan and Dowglasse were deliuered to the earle of Angus. Touching the satisfaction of the second request of the lords, the said earles of Crawford, Montrosse, Clenkarne, Rothosse, Arroll, and colonell Steward, the lords Seton, Leuingstone, Greie, Summerwell, sir William Steward brother to the earle of Arrane, and William Steward capteine of Dunbarton (who had beene taken in the towne of Sterling, when the lords of the religion entred thereinto) were committed to the safe custodie of manie noble men. For the performance of the lords third petition, the old gard was immediatlie remoued, & the maister of Glames was appointed by the consent of the whole nobilitie capteine of the gard, with such gentlemen as the nobilitie and he should chose of those which are alreadie entred into their places and offices.

The lords of the religion exhibit three petitions to the king.

The king granteth the requests of the lords.

Noble men committed to custodie.

The kings gard remoued and a new placed.

In the meane time, as is before touched, James Steward earle of Arrane did at the entring of the lords of the religion into the towne of Sterling, flie to the castell of Dunbarton, where he was inclosed, as well by sea as by land, without anie great store of vittels. The bishop of saint Andrews was taken by the scholers of the vniuersitie, and yong men of the towne aforesaid (as was said) to be presented to iustice into the hands of the lords of the religion; and so all capteins were set at libertie, the banished ministers called home (though manie of them still remained in England) and restored to their former offices, dignities, and liuings, and the Iesuits and seminarie priests woonderfullie amazed, who were willinglie minded to flie disguised in mariners attire into the parts beyond the seas. Thus the king granting the requests of the nobilitie, and yéelding

The bishop of S. Andrews taken.

The ministers called home.

The Iesuits readie to flie Scotland.

to

to the ſtate of the preſent time, committed himſelfe to the protection of theſe lords of the religion remaining in their cuſtodie, after that they had once entred the caſtell of Sterling.

The king in the cuſtodie of the lords of the religion.

Whereupon much congratulation being made for this returne of thoſe baniſhed lords into Scotland, the queene of England hauing intelligence thereof, did ſend hir ambaſſador William Knolles eſquire marſhall of hir bench into the parts of Scotland, to vnderſtand the parts thereof, and of the maner of the proceeding of theſe noble men with the king: which ambaſſador after his abode and honorable intertainment in that countrie, returned home in December following. In which moneth there was a parlement called at Lithgo, for the full ratifieng and confirming of the reſtitution of theſe lords of the religion: at what time the earle of Arrane was diſplaced both from his earledome of Arrane, and office of chancellorſhip: and the earle of Bothwell was admitted to that office of lord chancellor. Beſides which alſo the cuſtodie of the lunatike earle of Arrane, ſonne of the duke of Chatelerault was taken from the ſame James Steward earle of Arrane, and committed to John lord Hamilton lord of Arbroth, and brother to the lunatike earle, ſometime remaining in the wardſhip of the ſaid John Hamilton, before that the ſame James Steward had gotten the poſſeſſion of that lunatike earle into his owne hands, out of the cuſtodie of the ſame John Hamilton.

William Knolles ſent ambaſſador into Scotland.

The earle Bothwell made chancellor.

But ſomewhat to leaue the lunatike earle in ſafe keeping, we will ſpeake a litle of this James Steward earle of Arrane, and of his wife; who being a woman of delight of change in marriage, was (after the ſecond ſhipwracke) married to this earle of Arrane; for ſhe being one of the daughters of the earle of Atholl, was firſt married to the lord Louet. After which, iudging it better to marrie than to burne (although by the ſequele of the ſame ſhe felt ſmall contentment therein) ſhe bound hir ſelfe with the knot of matrimonie vnto Robert Steward earle of March and biſhop of Cathneſſe; but after finding occaſion of diuorce, the contention and ſute whereof continued verie long, from the ſaid earle, ſhe was in the end ſeparated; and then the third time beſtowed hir ſelfe in marriage vpon this James Steward earle of Arrane, by whome ſhe had iſſue diuerſe ſonnes and daughters, the eldeſt whereof the king tooke from the font and chriſtened.

James Steward earle of Arrane married to the widow of the erle of March.

Thus leauing this erle of Arrane for this time, I thinke it not amiſſe in this place to ſtep aſide from the matters of theſe preſent times; and herein at the aduancement of this earle Bothwell to be lord chancellor of Scotland, to record ſome things touching ſome ſuch perſons as haue (to my knowledge by reading of Scotiſh hiſtories) poſſeſſed that office of chancellorſhip before time, as in an other place before at the mention of an other chancellor I haue diſcourſed of the originall and deriuation of the name of that office. In which this my diſcourſe of the ſucceſſion of chancellors, although I ſhall ſet downe but few perſons in number, & can not make a full continuance of their orderlie ſucceſſion, from their firſt inſtitution vnto this date: yet I ſuppoſe it better to mention thoſe which haue come vnto my hands, thereby to occaſion others hereafter to treat more liberallie of ſuch honorable officers, than vtterlie to drowne them in the pit of forgetfulneſſe. Which treatiſe of the chancellors I am the willinger to deliuer, becauſe I haue done the like (but more amplie) for England, as being better acquainted with our owne than their hiſtories.

## The names and times of certeine *chancellors of Scotland, gathered out* of the hiſtories of that nation.

William Wod biſhop of Dunblaine was chancellor to William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand one hundred eightie and fiue, as ſome haue (but Leſleus lib. 6. pag. 226 giueth it to the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand one hundred and three ſcore, whoſe account herein is falſe) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the ſaid William, which fell in the yære of our redemption one thouſand two hundred and fourteene. After whoſe death he was by Alexander the ſecond confirmed in the ſame place of chancellor.

William Wod.

John Lion chancellor of Scotland (in the time of Robert the ſecond of that name, and the firſt of the houſe of the Stewards which ware the crowne) was chancellor of Scotland, who being in great fauor with the ſaid Robert the ſecond, maried the ladie Eliſabeth daughter vnto the ſaid king, with whome he had in franke mariage diuerſe poſſeſſions called Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of which Lion is that ſurname deſcended, who in memorie of that marriage beare in their armes the lions and lillies with the treſſe in ſuch forme as the king of Scotland beareth the ſame, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinſhed hath noted. Which Lion being chancellor was ſlaine in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand three hundred and eightie, being about the tenth yeare of the ſame Robert the ſecond, who after baniſhed the earle of Crawford.

John Lion.

Gilbert Grenlaw biſhop of Aberden, being chancellor about the yeare that the word became fleſh, one thouſand foure hundred and eleuen in the vacancie of the kingdome, vnder duke Mordacke, betweene the death of Robert the ſecond (which fell in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, and the beginning of the reigne of James the firſt, in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand foure hundred twentie and ſix) was ſent ambaſſador into France with other noblemen of Scotland, touching which, thus writeth Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 270. Mortuo interea Roberto Scotiæ gubernatore, filius eius Mordacus regni procurator deſignatur. A quo Carolus ſeptimus Francorum rex (in patris quoque locũ ſuffectus) per legatos auxilium contra Anglos poſtulat. Aſſenſus ille eſt, & eoſdẽ duces (quos paulò ante in Franciam in copijs traieciſſe commemorauimus) cum valido militum manu Gallo ſubſidio remiſit. Cum eis quoque Gilbertus Grenlau epiſcopus Aberdonenſis, vir magnæ inter regni primores ſingularem ob prudentiam auctoritatis, qui cancellariatus magiſtratum magna geſſit dexteritate, in Galliam mittitur legatus, qui regem Carolum conſolaretur, & certiorem faceret eos, qui Galliam aduenerãt, & totius Scotiæ incolas, adeò in eius fide & amore perſtare, vt ſe atque bona omnia, pro illius Francorúmque ſalute tribuere ex animo ſunt parati: ídque rei exitus probabit. After which ambaſſage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long, for Henrie Lichton, who came thorlie in his place of the biſhoprike, was with other ſent ambaſſador into England, to fetch home James the firſt, and to inueſt him in the crowne of Scotland.

Gilbert Grenlaw.

William Creichton knight, whom Leſleus termeth the wiſeſt man that euer Scotland ſaw, being chancellor to James the firſt, was (in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and three, about the ninth yeare of the ſame king James) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepborne of Hales, ſent

William Creichton.

sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliuer the same to the bringers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobeie, but permitted them to enter accordinglie. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and fiue, and the eleuenth of the same king, he was sent ambassador into Denmarke, where he concluded a sound peace betwéene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good seruice being well weied, he was after the death of James the first, and in the entrance of James the second into the gouernment of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ 1436, confirmed in his office of chancellorship, beside which he had the gouernment of the kings person, and of the castle of Edenburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betweene sir Alexander Leuingston the gouernour of the realme and this chancellor, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, whereby insued much mischéefe and bloudshed in the realme (as alwaies by my obseruation I haue found to happen during the minoritie and the insufficiencie of kings) at what time the quéene taking part with the gouernor against the chancellor) found meanes by subtiltie to get the king into hir possession out of the hands of the chancellor, after that she had handsomlie trussed vp the king in a tronke like a fardell full of apparell, whereupon the gouernor besieged the chancellor in the castle of Edenburgh, but in the end they agréed that Creichton should still kéepe the castle of Edenburgh and of his office of chancellor.

That done, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yeare of James the second, the chancellor obteined to haue the quéene Dowager, and hir husband James Steward lord of Lorne released out of the prison of Sterling, whither they were committed by the gouernor. Which done the chancellor kéeping in mind the deceit of the quéene, in ouerreaching him, by getting the king out of his possession, and séeing the gouernor to take the whole authoritie on him at his pleasure, did so worke that he found meanes, that he onlie accompanied with foure and twentie persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling parke) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edenburgh, wherewith the gouernor was gréeuouslie displeased, but not able to remedie the same, there was an agréement made betwéene the chancellor and him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancellor, and the gouernor continue his office in administrating the affaires of the realme. Whereupon in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of James the second, the gouernor and the chancellor assemble a councell of the nobilitie at Edenburgh. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, being the eight of the same James the second, both the gouernor and the chancellor (at the persuasion of William earle Dowglas) were remoued from their offices by the king, who being now about fourtéene yeres old, had taken the absolute gouernment of the kingdome vpon him: besides which they were also put from the councell, their friends were banished the court, and they were summoned to appeare before the king, which they refused, not as giltie in conscience, but as fearing the crueltie of their enimies, whereupon they were proclamed rebels and put to the horne, which occasioned William Dowglasse the chancellors great enimie to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creichton, for requitall whereof, Creichton gathered a like power, entred the land of Dowglasse, and spoiled the same all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Dowglasse, caused him to procure the king in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and fiue, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the deliuerie of the castles of Edenburgh and of Creichton, which he denieng to do vntill the king came to full age, had all his goods confiscat, hauing therein no iniurie done vnto him, for as saith Lesleus: Primus omnium sanciuerat Creichtonus, vt qui regi castrum aliquod postulanti restiterit, violatæ maiestatis arcessatur, cuius ille legis pœnam primus subijt, as did he which deuised Phalaris bull. But after when the king had besieged Edenburgh castle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the same was deliuered with condition, that Creichton should still remaine chancellor, which obteined, he neuer after delt in the affairs of the common welth, whereby growing againe into the kings fauour, he was with others in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie & fiue, being the tenth of James the second, sent ambassador to the duke of Gelderland to obteine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to passe. All which notwithstanding in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was by parlement holden in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and seuen, forfalted, for that his seruants would not deliuer Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it séemeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglasse (supposing him to be the cause that the king misliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was comming out of the castle of Edenburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped vnto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recouered Edenburgh from the Dowglasse, and had destroied the earle at that present, if he had not shifted awaie more spædilie: who being thus dishonorablie chased from Edenburgh, drew the erle of Crawford and Rosse to ioine with him against Creichton, but he little estéeming thereof and requiting good for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three, or a thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, gréeuouslie fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edenburgh, the earldome of Murrete was giuen to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whom it had béene wrongfullie taken by the iniust sentence of William earle of Dowglasse, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Dowglasse, although the right remained in the same sir James Creichton. But yet when the same sir James could not kéepe that earledome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendred the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathnesse, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I do now intreat by reason of this chancellor.

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 297.

Andrew Steward lord of Anandale was chancellor of Scotland in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Norwete to conclude a mariage with the king of Denmarke, betwéene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Julie, at what time they were married accordinglie. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ one

Andrew Steward.

one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore and two, and the two and twentith of James the third, when Alexander Steward Duke of Albanie with the duke of Gloceſter were come vnto Raſkairig with the Engliſh power, this man amongſt others, was ſent to the Engliſh campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agréement was made. By which the duke of Albanie, before fled out of Scotland, was reſtored home, and had both honors and offices beſtowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the gouernment of the kingdome for a certeine ſpace: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to viſit the quéene at Sterling, the duke by the quénes perſuaſion without knowledge of the other, went to Edenburgh, and by force reſtored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by ſome of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſcow was chancellor in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred & thirtéene, being the firſt yeare of king James the fift. This man being of great wiſdome, was appointed amongſt others to aſſiſt the quéene in the gouernment of the realme, whereunto ſhe was for a time aduanced: but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarell againſt the biſhop, did immediatlie after the mariage, performed the firſt of Auguſt, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and fouretéene, betwéene hir and Archibald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus (which this biſhop incountred as much as he could) take the great ſeale from the ſaid biſhop of Glaſcow, at ſaint Johns towne, wher vpon the biſhop got him to Edenburgh, and aſſiſted with manie lords, kept the quéene and hir husband out of that towne, whereby great diſſention and part taking was raiſed amongſt the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betwéene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftéene, he commeth with the earle of Arrane, who ſubmitteth himſelfe to the gouernor. Shortlie following, the gouernor gaue to this archbiſhop of Glaſcow the abbeie of Arbroth, aſſigning to the earle of Murreis a large penſion out of the ſame, which biſhop being thus in fauor with the gouernor, was (in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeuentéene in May, when the gouernor went into France) appointed, amongſt others, to haue the rule of the realme vntill his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being diuided about the quarell of the earle of Angus & Arrane, this biſhop in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ninetéene, being then alſo chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glaſcow; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edenburgh, the king of England and of France their ambaſſadors came to Sterling, where a peace was proclamed amongſt the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one ſtate, or what peace will be long imbraced amongſt ambitious minds? ſith in the yeare following, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and twentie, the noble men fell againe to factions: for when diuerſe of the péeres were come to Edenburgh to aid the earle of Angus againſt the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they purſued the earle and chancellor ſo hotlie, that they were both conſtreined to forſake the towne, and to flie through the north Loch, about the thirtith daie of Aprill. But as the euents of quarels be doubtfull, now vp now downe, ſo this archbiſhop not long after this diſgrace, recouered breath, and in Nouember following, did accompanie the regent come out of France to Edenburgh, where was a parlement holden, to ſummon the earle of Angus to appeare; but he refuſing, it was agréed that the earle ſhould paſſe into England there to remaine.

The biſhop thus hauing the better of his enimies, Andrew Forman biſhop of S. Andrews died, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and two, being about the ninth yeare of James the firſt, by occaſion whereof, this chancellor James Beton biſhop of Glaſcow was aduanced to that ſée, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Upon which new honor, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and foure, he was appointed one of the gouernors of the realme by parlement: but he not poſſeſſing this honor anie long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his vſurped gouernment, and denied the deliuerie of the king, being ſent for by this biſhop and the other nobilitie) ſent to the chancellor for the great ſeale, which was deliuered to the meſſengers: vpon which, this biſhop not forgetting the ſame, haſtened the ſentence of diuorce ſued before him, betwéene the quéene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the ſame, did with the king, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and ſir, ſéeke for the quéene and the biſhop of ſaint Andrews: but becauſe they were kept ſecretlie in their friends houſes (ſo that they could not be heard of) he ſpoiled the abbeie of Dumfermling, and the caſtell of ſaint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbiſhop had. Notwithſtanding which, the archbiſhop kéeping in fauor with the old quéene and the yong king, did in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and nine, and the ſirtéenth yeare of James the fift, chriſten James the kings ſonne borne at ſaint Andrews, and not long after, ſurrendered his ſoule to God in the ſaid yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it ſhall not gréeue me to ſet downe what Leſleus hath written, which though it be ſomewhat long, yet becauſe it is neceſſarie, I had rather ſet downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our our tong, to depriue the author of his due by his owne ſtile: thus therefore he writeth.

James Beton.

Iacobus Betonius archiepiſcopus Santandreapolitanus, qui maximis reipublicæ honoribus ſummáque gloria apud nos quàm diutiſſimè floruerat, ætate iam grandior, naturæ concedebat, ac in æde ſancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic antiſtes quoſdam, quos egregiè charos habuit, viuus conſtituebat, vt in beneficia ſibi mortuo ſufficerétur. In epiſcopatum autem Santandreapolitanum, ac in abbathiam Arbrothenſem, vir ſumma prudentia, & animi magnitudine præſtans Dauid Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbathiam verò Dumfirmlingenſem Georgius Dureus, in alia deníque alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impediuit, quo minùs illi, quos archiepiſcopus ante obitum conſtituerat, beneficijs liberè fruerentur: ne cuius viui mentem ſemper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitioſè videretur reſcidiſſe. Hic archiepiſcopus præcipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreapoli dicitur, partim ſuo ſumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecuniæ vim qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, teſtato reliquit: verùm pecunia illa in alios vſus poſtea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acriùs dicam) perierat. Thus much Leſle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, ſpoken of alſo in my treatiſe of the archbiſhops of ſant Andrews. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 450.

Gawen Dunbar archbiſhop of Glaſcow, and the kings ſchoolemaiſter, was chancellor as appeareth by Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and two, writeth: Non multò poſt Andreas Formannus epiſcopus

copus Santandreapolitanus vitâ ceſſit, huius quàm primũ honore ac titulo inſigniebatur Iacobus Betonus archiepiſcopus Glaſcuenſis, qui quidem archiepiſcopatus omniũ ſumma voluntate ceſſit præſtãtiſſimo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quòd recõditæ eruditionis, ſinceræ vitæ conſilijque grauiſſimi laudibus præſtiterit, regis tenella ætas moribus doctrináque informanda credebatur, quem intimis ſenſibus ita dilexit rex, vt ſui intimi concilij ſocium, regníque cancellarium poſtea illum coaptauerat.

Dauid Beton (the brothers ſonne of James Beton deceaſed archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews) was chancellor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth, was with others ſent ambaſſador into France in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and foure, being the one and twentith yeare of the gouernment of James the fift, for to procure the earle of Vandoſmes ſiſter in mariage for the king; but the ſame tooke not effect, becauſe the king going in perſon into France liked hir not. About three yeares after, which was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſeuen, and the foure and twentith yeare of James the fift, this Dauid was aduanced to the honor of a cardinall, of which title I doo not at this time remember, that euer I haue read anie other to haue inioied but Walter Wardlaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth: Walterus epiſcopus Glaſcuenſis presbyter cardinalis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua. 6 pontificatus Clemẽtis 7, obijt inter annum 1400, & 1409, whome the Scotiſh hiſtories make cardinall ſomewhat before in the yeare one thouſand three hundred fourſcore and two, about the eleuenth yeare of Robert the ſecond (at what time with others he was ſent to Charles king of France as ambaſſador to renew the league betweene France & Scotland) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom alſo the king of France gaue in commendam the biſhoprike of Miropen: of the making of which Beton cardinall, thus the ſame Onuphrius writeth: Dauid de ſancto Andrea Scotus epiſcopus Miropienſis presbyter cardinalis tituli ſancti Stephani in Cælio monte creatus, anno Domini, 1538, 13 kalend. Ianuar. per Paulum tertiũ, anno pontificatus 13. In which words Onuphrius, and Leſleus following him, refer the creation of this cardinall vnto the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and eight, though others attribute it to the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſeuen. In which yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and eight, he was with others ſent ambaſſador into France after the death of the quéene, to procure Marie of Lorreine widow ducheſſe of Longuile, and daughter to the duke of Guiſe, to be giuen to king James in mariage; which matter he brought to his deſired effect.

Two cardinals onelie in Scotland.

The nert yeare after, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and nine, as you haue heard before, he was by his vncle James Beton archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, & abbat of Arbroth, appointed to ſucceed in the ſame biſhops ſée and abbeie, which he inioied accordinglie: who aduanced with theſe dignities, did after the death of James the fift, falling in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and two, labor by policies and other extraordinarie deuiſes to be gouernor of the realme, during the minoritie of the yoong quæne; but he was diſappointed thereof by the nobilitie, who choſe the earle of Arrane to that function; by meanes whereof, there fell continuall diſſentions betweene the nobilitie, which ended not vntill this cardinall was ſlaine as after it ſhall appeare. For ſhortlie after in the ſaid yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and two, being committed to ward (in the caſtle of Dalketh vnder the cuſtodie of the lord Seton, ſmallie fauoring the French faction) becauſe he would haue perſuaded the nobilitie to forſake the motion of the K. of England, determining to marie his ſon prince Edward to the yoong quéene of Scots. But the cardinall did not long remaine there; for by the gouernors appointment he was remoued to his owne caſtell of S. Andrews, hauing watch and ward about him, to ſee him ſafelie kept, in which place alſo he did not long continue: for corrupting his keepers he found meanes to eſcape; which doone, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and three, he came to the coronation of the yoong queene, and ſhortlie after perſuaded the earle of Arrane the gouernor to leaue the part of the king of England, and wholie to become French.

Now at the coronation, the cardinall ordered all things, appointing euerie officer, and growing into great credit, did in like ſort at other times diſpoſe of the common-wealth as ſeemed beſt liking vnto him. Wherevpon, the earle of Leneux taking part with the Engliſh, oppoſed himſelfe againſt the gouernor and the cardinall, whereby followed ſharpe warres, the cardinall ſtill ſupporting and counſelling the gouernor: which troubles being ſomewhat abated, by reaſon the earle of Leneux was gone into England, the cardinall in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fortie and foure, receiued the patriarch of Ieruſalem arriued in Scotland. In which meane time, there was great contention betweene the cardinall and the archbiſhop of Glaſcow, for bearing their croſſes in the others iuriſdiction: wherevpon they fell from words to ſwords, which the gouernor appeaſed: that doone, the patriarch the popes legat comming to Rome, procured the legantine power to be granted to this cardinall, which he long inioied not. For being greatlie enuied by reaſon of theſe honors & ſome grieuous facts, certeine perſons in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and ſir (after that he had burned George Wiſchart a learned man, condemned at ſaint Andrews by an aſſemblie of biſhops) did the thirteenth daie of May (when they had ſecretlie in the morning entered the caſtell of ſaint Andrews where the cardinall was) expell the porters of the foreſaid caſtell, the cardinals ſeruants, and ſlue the cardinall naked as he came to meete them, whoſe death ſir James Kiermount prouoſt of ſaint Andrews thought to haue ſtaied by aſſembling a power therefore: but after that he ſaw the cardinals dead bodie hanged out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The death of which cardinall comming to the gouernors eares, he baniſhed the author thereof, as writeth Leſleus in theſe words: Gubernator, quòd nec cognato ſuo ſanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinali dignitas, nec cancellario maieſtas ac domus propria, ad impiorum inſidias effugendas quicquam profuerit, ægerrimè ferre. Conſilio itaque Huntlei ac Argadij ſuaſu indicto, in cædis auctores capitis proſcriptioniſque ſententia data eſt.

Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 482.

George Gordon earle of Huntleie, ſonne of John Gordon, being chancellor of Scotland, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and ſeauen, falling about the fift yeare of the reigne of Marie quéen of Scots, was taken priſoner by the Engliſh at Muſkelborow field, who pitieng the miſerie of diuerſe of his countriemen, wounded and taken at the ſame battell, did vndertake for their ranſome; wherevpon they were permitted to depart, and left to ſhift for themſelues as well as they might. In the nert yeare, which was the yeare of Chriſt (as hath Leſleus one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and eight) the protector of Scotland ſent Carnegie knight and senator to the protector of England, to ranſome Huntleie, or at the leaſt to obteine that his wife

George Gordon.

might

wife might come vnto him. Whereupon the earle was with his keepers permitted to come to Norphet, where expecting his wife, he thought vpon his eſcape, and from thenſe after ſupper, deceiuing his warders, he fled by night into Scotland, through the aid of one George Carre his deere friend, who prouided him ſpeedie horſſes therefore. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was ioifullie interteined of the queene, the gouernor, and the other nobilitie; but chiefelie of his wife, whoſe earneſt deſire to ſee him was the occaſion of his eſcape. But as all ioie hath ſome hard hap for the moſt part attending vpon the ſame; ſo this earle did after feele the force of like miſfortune. For about ſeuen yeares after, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, he was againe committed to priſon as after ſhall appeare. Before which, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the queene mother of Scotland; but before that iourne, whileſt he was preparing for the ſame, he commanded William Mackintoſch chiefe of the Glenchattins to be executed at Stratbolgie, for a priuie conſpiracie made againſt him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Which thing raiſed a great commotion like to haue ſucceeded to great ſlaughters (in that the earle of Taſſels and manie others fauored Mackintoſch) if the wiſdome of the queene mother had not appeaſed the ſame.

After that the queene mother had bin in France, ſhe in the ſame yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England: but the earle Huntleie warilie fearing to fall into the dangers of the Engliſh (whome he thought would not forget his eſcape from them, returned by ſea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had beene about foure yeares in Scotland, the queene mother regent in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, ſent this earle Huntleie into Yeitland to take John Mudziad: but returning without him, he was committed to priſon in Edenburgh the eleuenth of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, tooke awaie the great ſeale from this earle Huntleie the chancellor, and gaue it to monſieur Rubie a Frenchman, which monſieur Rubie thus made keeper of the great ſeale in the ſaid yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie queene of Scots, had the vſe of the ſame ſeale in the place of the earle Huntleie then chancellor in ward. But the earle of Huntleie after being ſet at libertie, it ſeemeth that he was ſtill chancellor. For beſides that Leſleus ſaith that he was reſtored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Murreie, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Marre, the farmes of Orkenete & Yeitland, and the queenes land at Straitſdie, all which he gaue for his libertie) he is alſo by the Scotiſh hiſtories named ſtill chancellor, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and one, and the nineteenth yeare of queene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongſt other, choſen to be of the priuie councell. Of whome before this alſo Leſleus writeth, that in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, the queene hauing receiued a bill of ſupplication from the proteſtants: Illa hunc protinus libellum ſupplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium ſynodo exhibendum, vt de illis definiret, reddidit.

Monſieur Rubie keper of the great ſeale.

After this, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and two, in October being the twentith yeare of the ſame queene, he was in the faction betweene him and others (for diuerſe miſdemeanors alſo, vpon his comming with an armie to Cornethie in Mar) ſlaine, and John Gordon his ſonne taken priſoner, brought to Aberdine the nine and twentith of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancellors which followed in ſucceſſion of time, becauſe they fall yet freſh in memorie, and ſome mention is made of them in this my continuation of theſe annals; I do not intend to make anie double recitall of them in that place, being a thing ſuperfluous ſo to do; & therefore, & becauſe Omne nimium vertitur in vitium (whereto the lawiers agree ſaieng, that Fruſtra fit per plura quod fieri poteſt per pauciora) I will referre thee for the ſupplement of this title of the chancellors, to the ſame continuation of my annals, there at thy pleaſure to collect and diſpoſe them, as beſt ſhall ſerue thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Therefore leauing them, and returning to the conſideration of other things, which following time hath begotten and brought forth in Scotland: we ſaie, that as the queene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, ſent maiſter Knolles into Scotland to vnderſtand the eſtate of theſe times: ſo in like ſort the Scots with like congratulation, diſpatched a meſſenger vnto the queens of England, by whome ſhe might haue knowledge of ſuch things as were after done. For maiſter William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was ſent from the king of Scots to the queene of England in the ſame moneth of December, a little before Chriſtmas with letters, who comming to the court then remaining at Greenewich, did there make deliuerie of the ſame letters. During whoſe abode here in England, ſome of thoſe which had before afflicted the earles of Angus and Marre, againſt ſuch as ſeemed to nouriſh the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the ſame Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a deſire to be ſingular to themſelues, imbraced the aboliſhed doctrine of the pope, & ſet vp the ceremonie of Italie. Amongſt whome, one, not of the meaneſt, the lord Maxwell, who had maried the earle of Angus his ſiſter, did in Januarie aduance the ſame, and heard maſſe at Linclouden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike lawes appointed in Scotland. Wherof intelligence being brought vnto the king, he forthwith diſpatched a meſſenger vnto him, commanding him to ſurceaſe the ſame. But the lord Maxwell perſiſting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and vpon the refuſall of an oth touching the ſame, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to priſon in Edenburgh, where he long remained.

William Keith ſent into England.

The lord Maxwell heareth maſſe.

Theſe things thus done in Scotland, the aforenamed maiſter Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentith of Januarie, with anſwer that hir maieſtie of England would ſhortlie ſend an ambaſſador into Scotland, who ſhould fullie ſatiſfie the king in all things, and further deliuer vnto him the full of hir maieſties determination. Whereupon Thomas Randolph eſquier, a perſon who had manie times before executed that function in thoſe countries, and was well acquainted both with the ſtate & maners of the people, was by the queene of England diſpatched into thoſe parts; who being ſo authoriſed, tooke his iourneie from London towards Scotland on the eight daie of Februarie. After which, in Aprill following, maiſter Archibald Dowglaſſe (one that had beene ſometime of the ſeſſion or parlement of Edenburgh) hauing remained ſome yeares here in England, vpon diſpleaſures which the king of Scots conceiued againſt him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himſelfe ſo wiſelie,

Maiſter Randolph goeth into Scotland.

1586

wiſelie, that he obteined great fauor after his returne home. In this yeare, the preſbyterie (as they had manie times done before, but eſpeciallie in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fourefcore and three, which I thought to note in this place, becauſe I would not often vſe repetition of one thing done at ſeuerall times in ſo manie places) did excommunicat their metropolitan the archbiſhop of S. Andrews, and the reſt of the biſhops alſo, becauſe they would not in all their actions, ſupport and confirme the doctrine which the preſbyterie had eſtabliſhed. Which excommunication the preſbyterie did the more boldlie, becauſe they were ſupported by the aſſiſtance of the maiſter of Lindſeie, a great enimie to this Patrike Adamſon biſhop of ſaint Andrews.

But the king in the beginning did aſſiſt him againſt them, and the archbiſhop did in like ſort thunder an excommunication againſt them. Which diuiſion not being meete to be in the cleargie, who ought to be (as the apoſtles were) of one hart, and of one mind, will in the end as Chriſt ſaith, bring the ſame realme to confuſion: for Omne regnum in ſe diuiſum deſolabitur; which muſt needes be, where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferior of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obeie anie ſuperiors. In which place, ſith I haue mentioned Patrike Adamſon the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, becauſe I ſhall not haue occaſion to ſpeake anie more of him, I will here ſet downe a collection of all the archbiſhops of that ſée.

## A Cathalog of the archbiſhops of ſaint Andrews, *collected out of the hiſtories* of Scotland.

THe Scots ſéeking meanes to rid themſelues from ſubiection of the biſhop of Yorke, who was the metropolitane of Scotland, did in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and fouretéene obteine of the pope that they might haue a metropolitane ſée within themſelues, by reaſon of the continuall wars which was betweene the two nations; during which they could neither vſe appellations to their metropolitane, nor haue other biſhops conſecrated. Whereupon the pope erected the church of S. Andrews into an archbiſhoprike in the time of king James the third, touching which, thus writeth Lelleus, lib. 8. pag. 317. Hoc anno (which was the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and fourteene) Patricius Grahamus ſedis Andreapolitanæ eccleſiæ epiſcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a papa efflagitauit, vt metropolitana poteſtas in diui Andreæ ciuitate figeretur: iniquũ eſſe enim contendit, vt Scoti ab Eboracenſi epiſcopo tanquam primate pẽderent, cùm propter crebra bella (quibus ſe Scoti & Angli mutuò laceſſunt) Scotis ad illum non pateretur tutus acceſſus, nec liberum ius, præſertim in appellationibus. Annuit ſummus pontifex, vt Andreapolitano deinceps epiſcopo poteſtas metropolitana incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi menſe Septembri dicta eſt, atque maxima populi nobiliúmque lætitia celebrata. Epiſcopi reliqui Grahami odio flagrantes, illius authoritatem repudiant, regíſque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other authors ſaie, eleuen thouſand marks) occupant, ne Grahami partibus ſtuderet. Interea præſules Romã mittunt qui ſui defenſionem contra Grahamum ſuſcipiunt. But in the end they did not preuaile. Graham was made archbiſhop.

Patrike Graham being biſhop of ſaint Andrews and the firſt archbiſhop of that ſée, was after his aduancement to that title depriued in this ſort. In the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and ſeuentéene, pope Xiſtus the fourth of that name ſent a legat called Hulman into Scotland, which ſhould diſplace this Patrike the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, condemned by the ſentence of the pope and the cardinals for an heretike, ſchiſmatike, ſimoniake, wherupon he was depriued of all eccleſiaſticall dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall priſon; in whoſe place was William Schewes choſen, to whoſe cuſtodie and diſpoſition this Patrike was committed, after which Graham being remoued for his ſafe impriſonment firſt to ſaint Colms Ile, then to Dumfermeling, and laſtlie to Locheleuine, there in the end he died, and was buried in ſaint Sarffis or Seruiſianus Ile in Locheleuine after that he had béene three yeares archbiſhop. Leſleus. lib. 8. pag. 318.

William Schewes being created archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and eightéene as ſome haue, or one thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and nineteene as others haue, in the Holie rood houſe in Edenburgh, in the preſence of king James and manie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the enſigne of his metropolitane power, being declared legat and primat of Scotland, at what time he was not withſtood by anie of the other biſhops, who being eſtranged from ſhewing anie fauor to Graham, did often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled the ſame Graham from his archiepiſcopall ſée. After which in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fourefcore & two, this archbiſhop Schewes fled into his owne countrie, and after at the requeſt of the king reſigned his archbiſhoprike, contenting himſelfe with the biſhoprike of Murrie. William Schewes.

Andrew Steward vncle to king James the third was vpon the reſignation of William Schewes made archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, after which in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore and foure the king ſent this archbiſhop ambaſſador to Rome for the obteining of certeine priuileges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fourefcore and eleuen, in the time of king James the fourth, about the third yeare of his reigne was great contention betweene the archbiſhops of ſaint Andrews and Glaſcow, touching both their authorities: which when it had drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions, it was ceaſed by the king for a certeine time, vntill all doubt thereof might be taken awaie, by deciding the ſame by the canon law before eccleſiaſticall iudges. Then in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeuen, being about the nineteenth yeare of James the fourth, the biſhop of ſaint Andrews with the earle of Arrane were ſent ambaſſadors into France. Andrew Steward. Leſleus, 1483

Alexander Steward baſtard ſonne to king James the fourth, was made archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ten, about the two and twentith of the reigne of the ſame James the fourth: this man hauing long ſtudied with Eraſmus in Germanie, and in the low countries was aduanced to this ſée of the archbiſhoprike when he was yet in Flanders; who hauing intelligence thereof by his frends, came forthwith into Scotland, where he was ioifullie receiued by the king, the nobilitie, & his kindred. He was ſlaine together with his father king James the fourth at Floden field, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and thirtéene. After which, John Hepburne prior of ſaint Andrews ſtronglie beſieging the caſtle of ſaint Andrews, forced the ſame to be yéelded vnto him. The cauſe of which beſiege grew, that Hepburne being choſen biſhop of ſaint Andrews by his canons of that church (whereunto the whole nobilitie were Alexander Steward. Leſleus. lib. 8. pag. 353.

were helpers) was hindered to poſſeſſe that archbiſhoprike, by ſuch ſtipendarie people of Galwine Dowglaſſe as kept the caſtle; whereupon the quæne and the earle of Angus, after that they vnderſtood how the caſtle was by force come into the hands of Hepburne, did take in euill part that he who was ſo troubleſome vnto them, ſhould aſcend to ſo high a dignitie, and that Galwine Dowglaſſe ſo déerelie to them beloued, and to whom they had giuen that biſhoprike ſhould be helpleſſe of the recouerie therof. Lesl. pag. 373.

Whereupon the quæne and the duke of Albanie diligentlie labored by ambaſſadors ſent to Rome, that a third perſon (ſith Galwine Dowglaſſe could not obteine it) might be aduanced thereunto, which third man was Andrew Forman biſhop of Murrie: further requiring therewithall that he might be abbat of Dumfermling, & Aberbroth, which in the end with much intreatie they obteined of the pope.

Andrew Forman.

Andrew Forman biſhop of Murrie was at Edenburgh by the popes buls on the eighth kalends of Januarie in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftéene (being about the ſecond yeare of the reigne of James the fift) declared archbiſhop of S. Andrews, and abbat of Dumfermeling and Aberbroth. Whereupon the prior of ſaint Andrews before named, ſtill contending that he was archbiſhop, both in reſpect of the election of the couent, and the conſent of the nobilitie, did labor all he could againſt Forman, appealing him to Rome, for which cauſe he with the lord Hales and other his frends came to Edenburgh to defend the matter, at what time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and ſuch others as openlie aſſiſted Forman, did oppoſe themſelues againſt the prior, which nobilitie (becauſe they were great in the court) did the more moleſt and hinder Hepburne, ſhortlie after by publike edict (and proclamation of the king) baniſhing the prior & his followers. Hepburne being ſtriken with the ſharpnes of that precept, did priuilie depart the towne, and the prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie to wreſt from Forman the archbiſhoprike, which he could not obteine by violence. But how he ſped at Rome I do not know, for I onelie find this, that in the yeare following, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ſirtéene, about the third yeare of the ſame James the fift, that the gouernor perceiuing that all theſe contentions, hatreds, and diuiſions of the nobilitie did ariſe by theſe bralles, which were betweene Forman and Hepburne for the ſée of ſaint Andrews, deſired to cure this gréeuous wound made in the commonwealth. Wherefore he perſuaded Andrew Forman that he ſhould reſigne all his eccleſiaſticall benefices into his hands in an open aſſemblie at Edenburgh, for by that meanes the gouernour thought that he might pacifie the minds of the nobilitie, and vtterlie root out thoſe breaches of diſſention. Whereupon there was a daie appointed to the nobilitie to aſſemble: at what time Andrew Forman frælie reſigned to the gouernor the duke of Albanie all his eccleſiaſticall promotion, to be diſpoſed at the dukes pleaſure. In conſideration thereof, the duke beſtowed the archbiſhoprike of ſaint Andrews and the abbeie of Dumfermling vpon the ſame Andrew Forman, and gaue the biſhoprike of Murrie to James Hepburne (greatlie fauored of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of Forman) being thereunto ſubſtitute by John Hepburne prior of ſaint Andrews in place of the ſaid John, to whom moreouer the duke appointed a yerelie penſion of a thouſand marks, to be paied by the ſame Forman out of the abbeie of Dumfermling. After which, about ſix yeares or ſomewhat leſſe, this Forman departed his life, being in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and two, and the ninth yeare of king James the fift, to whom ſucceeded James Beton.

James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſcow and chancellor of Scotland, was made archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews (as is before touched) after the death of Andrew Forman, hauing therewith the abbeie of Dumfermling, as his predeceſſor before had poſſeſſed it, of whom ſée more in my diſcourſe of the chancellors of Scotland. James Beton.

Dauid Beton brother to the ſame James Beton was after the death of the laſt archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews named to that ſée by his brother before his death, which place he poſſeſſed accordinglie, after the death of the ſame James Beton. Of this man being a cardinall I haue ſpoken more liberallie in my diſcourſe of the chancellors of Scotland. Dauid Beton.

John Hamilton (brother to the gouernour) being abbat of Paſlate, was by the ſame gouernour in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and ſix, being about the fourth yeare of Marie quæne of Scots made archbiſhop of S. Andrews, after that he had returned out of France (where he applied his ſtudie) in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fortie & thrée, being the firſt or ſecond of quæne Marie of Scotland. This man comming out of France, paſſed through England, and hauing other learned men in his companie, did viſit the king of England, of whome he was moſt honourablie and courteouſlie receiued. From whenſe going into Scotland he was made treaſuror, which office he kept as long as his brother was gouernour, whome he did further in all good counſels at home, and ſaue & defend in the wars abroad. Then in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, being the ſeauentéenth of quæne Marie, he was with the quæne beſieged in Leith. After ſtill following the quæenes part, he with others méeteth hir in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred ſixtie and ſix, at Muſkelborow, and ſo attendeth on hir, who not long after in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie & one, being about the fourth yeare of James the firt, was taken in the caſtell of Dunbritaine, and ſent priſoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Matthew earle of Leneux, about the murther of Henrie king of Scots, ſonne to the ſaid Matthew, he was there drawne, hanged, and quartered, being the firſt archbiſhop that I haue yet heard of that ſuffered ſo ignominious a death. John Hamilton.

Patrike Adamſon *alias* Conſtance ſucceéded John Hamilton in the archbiſhoprike of ſaint Andrews, who poſſeſſing this place at this daie, and hauing occaſioned me to ſpeake of him in ſeuerall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is héere to be ouerpaſſed, and therefore I referre thée to the ſame annales, if thou deſire to know what I haue ſaid of him. ¶ Thus knitting vp the catalog of the archbiſhops of S. Andrews, we ſaie that as you haue heard before, that in Februarie laſt Thomas Randolph eſquier was ſent ambaſſador from the quæne of England into Scotland, ſo he ſtill remaining there a long time in that countrie diſpatcht his ambaſſage to good effect. During whoſe aboade there, there was an aſſemblie holden at Edenborough in Maie, wherein theſe things which follow were concluded vpon for the eſtabliſhing and order of the ſame commonwealth. Patrike Adamſon.

## The articles concluded in the aſſemblie holden at Edenburgh in Maie.

FIrſt, the whole realme was diuided into 52 preſbyteries, & the number of miniſters and churches appointed to euerie preſbyterie.

2 That there ſhall be two prouinciall aſſemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the firſt tueſdaie of October and Aprill.

3 There ſhall be one generall aſſemblie in the yeare, the firſt of October nert inſuing.

4 All aſſemblies dоо conſiſt of theſe perſons, the paſtor, doctor, and elders, & all the three to haue votes, as well in the preſbyteries prouinciall as generall aſſemblies: and that all ſuch as haue anie ſutes in the aſſemblies may ſée and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the three afore ſpecified.

5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the paſtor, doctor, elder and deacon, and that the name of biſhop was onlie proper to the paſtor or miniſter, and that he had eſpeciall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common paſtor.

6 Item, that viſitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time neceſſarie, in reſpect of the elderſhip as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this viſitation did apperteine onelie to a paſtor or paſtors ſent from the aſſemblie, and not elſe.

7 That whenſoeuer the aſſemblie maketh mention of a biſhop, they meane onelie S. Paules biſhop and none other.

8 That the receiuing of preſentations, giuing of collations, triall of miniſters, depoſing them for iuſt cauſes, ſhall be in the power of the moſt learned and ſoundeſt iudgement of two preſbyteries, and this to ſtand vntill the preſbyteries be better erected.

9 That a commiſſioner appointed by the generall aſſemblie, being a paſtor, as paſtor ſhall be tried and cenſured in life and doctrine by the preſbyterie, or prouinciall aſſemblie, but in reſpect of his commiſſion, he ſhall be tried by the generall aſſemblie, of whome he receiued the ſame.

10 If he admit or dо any thing without conſent of his aſſemblie, it ſhall be of no effect, and a iuſt cauſe of his depoſition.

11 The power which he ſhall receiue ſhall be Ordinis cauſa non iuriſdictionis.

12 Commiſſion appointed by the prouinciall or generall aſſemblies to viſit, ſhall viſit preſbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not preiudging the power of the preſbyterie within the bounds of their viſitation.

13 The viſitors appointed by the generall aſſemblie for this preſent to ſtand for one yeare, and thereafter as the aſſemblie ſhall appoint.

14 That no commiſſion giuen by anie in times paſt before the date of this aſſemblie ſhall be vaileable, but ſuch onlie as the ſaid aſſemblie ſhall appoint.

In which aſſemblie alſo it ſéemeth that the kings maieſtie made certeine requeſts, to haue ſomewhat eſtabliſhed concerning the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, whereupon theſe things were concluded againſt him, and he brought to ſubſcribe the ſame, to the preiudice of his metropolitane iuriſdiction ouer the reſt of the clergie of his crowne.

## The meanes taken in this generall aſſemblie, *touching the biſhop of S. Andrews*, at the deſire of the kings maieſtie.

IF the biſhop by his owne handwriting or perſonall appearance in the aſſemblie, will in Gods preſence denie, that euer he publikelie profeſſed or meant in anie ſort to claime a ſupremaſie, or to be iudge ouer other perſons and miniſters, or euer auowed the ſame to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had ſo donne, it had béene great error and againſt his conſcience and knowledge.

2 If he will denie, that in the laſt ſynodall aſſemblie he claimed to be iudge thereunto, and that if he had donne it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behauiour or contempt of the ſaid ſynod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren preſent, and craue pardon for the ouerſight thereof, and promiſe good behauiour in the time to come.

3 If he will promiſe to claime no further than he iuſtlie may by God his word, and according to the laſt conference, and endeuour himſelfe in all behauiour to ſhew himſelfe in all time to come a moderat perſon, and ſo ſerue, as that he may prooue agreeable for a biſhop preſcribed by S. Paule, and ſo ſubmit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and cenſure of the generall aſſemblie without anie reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the ſame in anie time to inſue.

These things being demanded at the archbiſhops hands, he was contented to yéeld to them by ſubſcribing his name with his owne hand thereunto, which donne, the ſaid aſſemblie at Edenburgh did for their part in like ſort publiſh their dutifull mind & obedience to his maieſtie, in annulling the proceſſe of excommunication againſt the ſaid biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and to continue him in his former eſtate, as followeth.

## The decree of the aſſemblie at Edenburgh, *concerning the reſtitution of the* biſhop of S. Andrews.

FOr his maieſties ſatisfaction, and to giue teſtimonie with what good will we would obeie his heires ſo farre as we ought, or in conſcience we may, and for good hope we haue in his maieſties fauourable concurrence in building vp of the houſe of God within this realme, and bicauſe the proceſſe of excommunication was laid, and the ſentence pronounced during the time of the conference, whereupon his maieſtie hath taken occaſion of offenſe, which for manie good cauſes were conuenient to be remoued, we will forbeare to examine the ſaid proceſſe, or decide it, whatſoeuer prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the ſaid proceſſe, or to condemne the ſaid ſynod. Yet for the reſpects afore ſaid, and vpon good and weightie conſiderations, we hold the ſaid proceſſe and ſentence as vnlaied, vndeducted or pronounced, and reſtore the ſaid biſhops in all reſpects ſo farre as may concerne the ſaid proceſſe and ſentence of excommunication in the former eſtate he was immedatlie before the ſame, like as no proceſſe nor ſentence had bеen laid and deducted againſt him. Prouiding alwaies he obſerue what hath béene promiſed by him in the premiſſes, & behaue himſelfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming.

This donne the earle of Rutland (hauing a commiſſion directed to him, to William lord Euers, and to the ſame Thomas Randolph) went to Berwike as hir maieſties ambaſſadours, to confirme that league betwéene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the ſaid Randolph had before concluded. Whereupon the commiſſioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Euers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwike the place appointed where this league ſhould be fullie eſtabliſhed. For the meeting of whome at the ſame place, were commiſſioners of like number, and equall honor and authoritie, appointed to come to Berwike for Scotland. But ſome delaie being made of their appearance, and manie excuſes therewith to interteine time by meſſengers vſed, at the length commeth to Berwike Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Boid, and

and sir James Hume of Colden Knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensiue and offensiue betweene these two nations: which done, the earle of Rutland returned home, and maister Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leaue of the king, whome when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fifteenth of August, where I will now leaue him. But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certeine verses which Buchanan dedicated vnto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet bicause they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are meet for the instructions of the yong Scotish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

*Sæpe tibi Randolphe iubes me pingere regem,*
*Qualem optem, tribuat sic mihi vota Deus.*
*Accipe: sit primùm veræ pietatis amator,*
*Effigiem summi se putet esse Dei,*
*Pacem amet: & si res poscat, sit ad arma paratus,*
*Exuat in victos arma, odiúmque simul,*
*Nolo nimis parcus, nimiùm sit nolo benignus,*
*Vtráque regno æqua est exitiosa lues,*
*Non sibi sed populo sese putet esse creatum,*
*Et se communem ciuibus esse patrem:*
*Puniat inuitus, cùm res iubet esse seuerum,*
*Publica cùm poscent commoda lenis erit.*
*Viuat, vt exemplar populo sit recta sequendi,*
*Sit vultus prauis terror, amórque bonis,*
*Excolat impensè ingenium, corpúsque modestè,*
*Luxuriem frænet cum ratione pudor:*
*Iam tacitus tecum, tentas me fallere, tanquam*
*In tabula nostram qui mihi pingit heram.*

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassador sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassador being called monsieur D'annauall had at this time small interteinment in Scotland; where not staieng long after that Randolph was come into England, he also came hither out of Scotland, to the end to passe through this countrie into France. This summer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whose father died not manie yeares before, hauing married the daughter of the lord Boid was slaine in this sort. The earle being a goodlie yong gentleman, and like to proue a good member of his countrie, as manie of his ancestors had done before, did for his delight ride forth on hunting (a warlike exercise, & much vsed by the Scots) about fiue or six miles frõ his owne castell, where hauing satisfied his pleasure, he returned home. But hauing wait laid for him by an ambush of his enimies, he was in his iorneie towards his castell intercepted by the lord of Glencarns brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertlands, and some of the surnames of the Wuirs; at what time he was most miserablie slaine by them to their great dishonor, and his countries discommoditie. After which, in September Archibald Dowglasse (who as you heard before departing this realme in April last, was admitted to come into his owne countrie) was sent ambassador from the king of Scots to the quéene of England; in whose companie were attendant on him William Purro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Dowglasse nephue vnto the same Archibald. Which ambassador after his comming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windsore, on the first of the same moneth of September, with whome remaining still here in England, at the writing hereof, expecting the end of his ambassage; I will set end to this slender discourse. Thus hauing patched vp a Rapsodie of some few things done in Scotland since the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrie so nakedlie deliuered by me, I determine to knit vp all what soeuer is set downe before, with a catalog of such writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne search in histories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come vnto my hand. The which I haue bene the willinger to do, because I would obserue that course in Scotland which I haue done in my additions to the historie of England, first written by Raphaell Holinshed. For hauing there closed vp that historie with a generall catalog of all such as haue written anie thing concerning England, so will I wrap vp these annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall discourse of the writers of that countrie. In doing whereof I haue not refused to follow the order of Lesleus and other historiographers of Scotland, obseruing the like course in the repetition of the names of a few persons at the end of most of their kings.

## A generall catalog of the writers of *Scotland, with the times in which they liued*, as well of the yeare of Christ, as *of the reigne of Scotish kings.*

Before I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speake not by waie of impeaching anie glorie of the Scotish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scotish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (sauing correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, do transferre them to all their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that they séeme vnto me (holding the same for this present vntill I may sée good authoritie to disproue it) to be ouer couetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I do verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots were Irishmen borne. For vntill late yeres a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not) the Irishmen were called Scoti or Scots; whereupon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen at this date now knowne by seuerall names, do chalenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for chalenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers do vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogat from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, still leauing it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I neither may nor will sit as Honorarius arbiter betweene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, who died, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yéere of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetie and two before the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, but Lesleus saith three hundred and fiue before Christ, did write Leges politicas lib. 1. This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them; for thus writeth Stanihurst in his writers of Ireland: Fergusius sonne to Fergardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more Fergusius.

part suppose to haue bëene an Irishman, was in the fiue and twentith yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned neere a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Vpon whose mishap these verses following were made:

Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis,
Fergusius petræ sic dedit apta suæ.

Iosina. Iosina, the ninth king of Scots, after Fergusius the first, who florished in the yeare of the world, as hath Gesnerus, three thousand eight hundred twentie and sir, before the birth of Christ one hundred thirtie and seuen, as the same author saith, but one hundred three score and one as hath Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89 did write De viribus herbarum lib. 1.

Ethodius. Ethodius the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musike) was in the yeare of Christ one hundred ninetie and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath Lesleus, but one hundred ninetie and sir, as hath Gesnerus, slaine by a musician of the Hebrides, did write Ad Pictorum regem plures epistolas.

Celius Sedulius. Celius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath Gesnerus, which florished about the yeare of Grace foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of Fergusius the second, and Eugenius the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to Hildebert a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of Hildebert for further learning trauell into Spaine, France, Italie, Grëece, and Affa, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 134. whome the pope Gelasius wondering at his vertue and writing was wont to call Venerabilem, or worthie reuerence, as our English Bede is accustomed to be termed. This Sedulius did write Carmen paschale lib. 4. which bookes are intituled Libri mirabilium diuinorum. Besides, he penned Annotationes in omnes Pauli epistolas, printed at Basill by Henrie Peter, Hymnum de seruatore. Ad Theodosium Cæsarem lib. 1. In æditionem Donati lib. 1. In Prisciani volumen lib. 1. Exhortatorium ad fideles lib. 1. De Christo lib. 2. with diuerse other verses and epistles.

Merlinus Calidonius. Merlinus Calidonius otherwise called Merlinus Syluestris, or Uplandish (a different person from him which is called Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholer of the Britis prophet Telesinus. This Merline Calidon executed manie prodigies or strange things against the English Saxons, which man florishing about the yeare of Christ fiue hundred and seuentie, did write De vaticinijs lib. 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to historie.

Columbanus. Columbanus, whome Gesnerus, Bede, and the Irish histories affirme to be an Irishman borne in Ulster, but Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta, Lesleus, & the Scotish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a monke & father of manie monasteries, being Abbas Luxuriensis, as hath Gesnerus, Sixtus Senensis, and Lesle, being a place in Burgundie, which abbeie he built (by the permission of Theodoricus the king) togither with the abbeie of Fountnelle in France. This man at the first held the feast of Easter contrarie to the west church, but in th'end was reduced thereunto. He went into Almanie now Germanie, where he left saint Gall, and after passed into Italie, where he liued a most holie life in the monasterie of Bobiens, or (as hath Marianus) of Bouiens, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentith daie of November. He florished in the time of Conballus king of Scots, about the yeare of our redemption fiue hundred ninetie and eight, and left these books to posteritie, Commentaria in totum psalterium lib. 1. Epistolarum lib. 1. Monasteriorum methodos lib. 1. Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib. 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos lib. 1.

Brigit. Brigit, a most holie woman, whome the Irish affirme to be borne in Limster, but Gesnerus and Lesle with the Scots do affirme hir to be borne a Scot, being by Gesner called Brigida Laginensis, she became religious, and was veiled by the bishop of Man, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 149. she florished about the yeare of our Lord fiue hundred three score and eight, as hath Lesleus, in the reigne of Conballus king of Scots; some other saie she florished in the yeare fiue hundred and ten, Gesnerus in the yeare of Christ fiue hundred and eightëne, and wrote twelue bookes of reuelations verie darke and full of mysteries, which bookes Lesleus will not haue to be written by this Briget a Scotish woman, but by Briget called Brigita Suetica that florished manie yeres after this Scotish Briget, writing thus: Imperitè tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multæ inscribuntur, quidam cõfundũt: siquidẽ multis sæculis hanc Brigita nostra fuisse posteriorem satis constat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuam Brigitam sunt vbique prosecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quàm in vllius cæterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruatur se habere contendunt. Nostri eandem gloriam sibi vendicant, qui idipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi rectè se colere hactenùs putantur, &c. Touching which I haue read these old verses, by which the Irishmen chalenge hir with Columbanus and Patricius to be buried in Ireland, which verses are thus:

*Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,*
*Brigita Patricius, atque Columba pius.*

Maidulphus or Maidulbus Scotus, as Gesnerus termeth him, did flourish in the yeare of our Lord six hundred foure score and nine, he writ De Paschatis obseruatione, whom I take to be Maidulphus, who was notablie learned in the Grëeke and Latine, first a schoolemaster, and after abbat of Malmsburie called in the beginning Maidulphi curia, or Maidulphsburie, after the name of this Maidulphus, who as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and sirtëne. Now it is certeine both by our and the Scotish chronicles, that Maidulphus the builder of Malmsburie monasterie was a Scot.

Kilianus a Scot being a monke, was martyred in Germanie about the yeare of our Lord six hundred three score and nine, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, but Lesleus affirmeth him to liue in the gouernment of Ethelinus, which died in the yeare of our Lord seuen hundred three score and two, being the thirtith yere of his reigne. This Kilianus did write Contra peregrinos cultus, lib. 1. Gesner also out of Mat. Dresserus nameth Lecturã Kiliani super magistrũ sententiarum, which peraduenture might be this Kilianus the Scot.

Ionas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat Columbanus, flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred and thirtie, as hath Gesnerus, he writ Vitam sancti Columbani lib. 1. Vitam sancti Eustacij abbatis lib. 1.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath Gesner out of Bale, was a monke of the apostolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monasterie in the Ile of Hua, who flourished in the years of Christ six hundred foure score and nineteene, and writ De locis terræ sanctæ lib. 1. De situ Ierusalem lib. 1. De pascheta legitimo lib. 1. Epistolas multas. From this mans works Bede affirmeth that he had

had manie things which he inſerted in his owne bookes. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Yorkeſhire belonging to the biſhoprike of Yorke, and now at this daie is in Engliſh called Cawood.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought forth flouriſhed in the yeare of Chriſt ſix hundred foure ſcore and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the firſt king of Scots began his reigne) was, as hath Leſleus, noblie borne, who trauelling into ſtrange countries, conuerted manie from paganiſme vnto Chriſt, leading a moſt auſtere life in the ſolitarie woods, not far from Bruſchius the famous riuer in Alſatia, and built a monaſterie for ſuch religious perſons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their biſhop. He was buried in that monaſterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the ſame man of whom thus writeth Geſnerus: Florentius Voluſenus Scotus ſcripſit theologicã orationẽ ſiue cõmendationem piam & eruditam, Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem de animi trãquillitate carmen ibidem excuſum 1543. & Baſiliæ apud Ioannẽ Oporinum cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551, Idem edidit aphoriſmos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artuillus. Artuillus, or Artullis a worthie gentleman, the ſonne of a moſt noble perſon borne in Scotland, flouriſhed, as hath Geſnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Chriſt ſeuen hundred and ten, but Leſleus appointeth him to haue liued in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he further ſaith, began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt ſeuen hundred three ſcore and two, this Artuillus writ De rebus mathematicis librũ vnũ, ad Adelmum epiſcopum lib. 1.

Sedulius Junior. Sedulius Junior being biſhop of the ſouth Scots did write Statuta concilij Romæ ad ſanctum Petrum habiti, and liued in the yere of Chriſt ſeuen hundred and foure tẽne.

Bonifacius. Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witneſſe of Leſleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scotiſh bloud, went to Rome, from whenſe by pope Gregorie the ſecond he was ſent into Germanie to conuert them to the faith, where he was made the firſt archbiſhop of Mentz, being called the Germane apoſtle, after which he was the popes legat and ſent into France: In qua (as ſaith Leſle) Thuringis, Heſſis, & Auſtraſionibus ad rectam religionis viam traductis, meſſem longè copioſiſſimam collegerat; after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thenſe into Friſia, where he was martyred in the yere of Chriſt ſeuen hundred fiftie and fiue, who being a monke of the order of ſaint Benet, did write; Epiſtolarum ad diuerſos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam ſanctorum lib. 1.

Ioannes Maſſrose. Ioannes Maſſroſe whom Geſnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being ſkilfull in all diuine knowledges, liued in the time of Donald the firſt of that name king of Scotland, as ſaith Leſleus biſhop of Roſſe, and alſo flouriſhed in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred foureſcore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares ſpent at Athens in the Greeke letters, was called into France by Lodouike emperor of the Romans, who beſides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the ſaid emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of ſaint Denis into Latine, beſides the commentaries of Hugo de ſancto Victore, a moſt notable diuine: Shortlie after which, the ſaid John was ſent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king thereof, to congratulat ſo worthie a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had ſetled a perfect league betweene the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie, interteined by Alured, of whoſe children he was admitted to be chiefe ſchoolemaiſter and inſtructor.

But ſhortlie after, profeſſing diuine and humane learning in the monaſterie of Malmeſburie, to all ſuch as would come to his lecture, he was by certeine ſcholers of his (whoſe pride and euill conditions he did ſharpelie rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with Pugionibus, as ſaith Leſleus. Which John, the king of England (as I ſuppoſe) by the authoritie of the pope, procured to be numbred amongſt the martyrs of Chriſt, ordeining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the ſame monaſterie: of whoſe writings and doings thus writeth Geſnerus in theſe words: Ioannes Mailroſius cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini ſocius, ſcripſit ſuper canones Aizachelis lib. 1. Ad Carolũ regẽ lib. 1. Verſus diuerſi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De naturæ diuiſione lib. 1. De primo rerũ principio lib. 1. De euchariſtia lib. 1. Commentaria ſcripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditas lib. 1. De German. iuxta Irenium lib. 1. Claruit anno 792, Baleus. Idem libros Dionyſij Areopagitæ in Latinam linguam tranſtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolum magnum extat apud M. Dreſſ.

Kennethus king of Scots. Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred fiftie & fiue, wrote a booke of godlie lawes which are expreſſed by Leſleus lib. 1. pag. 75. of whome thus writeth Geſnerus: Kenethus Scotorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, ſcripſit Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iuriſconſulti vtuntur. But in that Geſner is deceiued; for we neuer read (as far as my memorie ſerueth) that euer the Engliſh borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borrowed, & béene inforced to obſerue the lawes of England, as receiuing them from the kings of this land, their ſuperior lords: to whome they haue done their homage, although time hath now worne the ſame out of vſe.

Claudius Clemens. Claudius Clemens, by birth a Scot & a monke, being the diſciple of Bede, was companion to Albinus or Alcuinus, as ſaith Sixtus Senenſis in bibliotheca ſancta: he was verie ſtudious in the ſcriptures, & ſkilfull in other humane knowleges, who liuing in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verſe and proſe write manie learned works, whereof theſe are knowne to be his: In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Ioſua lib. 1. In Iudicum lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In pſalterium. In Matthæum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangeliſtarum concordia. Contra Bonifacium Anglum, & alia multa.

Beornillus. Beornillus biſhop of the Scots, of whome thus writeth Parker in his booke of the liues of the archbiſhops of Canturburie: Beornillus Scotorum epiſcopus acerrimus verborum & ſententiarum aculeis carmine ſcriptis, monachorum turbam laceſſiuit: which Beornillus was alſo at the councell of Calne in Wiltſhire in England, about the yeare of Chriſt nine hundred three ſcore and ſeuenténe. For Alfritha the quæne procured Alfrith or Alfred earle of Mercia in England, that he ſhould labor to haue this Beornill to be preſent there, which this biſhop Beornill did performe, and vehementlie ſpake in defenſe of the ſecular prieſts, againſt the placing of monks in their romes.

Leuinus

Lewinus. Lewinus archbishop of the Scots, being martyred, and so termed a martyr, is supposed to haue written certeine homilies; he flourished as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand and seuen, vnder the gouernment of Grime and Malcolme (the second) kings of Scots.

Malcolme. Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand and ten, and reigned thirtie yeares, departing the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie, did write of his countrie lawes, Lib. 1. being at length slaine by his owne courtiers.

Marianus Scotus. Marianus Scotus so called, because that he was borne in Scotland, was a monke of the order Benedictine, who when he perceiued all the realme of Scotland to be kindeled with continuall and ciuill hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and six, he forsooke his countrie, and first came vnto the monasterie of Fulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued vnder Richard the abbat (a Scot, no lesse famous for his godlinesse, than for his learning) which at the time of his comming thither, had the gouernment of the same abbeie. After which, Marianus went to Mentz, and passing ouer a solitarie life by the space of thirtie yeares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he shortlie after died, who (flourishing vnder the said tyrant Mackbeth, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leaue behind him these works of his: Chronica ab initio mundi vsque ad sua tempora lib. 3. De concordantia euangelistarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionysij. Annotationes scripturarum. De cyclo paschali Algorithmum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epistolas hortatorias, obijt Moguntiæ, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus. Turgotus by Gesner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that house, was a verie vertuous person, and after created bishop of saint Andrewes, who being in life in the yeare of Christ one thousand fourescore and sixteene, in the time of Malcolme the third, surnamed Camoir, or with the great head king of Scots, did write De Scotorũ regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmensia lib. 1. Annales sui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margaretæ Angliæ reginæ. In which Gesner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not anie Margaret quéene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it should rather be the life of saint Margaret quéene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

Dauid Scotus. Dauid Scotus, of whom Gesner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe Dauid Scotus, and next Dauid Presbyter Scotus, this man being borne in Scotland, was first schoolemaister at Wiceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the fift the emperor, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrspengensis & manie others do write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the iournete which the emperor Henrie the fift made into Italie after the pacification had betweene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malmsburie to saie thus much of him in his fift booke De regibus. At verò Henricus antiquis Cęsaribus in nulla virtute deiectior, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem vrbium subiugaturus, quæstionémque de inuestitura suo libito recisurus; sed iter illud ad Roman magnis excercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporũ consummatũ, Dauid Scotus Banchorẽsis episcopus exposuit, magis in regis gratiam quàm historicum deceret accliuis. He liued and prospered about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib. 1. Magistratuum insignia lib. 1. Apologiam ad Cæsarem de regno Scotiæ lib. 1.

Richardus de sancto victore. Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I do not as yet find anie mention in Gesner, but in Iohn Maior and Lesleus) liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder Dauid the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to anie diuine of his time, aswell in scholasticall as other diuinitie, did set foorth manie works to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Victor in Paris, whose monument is yet to be séene with this epitaph recited by Iohn Maior in his memoriall:

*Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,*
*Puluereo hîc tegeris docte Richarde situ:*
*Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,*
*Te fouet in gremio Gallica terra suo.*
*Nil tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec stamina paruo*
*Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:*
*Plurima námque tui superant monumenta laboris,*
*Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.*
*Segnior vt lento sceleratas mors petit edes,*
*Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecta gradu.*

Walter the bastard sonne of king Dauid the first. Walter the bastard sonne of Dauid the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the vaine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholie consecrat to holie exercises and offices, being first indued with the rich canonrie of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishoprike of saint Andrewes, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was aduanced to be abbat of Melrosse, wherevnto being so preferred, he was the author and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) laied the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simplie suppose) he was installed amongst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and three, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesnerus writeth in this sort: Gualterus Albanensis monachus scripsit de libris ecclesiæ lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Balcus.

Thomas Liermant aliàs Erslton. Thomas Liermant *aliàs* Erslton being borne in Scotland, was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certeine diuination (as though Apollo had spoken from the curteine) foretell things to come, but with what spirit we will not iudge, whose words obteined the more authoritie and credit, because he had foretold the fatall date of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourescore and three. He wrot Prædictiones rerum Scoticarum rithmicis versibus, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed Rithmicus, or the Rimer, liuing some yeares after the death of Alexander the third, for Gesner maketh him to florish in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and six.

Michaell

Michaell Medicus.

Michaell Medicus, being a learned man in all philoſophie, aſtronomie, and the other mathematiks, whereby he grew in admiration amongſt the people, is twiſe mentioned by Geſner, a fault which I manie times find in his Bibliotheca, firſt pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who flouriſhed in the time of John Baliol king of Scots, and in the yeare of Chriſt 1290, being an old man, he wrote In gratiã Frederici 2. imperatoris. De ſphera lib. 1. In Ariſtotelis meteora lib. 4. De conſtitutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De cœlo & mundo lib. 2. De ſomno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De ſubſtãtia orbis lib. 1. De ſenſu & ſenſato lib. 2. De memoria & reminiſcentia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteora lib. 1. Imagines aſtronomicas lib. 2. Aſtrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Ariſtotelis lib. 10. De ſignis planetarum lib. 1. De chiromantia lib. 1. De phyſiognomia lib. 1. Abbreuiationes Auicennæ lib. 1. De animalibus ad Cæſarem lib. 1. whoſe booke of phyſnomie was printed at Uenice Anno Dom. 1503. by John Baptiſta Seſſa.

John Duns.

John Duns by ſome called Iohannes Scotus, and tearmed the ſubtill doctor, was ſo ſurnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frier minors brought into England to Orford, there to be inſtructed: for at that time nor long after was there not anie vniuerſitie in Scotland. By means of which two friers he was placed in a houſe of their profeſſion, in which this Duns at length toke the habit and order of the Franciſcans, prouing of a moſt ſingular wit, whereby he became a ſharpe and ſubtill diſputer, who departing from Orford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minors, where when he had for ſome ſpace remained, and read vnto them of ſcholaſticall matters, he traueld to Cullen, and there vntimelie died in his youthfull yeares. He liued in the time of John Baliol king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt 1283. of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 250) called Scotiſtæ or Scotiſts as all they of an other faction are furnamed Thomiſtæ or the Thomiſts, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common prouerbe in deriſion, to call ſuch a perſon as is ſenſeleſſe or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a fole: although trulie the ſame cannot ſtand with anie reaſon, this man Duns being ſo famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after ſhall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not vnfit to ſet downe what other haue written touching him, ſith both the Engliſh, the Iriſh, and the Scots, do chalenge him to be their countriman, borne amongſt them. Thus therefore writeth Stanihurſt in his deſcription of Ireland vnder the title of the Iriſh writers. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Iriſhman borne, as in the forefront of this treatiſe I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scotiſh chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other ſide ſaith, that he was borne in England. So that there ſhall be as great contention riſe of him as in old time there roſe of Homers countrie, for the Colophonians ſaid that Homer was borne in their citie, the Chyians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians auouched that he was their countriman. But the Smirnians were ſo ſtiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no nale in the matter, and thereupon they did conſecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countriman ſo euer this Scotus were, he was doubtleſſe a ſubtill and profound clearke. The onelie fault wherewith he was duſked, was a little ſpice of vainglorie, being giuen to carpe and taunt his predeceſſor diuines, rather for blemiſhing the fame of his aduerſaries, than for aduanſing the truth of the controuerſies. Thus much Stanihurſt. Now the bookes which he wrote were theſe. Super ſententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de ſanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore li. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Cõmentarios Oxonienſes lib. 4. Reportationes Pariſienſes lib. 4. In metaphyſicã quæſtionẽ lib. 12. Quæſtiones vniuerſaliũ li. 2. Quæſtiones prædicamẽtorũ lib. 1. In analytica poſteriora lib. 1. In Ariſtotelis phyſica lib. 8. In Categorias eiuſdem lib. 1. Lecturam in Geneſim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epiſtolas Pauli. Collectiones Pariſienſes. Tetragrãmatum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whoſe works thus further writeth Geſn. Iohanni Scoto ſententiarum interpreti primæuam ſacratiſſimi Dionyſij tranſlationem aſcribunt, cùm alteri cuidam Iohanni Scoto (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred ninetie & two, about three hundred yeares before this Duns) Qui iſtũ multis ſæculis anteceſſit, & Athænis Græcè didicit, accepta referri debeat. Of the death of this man ſæ Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. De honeſta vita, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchie of S. Denis ont of Greeke into Latine.

Thomas Uarreie.

Thomas Uarreie or Uarraie flouriſhed at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred eightie and eight, in the time of Robert the ſecond of that name king of Scots, at what time the Engliſh were put to the worſt. This man vpon this victorie did compoſe manie things in Latine rime beginning in this ſort:

*Muſa refert fatum fore ſcriptum carmine vatum, &c.*

Who being maiſter and ruler of Bethwallie, is not greatlie eſteemed of the Scotiſh hiſtoriographers. Geſnerus referreth the time wherein he liued, to the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred and ninetie, which is almoſt a hundred yeares before that, in which the hiſtories of Scotland make anie mention of him.

William Elphinſtone.

William Elphinſtone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but becauſe I do find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he liued, ſet downe within three or foure lines the one of the other by Geſnerus, I will ſaie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim ſet downe the words of the ſame author in this ſort. Gulielmus Elphinſton natione Scotus, Albonenſis epiſcopus, ſcripſit antiquitates Scotorum, & conciliorum ſtatuta librum vnum. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valdè Boſtonus Burienſis in magno ſcriptorum catalogo, ob ſingularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340. Thus much Geſnerus.

James Steward.

James Steward the firſt of the name of James, being brought vp in England as a perſon eſtranged from his natiue ſoile, is by Geſnerus ſaid to haue beene by ſome called Robert the third, which can not be ſo; for he that was ſo named was John Steward, and not James. This man in the time whileſt he remained in England, being a kind of baniſhment from his owne countrie, did compoſe one booke of verſes, and manie other ſongs, he being both a learned diuine, philoſopher, and muſician, who was in the end ſlaine of his owne people, in the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and ſir.

Johannes Maior.

Johannes Maior borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senenſis in his Bibliotheca ſancta doth (not rightlie) call an Engliſhman, was brought vp in Orford, where atteining to ſufficient learning, he went into France for the obteining further knowledge

ledge, and applied his ſtudie in Paris, where he followed and profeſſed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne workes. He was borne at Hadington in Scotland, as appeareth by Geſnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Hadingtonenſis, he did write Deciſiones ſententiarum lib. 4. Sophiſticalia Pariſienſia, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Matthæum, Hiſtoriarum maioris Britanniæ lib. 6. Caxtonum Anglum tranſtulit lib. 7. He floriſhed at Paris, as hath Geſnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thouſand fiue hundred & ſixe and twentie, vnder James the fift king of Scots, vnto whome he dedicated his ſtorie of Britaine, conteining England and Scotland. There is one John Maior vouched and aledged in Criſopaſſo Ioan. Eccij, which I do take to be this man. And Sixtus Senenſis in his Bibliotheca ſancta amongſt the writers of the bible doth ſpeake of one John Maior in this manner: Iohannes Maior Anglus ſcripſit in quatuor euangelia ſcholaſtica poſtillam, and liued in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand and foure hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by Maior himſelfe wherein he ſhould liue. Of which Maior Buchanan hath verie ſcoffinglie ſet downe theſe foure verſes here vnder written as followeth:

*Cùm ſcateat nugis ſolo cognomine Maior,*
*Nec ſit in immenſo pagina ſana libro,*
*Non mirum titulis quòd ſe veracibus ornat,*
*Nec ſemper mendax fingere Creta ſolet.*

William Gregorie. William Gregorie borne in Scotland, and ſtudent in Paris, where he profeſſed diuinitie, did liue, as ſaith Bibliotheca ſancta, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeuentæne, and alſo, as hath Bibliotheca Geſneri in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and ſeuen. He left manie bookes behind him which he had carefullie and learnedlie written, whereof theſe are the titles: De duplici poteſtate lib. 1. Elucidationes ſententiarum lib. 4. Quæſtiones veſperales lib. 1. In politica Ariſtotelis lib. 8. De triplici animæ potentia lib. 1. De regno Chriſti æterno lib. 1. De triplici principatu lib. 1. De ſcripturæ ſenſibus lib. 3. Ad vocabulare theologicũ lib. 1. Collectiones Sorbonicas lib. 1. De diſciplina Iuniorum lib. 1. De ſacra ſynaxi lib. 1. In pſalterium commentarios lib. 1. Sermones in euangelia & epiſtolas per circuitum lib. 2.

Hector Boetius. Hector Boetius of Dundée in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent hiſtoriographer, whoſe ſtile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and perſons in his Scotiſh hiſtorie. He floriſhed in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand thrée hundred twentie and ſix, vnder James the fift king of Scots, of whome I will ſaie no more, but ſet downe Geſnerus words: Hector Boetius Deidonatus, natione Scotus, ſcripſit catalogum regum Scotiæ. Deſcriptiones eiuſdem regni lib. 1. Hiſtorias Scotorum lib. 17. Aberdonenſium pontificum vitas, eius hiſtoriæ Scotorum excuſæ ſunt Pariſijs, anno 1556: earundem hiſtoriarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illuſtratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo poſtremi huius hiſtoriæ libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem. Acceſſit & huic æditioni eiuſdem Scotorum hiſtoriæ continuatio per Ioannem Ferrerium Pedæmontanum recens & ipſa ſcripta & edita fol. Pariſijs apud Iacobum Dupuys 1580.

Gawins Dowglaſſe. Gawine Dowglaſſe, borne of the noble houſe of the Dowglaſſes in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made biſhop of Dunkeld; who for contention betweéne him and the gouernor of Scotland, forſoke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and one, in the time of James the fift of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comœdias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scoticis lib. 1. Tranſtulit in patrium ſermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12.

Dauid Lindſeie of the mount or hill, otherwiſe by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, ſurnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned perſon, as may appeare by his works written in his owne tong in verſe, which were Acta ſui temporis lib. 1. De mundi miſerijs lib. 1. Tragœdia Dauidis Beton lib. 1. Teſtamentum cardinalis Beton lib. 1. as hath Geſnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of Dauid Beton cardinall be not all one) Teſtamentum pſitaci lib. 1. Dialogus aulici & experientiæ lib. 1. Somnium Dauidis Lindſei lib. 1. Deploratio mortis reginæ Magdalenæ lib. 1. Of moſt of which his works Geſnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he floriſhed in the yeare of Grace one thouſand fiue hundred and fortie, in the time of James the fift king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindſeie was brought vp, and whome he after painfullie ſerued in the court.

Patrike Hamilton. Patrike Hamilton, borne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephue of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenenſis, who hauing applied his time in ſtudie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the biſhops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and eight, as haue Geſnerus and Bale in the time of James the fift of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerſe books, amongſt which were theſe, De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.

Joannes Altus. Johannes Altus, ſo called by Geſner, being a Scot borne, had ſome contention with one Euſdan Morphet, to whome he did write in verſe a ſharpe and rebuking apologie which conteined one booke; beſides which alſo he did write another booke Contra Antiſcotiton of this Morphet, & Epigrammata lib. 1. He liued in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and thirtie vnder James the fift.

John Bellendon. John Bellendon or Ballentine, who floriſhed in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſix, vnder king James the fift, tranſlated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scotiſh and Engliſh, and wrote the deſcription of Albanie or Scotland.

John Wouran. John Wouran being a canon regular, hauing applied himſelfe to the ſtudie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language Catechiſmum fidei lib. 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and ſix, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots.

John Herriſon. John Herriſon a Scot, liuing in the yere of our ſaluation one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and eight, being the firſt yére of Marie queene of Scots, did applie his time in the ſtudie of diuinitie, and wrote, De amplectanda in chriſtiana religione concordia lib. 1. which was written to Edward Seimor duke of Summerſet protector of England.

John Makbeth. John Makbeth called in Latine Ioannes Machabæus, being deſcended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his ſtudie in matters of diuinitie; who floriſhing in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftie, being the eight yeare of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scots, did compoſe, De vera & falſa eccleſia lib. 1.

John Mackebraie. John Mackebraie borne in Scotland, did floriſh in Germanie in the yere that the word became

flesh

flesh one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, being the sixtenth yéere of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scots. This man, whome Gesnerus supposeth might fortune to be the same John Pakleth before touched, did write Anglorum ecclesiæ originem & progressum lib. 1. Explicationem iuæ fidei lib. 1.

George Buchanan. George Buchanan an Irish Scot, greatlie learned, but manie times malicioustie affected, and that so vehementlie, as that he would not forbeare in the highest degrée of malice to vpbraid and backebite euerie person and nation which had offended him, as maie appeare by his immodest spéeches, not beseeming a man of his learning, was schoolemaster to James the first of that name king of Scotland, of whom liuing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and nineténe, I will forbeare to saie what I could, least I might offend in that which I mislike in him, & therfore will onlie set down what Gesner hath written of him. Georgius Buchananus Scotus rudimenta grãmatices Latinæ Thomæ Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum vertit: ea Nicol. Brilingerus impressit Basiliæ anno 1542. extant eius & elegantissima poemata: Iephtes tragœdia, Lutetiæ apud Vascosanum. Franciscanus & fratres, quibus accesserunt varia eiusdem & aliorum poemata, Basiliæ apud Guarcinum an. 1568. Eiusdem psalmorum paraphrasis poetica, Geneuæ, Argentinæ, Antuerpiæ impressa in 8 & 16, eiusdem Baptistes siue calumnia tragœdia, in 8. Francof. apud Wechelum. De iure regni apud Scotos editio secunda, Edinburgi 1580. Psalmi Dauidis ab eodem versibus expressi nunc primùm modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino decantati 4 Lugduni 1580. Rerum Scholasticarũ historia lib. 20. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knokes John Knokes borne in Scotland, a great enimie to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining in England as banished from Scotland, after being returned home he preached at the coronation of Charles James, the first of that name king of Scotland, and writ manie bookes in the Scotish English, amongst which were Ad Londonienses & alios lib. 1. Ad euangelii professores lib. 2. Qualiter sit orandum lib. 1. Contra missam papisticam lib. 1. Doctrina missalium lib. 1. De fide eucharistiæ epistola 1. Ad ecclesias afflictas epis. 1. Ad Scotiæ reginam Mariam epist. 1. Concilium in his angustiis epist. 1. Buccinæ afflatum primum lib. 1. Appellationem a sentẽtia cleri lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiæ librũ vnum. He liued in the yere of Christ 1569.

John Langeie John Langeie a Scot borne, following his studie in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who liuing in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and ten, did write a booke of the life, doctrine, and death of Martin Luther and John Caluin, and of manie other ministers of the new gospell (as he scornefullie termed it) which bookes were out of French turned into Latine, and latelie into the Germane tong, printed in 4 at Ingelstade in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and two.

John Durie. Iohannes Duræus or Durie, whom Gesner calleth Bureus, being borne in Dumfermling, and the son before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumfermling brother to the lord of Duries, was brought vp in Paris and Louan, after which he became a priest, and then a Iesuit, who now liuing did in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, write a booke which was intituled Confutatio responsionis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Iesuita certamen Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in causa fidei: which booke was printed at Paris in 8 by Thomas Brunelius, In clauso Brunello sub signo oliuæ.

Patrike Adamson. Patrike Adamson liuing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and thirtéene, did write certeine verses, whereof this was the title and effect, as hath Gesnerus, Patricii Adamsoni gratiarum actio illustriss. & potentiss. principi Elizabethæ Angl. Franc. & Hiberniæ reginæ, propter liberatam ciuili seditione Scotiam, & redactam munitissimam Edenburgi arcem sub fidem regis carmen elegiacum, which man being now liuing, is archbishop of saint Andrews.

Patrike Cockburne. Patrike Cockburne borne in Scotland, and flourishing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred & fiftie, in the time of Marie quéene of Scots, did write, De vtilitate & excellentia verbi Dei, which was printed at Paris by Michaell Fezandate, and Robert Grauson, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one. He writ also De vulgari sacræ scripturæ phrasi, lib. 2. whereof the first doth intreat of the sinne against the Holie-ghost, which they call irremittable or vnto death: the second booke doth with great diligence and fidelitie vnfold the most hard and most obscure places of both the testaments, hitherto by manie euillie vnderstood, and worse interpreted: which worke was printed at Paris by Robert Messiline in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two in 8 chart. 13.

John Lesle. John Lesle sometime officiall of Aberden, and bishop of Rosse, of whom I haue spoken in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obstinate fauorer and furtherer of the Romane religion doth yet liue in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie & sir, in the time of Charles James the first king of Scots, and hath written Pii afflicti animi consolationes diuináque remedia lib 1. Animi tranquilli monumentum lib. 1. De origine, moribus, & rebus gestis Scotorum lib. 10. printed at Rome.

Minianus Wenzetus. Minianus Wenzetus, who flourished in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred three score and one, in the time of Marie quæne of Scots, was a fauorer of the popes doctrine, and enimie to John Knokes, touching whom I will set down the words of two seuerall authors, whereof the one is Lesleus a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith: Hæc res (which was a disputation in religion) Niniano Winzeto maximam apud hæreticos inuidiam conflauit, vnde cum audirent illum (Ninian Winzet) iam apud typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitarat cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem expostulare, consilium ineunt de opere disturbando, Winzeto capiendo, typographo mulctando. Magistratus cum satellitibus irruit in typographiam, libros quos reperit, aufert, Iohan. Scotũ typographũ bonis mulctatum in carcerem abripit: sed Winzetum, quẽ tantopere cupiebant, præ foribus magistratui occurrentem quòd incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent hæretici, rident Catholici. On the other side thus writeth Bibliotheca Gesneri: Ninianus Winzetus Renfrous, S. theologiæ doctor, & apud sancti Iacobi apud Scotos Ratisponæ, abbas flagellum sectariorum qui religionis prætextu iam in Cæsarẽ aut in alios orthodoxos principes excitare studeant, quærentes ineptissimè quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus sit obediendũ. Accessit velitatio in Georg. Bucchan. circa dialogũ, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadii ex officina typographica Dauidis Sartorii, an. 1581.

Adam Blackwood. Adam Blackwood borne in Scotland in Dumfermeling, was brought vp in Paris, where atteining to manie degrées of learning, is now liuing, being aduanced to the place of one of the chiefe councellors of Poitiers. This man hath learnedlie written manie works, amongst which are his bookes De coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres orationes admeralli regni Franciæ, & Iacobi Stuarti primi regentis (after that Charles James the first, atteined to the crowne) Scotiæ. Besides which hauing written against the work of Buchanan intituled De iure regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he writeth against the chronicle of the same Buchanan.

Andrew Melum. Andrew Melum one of the presbyterie in Scotland

land, and one who came hither into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fourscore and foure, hath written manie epigrams, and amongst the rest, one inuectiue against the quéene mother, to the king of France, which beginneth Vipera cum catulis.

James Tirie. James Tirie did (as hath Lesleus lib.10.pag.587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Iesuits, who comming to Paris, trauelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Caluin; he florished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred threescore and one, vnder Marie quéene of Scots, and did write Ad fratrem epistola 1. Responsio ad Knoxium lib.1.

Charles James. Charles James the first of that name king of Scots now liuing, a toward yoong prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, did in his yongest yeares about the age of seuentéene or eightéene, write a booke of verses in his mother tong, conteining manie matters of sundrie rare inuentions, and of sundrie forme of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scotish writers, to the end that I would close vp the same title with no lesse honorable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knit it vp with a king.

Thus setting end to my trauels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maiestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit) I desire thée reader to take it in good part, remembring that Vltra posse non est esse, sith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his vpper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anie more subiect whervpon to worke, I can do no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that In magnis voluisse sat est; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy fauorable iudgement, who measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England and Scotland were halfe printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue done maie well appeare) thou shalt incourage me hereafter vpon more leisure, and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and such other labors of mine (Absit verbis philautia) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my frends. For though I maie séeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scipio, Nunquàm minùs sum otiosus quàm cùm sum otiosus.

*Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.*

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FINIS *propositi, laus Christo nescia* FINIS.

# The second table Alphabeticall, being a complet extract of names and *matters dispersed in the historie of Britaine and England: wherein the reader is aduisedlie to* distinguish of persons and actions in perusing euerie discourse, least by taking one for another *(diuerse persons being of one name) his memorie be confounded, and some error or doubt arise.*

## By this table you may obserue how manie archbishops, bishops, earles, dukes, *&c: haue beene in this Iland before the conquest: as also matter of discourse and woorth the marking, wher-* soeuer you see this word (Note) which dooth oftentimes come to hand.

Gathered by *Abraham Fleming.*

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FINIS propositi laus Christo nescia FINIS.

# The third table for the deſcription, hiſtorie,

*and chronicles of Ireland: gathered by Iohn* Hooker *aliàs* Vowell, gentleman.

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Post mortem vita.

FINIS.

# The fourth table seruing for the description

*and historie of Scotland; conteining iust directions to memorable*

obseruations both of names and matters:

*gathered by Abraham Fleming.*

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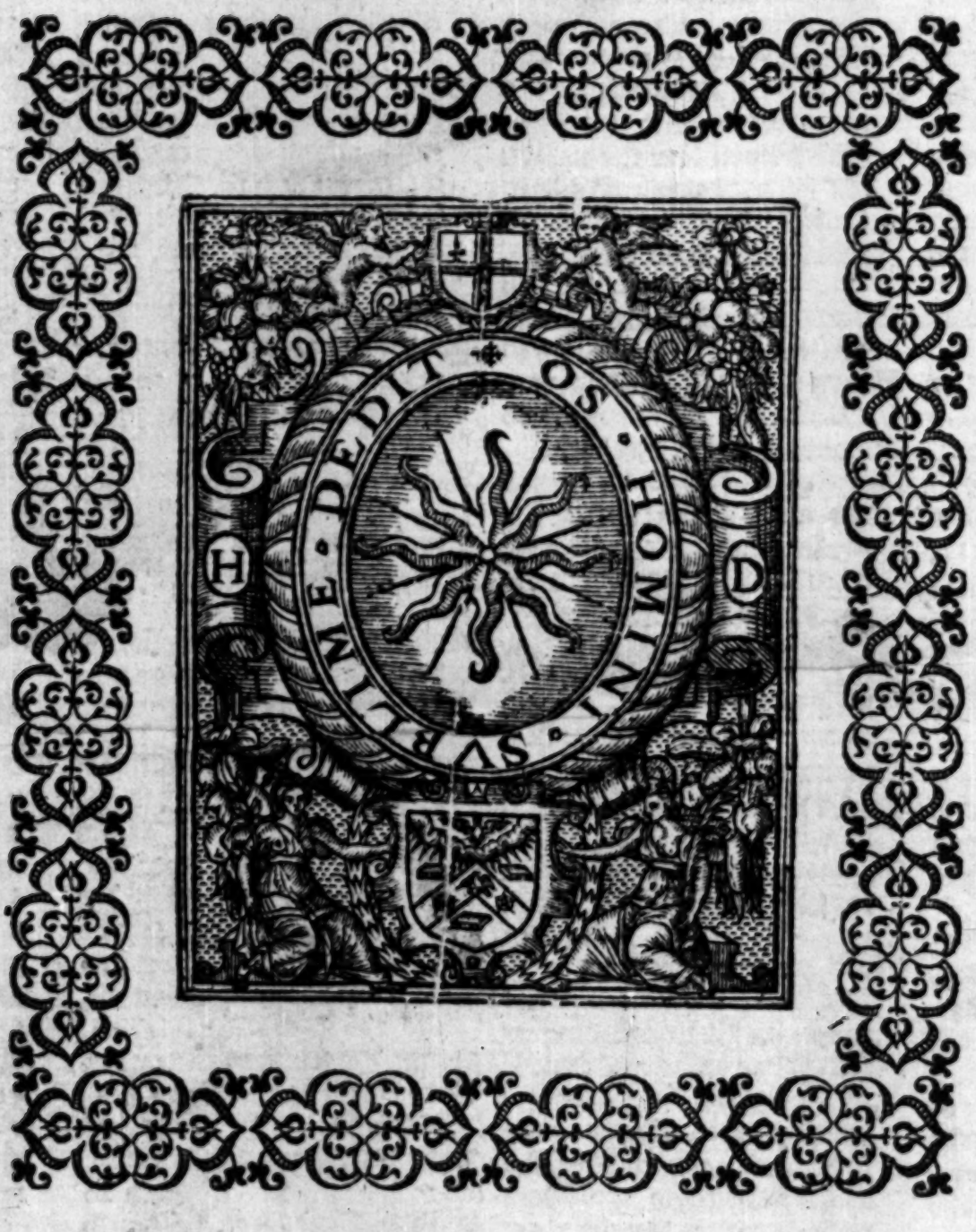
FINIS *propositi laus Christo nescia* FINIS.

Finiſhed in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes Maieſties reigne, with the full continuation of the former yeares, at the expenſes of Iohn Hariſon, George Biſhop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Woodcocke.

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